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Fabian Tract No. 5.

FACTS FOR SOCIALISTS

SHOWING

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME AND ITS RESULTS.

PUBLISHED AND SOLD BY

THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

"No one can contemplate the present condition of the masses of the people without desiring something like a revolution for the better." (Sir R. GIFFEN, "Essays in Finance," vol. ii., p. 393).

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FACTS FOR SOCIALISTS

FROM THE

POLITICAL ECONOMISTS AND STATISTICIANS.

I.—The Nation's Income.

THE estimates made at various times during the present century o the annual income of the United Kingdom have been as follows :—

Year.	Million £.	Authority.
1903	1,750	Sir R. Giffen, *The Wealth of the Empire*, Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, vol. lxvi, part iii.
1903	1,800	Professor A. L. Bowley, M.A. (Professor of Statistics, University of London), *Economic Journal*, September, 1904.
1907	1,945	Professor A. L. Bowley, *Economic Journal* March, 1913, p. 54.
1907	2,038	*Report of the Census of Production*, Cd 6,320, 1912, p. 33, between 1,918 and 2,158 £ million.
1909	1,844	Sir L. G. Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 1912 edn., p. 47.
1911	2,090	Prof. A. L. Bowley, *The Division of Product of Industry*, p. 14.
1912	2,250	*The Statist*, 27th April, 1912, in allowance for married women, keepers and others.

THE NATIONS INCOME.—*Contd.*

Year.	Million £	Authority.
1913	2,250	Sir J. C. Stamp, *Wealth and Taxable Capacity*, 1st edn., p. 68.
1914	2,300	The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd George) in his War Budget Speech, November, 1914.
1920	5,225	*The Economist*, 4th October, 1924, p. 520.
1920	3,610	Sir Leo Chiozza Money in evidence before the *Royal Commission on Income Tax.*
1921	3,900	Sir J. C. Stamp, *Wealth and Taxable Capacity*, 1st edn., p. 75.
1921	3,510	*The Economist*, 4th October, 1924, p. 520.
1922	3,140	Do. do. do.
1923	3,470	Do. do. do.
1923	3,300	Mr. E. Crammond, *The Bankers' Magazine*, December, 1924, p. 734.

By comparing the various estimates of the national income with the relative returns of imports and exports of the United Kingdom, the income during 1923 may be estimated as having amounted to 3,400 £ million, a figure which agrees very well with the two estimates for that year quoted above. A corresponding estimate for 1924 is 3,700 £ million.*

In order to appreciate more fully the change in the national income, the following table has been compiled, showing the amounts per head of the population, which the national income, if equally divided between all members of the nation, would permit. The statistics of population are those estimated by the Registrars-General of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland for the 30th of June of each year (*Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, Cmd.* 2207).

* In computing these estimates, no allowance has been made for the fact that the Irish Free State has ceased to figure in the trade returns relating to the United Kingdom, as it is thought that the change has had no material effect upon the inference as a whole.

Year.	National income.	Population.	Per head of population.
	Million £	Thousands	£
1903	1,750	42,246	41·4
	1,800	42,246	42·6
1907	1,945	43,737	44·5
	2,038	43,737	46·6
1909	1,844	44,519	41·4
1911	2,090	45,324	46·1
1912	2,250	45,508	49·4
1913	2,250	45,713	49·2
1914	2,300	46,089	49·9
1920	5,225	46,873	111·5
	3,610	46,873	77·0
1921	3,900	47,263	82·5
	3,510	47,263	74·3
1922	3,140	47,506	66·1
1923	3,470	47,747	72·7
	3,300	47,747	69·1
	3,400	47,747	71·2
1924	3,700	48,068	77·0

In 1840 the national income averaged about £20.5 per head of the population; in 1860 about £26.2 (Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 245).

These figures, which in many cases are computed from income tax returns and estimated average rates of wages, mean that the value in money of the commodities and services produced in the country during the whole course of 1923 was about £285 per adult man. Most of these commodities and services were used up within that period in maintaining the 47,766,000 inhabitants. Prior to the European war of 1914 not less than £320,000,000 to £350,000,000 was saved annually (*Census of Production*, Cd. 6320, 1912, p. 33. Estimate for 1907.) The bulk of this "saving" consisted of new houses and of new railways, steamers, machinery, and other aids to future labour, partly for use in this country and partly for export overseas by way of investment. It has been calculated that £100,000,000 was invested abroad in this way in 1907 (*Census of Production*, p. 32).

Of the income due from these oversea investments, the Board of Trade has estimated that the following amounts have remained abroad available for further investment :—

1907	...	138	£ million	1922	...	154	£ million.
1910	...	153	"	1923	...	153	"
1913	...	181	"	1924	...	63	"
1920	...	252	"	1925	...	28	"

(*Board of Trade Journal*, 21st January, 1926, p. 70).

Total Income in 1923, £3,400,000,000.

II.—Who Produces It.

The desirable commodities and useful services measured by this vast sum are produced solely by the "efforts and sacrifices" (Cairnes), whether of muscle or of brain, of the working portion of the community, employed upon the gifts of Nature.

"No wealth whatever can be produced without labour." Professor Henry Fawcett (Cambridge) (*Manual of Political Economy*, p. 13).

"That useful function, therefore, which some profound writers fancy they discover in the abundant expenditure of the idle rich turns out to be sheer illusion. Political economy furnishes no such palliation of unmitigated selfishness. Not that I would breathe a word against the sacredness of contracts. But I think it is important, on moral no less than on economic grounds, to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper place as drones in the hive, instead of gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing." (*Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, p. 32, by the late John Elliott Cairnes, M.A., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy at University College, London; 1874.)

"The drift of economic science during many generations has been with increasing force towards the belief that there is no real necessity, and therefore no moral justification, for extreme poverty side by side with great wealth." (*Principles of Economics*, by the late Professor Alfred Marshall, sometime Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge University. 8th Ed., 1922, pp. 713-714.)

"Few economists think with satisfaction of the degree to which the less urgent desires of the minority who have inherited wealth are now satisfied, before the more urgent desires of the majority who have not inherited it." (Professor Graham Wallas *The Great Society*, p. 312).

"It is certain that as a general rule approximations towards greater equality of income mean at the same time approximations towards distribution according to need, and should therefore be welcomed, whenever the advantage thus gained is not offset by an equal or greater loss resulting from damage to production." (Professor E. Cannan. *Economic Outlook*, p. 310).

"Put broadly, and in the language of common sense, the case against large inequalities of income is that the less urgent needs of the rich are satisfied, while the more urgent needs of the poor are left unsatisfied. The rich are more than amply fed, while the poor go hungry." (Professor H. Dalton, M.P. *The Inequality of Incomes*, p. 10).

III.—Who the Workers Are.

As regards England and Wales, those who profess to be taking part in the work of the community were divided, at the census of 1921, as follows:—

Occupation.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Industrial	8,760,393	2,377,770	11,138,163
Agricultural and fishing	1,200,106	83,218	1,283,324
Commercial	1,063,120	496,056	1,559,176
Domestic	339,944	1,676,425	2,016,369
Professional and public administration ...	749,155	431,863	1,181,018
Total occupied	12,112,718	5,065,332	17,178,050

(Compiled from *Census of England and Wales*, 1921; *Occupations*.)

Comparable figures for Scotland are as follows :—

Occupation.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Industrial	1,120,015	309,431	1,429,446
Agricultural and fishing	192,501	24,364	216,865
Commercial	116,460	83,111	199,571
Domestic	31,738	168,149	199,887
Professional and public administration ...	82,463	51,037	133,500
Total occupied	1,543,177	636,092	2,179,269

(Compiled from *Census of Scotland*, 1921 ; *Volume III.*, *Occupations and Industries*.)

As the classification of occupations adopted for the census of 1921 differed in many respects from that adopted for the census of 1911, the summarised figures given above are not strictly comparable with those given in the previous edition of this tract. Also, in the latter case, the figures referred to the United Kingdom. No census was taken for Ireland in 1921.

The figures for England and Wales may be given in more detail, as follows :—

The following table shows the comparison between numbers of occupied and unoccupied persons aged 12 years and over, recorded by the census of 1921, for England and Wales :—

Classification.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Occupied—			
12 to 19	1,801,476	1,393,736	3,195,212
Over 20	10,311,242	3,671,596	13,982,838
Unoccupied—			
12 to 19	1,037,340	1,485,171	2,522,511
Over 20	751,050	(*a*)9,149,302	9,900,352
Total	13,901,108	15,699,805	29,600,913

(*a*) Most of these are married women engaged in unpaid domestic work, although not so described.

In England and Wales in 1911, 299,599 persons, comprising 248,624 males and 50,975 females were classified as being engaged in the Central Government of the country, an increase of 46 per cent. over 1901, or 42·3 for males and 69·5 for females. The Post Office workers, excluding artisans and labourers (125,698), formed nearly three-quarters of the total and nine-tenths of the females. In addition, the men and women engaged in the local government service numbered 588,951. The total number of national or local government employees in the United Kingdom probably amounted to a million.

Figures of public employees collected as a result of the 1921 census are not strictly comparable with those given in earlier census reports, owing to the fact that certain classes of workers have been included with similar classes employed industrially. However, the following statistics are available for England and Wales :—

Occupation.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Public administration, excluding professional men and typists—			
Civil service officials and clerks	117,580	55,389	172,969
Local authority officials and clerks	59,363	16,214	75,577
Police	60,608	278	60,886

Continued on next page.

Occupation.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Post office—			
Postmen and post office sorters... ...	60,957	3,036	63,993
Wireless operators (*a*)	2,331	43	2,374
Other telegraphic operators (*a*)	15,626	6,586	22,212
Telephone operators (*a*)	3,976	19,600	23,576
Defence—			
Navy	84,777	...	84,777
Army	101,980	...	101,980
Air Force	18,017	...	18,017

(*a*) Including those employed outside.

As these figures exclude professional men, artisans, labourers, messengers, porters, typists, charwomen, etc., it is obvious that national and local government employees now number considerably more than a million. In fact, the number of workers returned as being employed in Public Administration and Defence at the date of the Census, 1921, was 1,335,879.

Professional occupations, excluding clerical staff, accounted for 666,812 (306,830 males and 359,982 females) in England and Wales in 1921, the principal groups being as follows :—

Group.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Teachers—			
Not music	68,855	187,352	256,207
Music	4,919	16,450	21,369
Sick nurses, midwives, mental attendants, masseurs, etc.	16,862	118,086	134,948
Clergymen and others engaged in religious teaching and churches, societies, etc. ...	43,466	12,870	56,336
Physicians and surgeons	22,965	1,253	24,218
Barristers and solicitors	17,909	37	17,946

Of the 95,286 persons returned as employed in entertainments and sport, 3,308 were race-horse trainers, jockeys and training stable attendants, and 2,897 were bookmakers.

Among the professed workers there are, of course, many whose occupation is merely nominal. The number is inflated by the "sleeping" partners, the briefless barristers, the invalids, and the paupers, prisoners, and sinecurists of every description. Many thousands more have occupations useless or hurtful to the community.

Numbers Employed in each Industry.

The Census of 1921, in addition to ascertaining the occupation of each worker, asked for the industry in which each worker was employed. The following table gives the numbers employed in each of the principal industries in England and Wales in 1921 :—

Industry.	Total Engaged in each Industry.
Fishing	40,246
Agriculture	1,123,962
Mining, quarrying, and treatment of products ...	1,283,728
Bricks, pottery, glass...	176,541
Chemicals, dyes, explosives	197,677
Metals, machines, implements, conveyances, jewellery, watches	2,196,014
Textiles and textile goods (not dress), cellulose ...	1,153,829
Preparation of skins and leather and manufacture of goods of leather and leather substitutes (not boots or shoes)	80,472
Clothing	805,678
Food, drink, tobacco	540,718
Wood working : cane and basketware, furniture fittings	261,856
Paper making, stationery, and stationery requisites, printing, bookbinding, photography ...	356,808
Building, decorating, stone and slate cutting and dressing and contracting	726,368
Other manufacturing industries	185,022
Gas, water, electricity	162,767
Transport and communication	1,203,566
Commerce and finance	2,275,148
Public administration and defence...	1,335,879
Professions	514,776
Entertainments and sport	122,004
Personal service (including hotels and catering) ...	2,046,825
All industries	17,178,050

The results of the census show that less than 50 % were engaged in "Production, Repair and Maintenance." (*Industry Tables, Census of England and Wales*, 1921.)

IV.—How the Idle Rich Live.

"Whence is their purchasing power derived? It does not descend to them from the skies; nor is it obtained by submarine telegraph direct from California or Australia; nor is its presence exhaustively accounted for by the presence of certain figures on the credit side of their accounts in their bankers' books" (Professor J. E. Cairnes, *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, p. 31).

They live, in the main, upon the portions of the national product which are called rent and interest, by the legal "guarantee to them of the fruits of the labour and abstinence of others, transmitted to them without any merit or exertion of their own" (J. S. Mill, *Political Economy*, Popular Edition, p. 129).

"It is at once evident that rent is the effect of a monopoly" (J. S. Mill, *Political Economy*, p. 255).

"Monopoly, in all its forms, is the taxation of the industrious for the support of indolence, if not of plunder" (*Ibid*, p. 477).

In Great Britain during the year ended 31st March, 1923, 98,902 estates became liable to estate duty. Of this number, 10,972 were valued at more than £5,000 each, 946 at more than £50,000 each, and 363 at more than £100,000 each. Fifteen estates were valued at more than £1,000,000 each, while two were actually valued at more than £3,000,000 each. (*Inland Revenue Report, 1922-23, Cmd. 1934.*)

V.—Rent of Land and Houses.

The total profit from the ownership of lands, houses, tithes, etc., as assessed for income tax in 1921-22, was £296,691,397 (*Inland Revenue Report*, 1922-23, Cmd. 1,934); the annual value of rents of mines, quarries, ironworks, gasworks, waterworks, canals, fishings, shootings, markets, tolls, etc., which amounted to £50,820,485 in 1914-15 (*Inland Revenue Report*, 1915-16, Cd. 8,425), is no longer published. Many of these are notoriously far from being fully assessed. The total **"rent"** of immovables of the United Kingdom must therefore amount to at least **£380,000,000,** if allowance is made for lapse of time and increased rentals, or more than one-ninth of the total produce.* Of this amount, about £90,000,000 may be estimated as the annual rental value of the bare site, without buildings.†

Total Income, £3,400,000,000. Rent, £380,000,000.

VI.—Interest on Capital.

Interest is distinguished by economists from rent on the one hand, and "earnings of management," or other payment for services on the other; but a large part of the "rent" already dealt

* In 1843 the total was (for Great Britain only) £95,284,497; in 1855 (for the United Kingdom) £124,871,885.

† Sir L. G. Chiozza Money (*Daily Mail Year Book*, 1913), £90,000,000 for 1910-11. Sir Thomas Whittaker (*Ownership, Tenure and Taxation of Land*, 1914, p. 95), £91,500,000.

with may also be deemed interest on capital embodied in land in the form of houses, etc.

The Income Tax Returns disclose the fact that the following sums were received as income in 1914-15, which was not a return for contemporaneous work, viz. :—

From	Public Companies	£389,104,639
„	Local Authorities	28,188,859
„	Coupons collected by Banks ...	50,810,607
„	Government Securities ...	53,990,329
		£522,094,434

A small part of this goes to institutions, foreigners, etc., and another small part to the relatively poor (Cd. 8,425).

Information as to income received from the first three mentioned sources has not been published for later years, but it is possible to estimate those amounts for 1921-22 owing to the fact that they bear a more or less constant ratio to the aggregate gross income returned under Schedule D. In estimating the amounts, gross income returned for weekly wage earners has been excluded from the total gross income returned under Schedule D. Thus, the following amounts were probably received as income in 1921-22 under conditions similar to those indicated above :—

From	Public Companies	860	£ million
„	Local Authorities	63	„
„	Coupons collected by Banks	109	„
„	Government Securities* ...	110	„
	say	1,140	„

Sir George Paish estimated "the net total of our investments in other lands" up to 1910 "at not much short of £3,500,000,000," about half of it being in our Colonies and Dependencies, and the other half in the United States and other foreign countries. Only some 5 per cent. was invested in European countries. The income from this might, he thought, be taken at 5 per cent., or £175,000,000. (*Royal Statistical Society's Journal*, Jan. 1911).

The Board of Trade has estimated the net income from overseas investments in recent years as follows :—

1920	200	£ million
1922	175	„
1923	200	„
1924	220	„
1925	250	„

* As given in the Inland Revenue Returns. 1921-22.

The estimates for the last three years allow for payments to the United States on account of war debt. (*Board of Trade Journal*, 21st January, 1926, p. 70).

Nearly the whole of this vast income may be regarded as being received without any contemporary services rendered in return by the owners as such.

We have, however, to add the interest on capital employed in private undertakings of manufacture or trade. This is included with "wages of superintendence" in business profit, both for the purpose of the income tax returns and in ordinary speech. The total amount of **interest** received during the fiscal year 1921-22 could not therefore have been less than **£1,200,000,000**. It should be noted, however, that the Year, 1921-22, was one of exceptionally large profits.

In order that this amount may be compared with those already computed for total income and rent, an adjustment due to changing trade and prices is necessary. This adjustment will only concern to any considerable extent interest received from public companies, so instead of the 860 £ million calculated, 500 £ million might be allowed as a reasonable estimate.

Accordingly, the total amount of interest received during 1923 may be estimated as having amounted to at least **840 £ million.**

Adding hereto the rent mentioned in the preceding section, we have a total of **£1,220,000,000** for **rent** and **interest** together.

Total Income, £3,400,000,000. Rent, £380,000,000.

Interest, £840,000,000.

VII.—Profits and Salaries.

But those who enjoy the vast unearned income just mentioned cannot all be accurately described as the "idle rich," though they would forego none of that income by refusing to work. If they are disposed to increase it by leading active lives, they can do so ; and most of them adopt this course to some extent, especially those whose share is insufficient for their desires.

When the members of this endowed class elect to work, they are able to do so under unusually favourable conditions. Associated with them in this respect are the fortunate possessors of exceptional skill in hand or brain and the owners of literary, artistic, or commercial monopolies of every kind. These workers often render services of high value to the community, and they are able to exact in return remuneration proportionate to the relative scarcity of the faculties they possess.

The numbers and total income of this large class cannot be exactly ascertained. It includes workers of all grades, from the exceptionally skilled artisan to the Prime Minister, and from the merchant's clerk to the President of the Royal Academy.

It is convenient for statistical purposes to include in it all those who do not belong to "the manual labour class." If we take the "rent of ability" to have increased in the same proportion as the assessments to income tax, this prosperous body may be estimated to receive as **profits and salaries** for its work about **£820,000,000** annually.

THE INCOMES OF THE OWNERS AND MANAGERS.

The total amount of rent, interest, profits, and salaries was estimated some years ago as follows :—

Professor Leone Levi, *Times*, 13th January, 1885	£753,000,000
Prof. A. L. Bowley, *Statistical Society's Journal*, vol. lviii, part 2, p. 284 (1891)	912,000,000
Prof. A. L. Bowley, *The Division of the Product of Industry*, p. 14, 1911	1,192,000,000

Since these estimates were made the wealth of the country has grown greatly, and on the basis of the increase in gross assessments to income tax, we estimate that the total drawn by the upper, middle, and trading classes amounts at present to about **£2,040,000,000** yearly, or little less than two-thirds of the total produce.

Total Income, £3,400,000,000. Rent, £380,000,000.

Interest, £840,000,000. Profits and Salaries, £820,000,000.

VIII.—The Income of the Wage-earners.

That portion of the National Income, which is received as wages, has been estimated by the statisticians as follows :—

Sir R. Giffen, *Essays in Finance* (1886), vol. ii., p. 467	£550,000,000
Mr. J. S. Jeans, *Statistical Society's Journal*, vol. lvii, p. 631, for 1880	600,000,000
Prof. A. L. Bowley (as above), 1891	699,000,000
Sir R. Giffen (Evidence to Labour Commission, Question 6,909, etc.), 1893	633,000,000
Sir L. G. Chiozza Money, for 1908 (*Riches and Poverty*, 10th edn., p. 31)	703,000,000
Prof. A. L. Bowley (*The Division of the Product of Industry*, p. 14). 1911	782,000,000
Mr. Sidney Webb (as below) for 1912	741,000,000

The following table shows the estimated earnings of employed manual wage-earners in the United Kingdom in 1912 (including board and lodging, overtime, and all other emoluments). It was compiled by Mr. Sidney Webb, and published in *The New Statesman*, 10th May, 1913, (figures for women revised) :—

Men.

Class.	Numbers.	Average earnings in full week, including emoluments.	Average Wages Bill for a full week.	Yearly Wages Bill.*
Men in situations :		s. d.	Million £.	Million £.
Below 15s.	... 320,000= 4%	13 0	0·21	10
15s. to 20s.	... 640,000= 8%	18 0	0·58	27
20s. „ 25s.	... 1,600,000=20%	22 6	1·80	85
25s. „ 30s.	... 1,680,000=21%	27 6	2·31	109
30s. „ 35s.	... 1,680,000=21%	32 6	2·73	128
35s. „ 40s.	... 1,040,000=13%	37 6	1·95	92
40s. „ 45s.	... 560,000= 7%	42 6	1·20	56·5
Over 45s.	... 480,000= 6%	50 0	1·20	56·5
Men in situations	8,000,000=100%	30 0	12·00	564
Casuals ...	... 700,000	12 0	0·42	18·5
Adult males	... 8,700,000	28 4	12·42	582·5
Boys ...	... 1,900,000	10 0	0·95	44
All males	...10,600,000	25 3	13·38	626·5

Average earnings per adult man $\frac{582\cdot5}{8\cdot7}$ = £66·95, or 25s. 9d. a week.

Women.

Class.	Numbers.	Average earnings in a full week.	Average Wages Bill for a full week in £100,000	Yearly Wages Bill (net as above).
Women in situations :		s. d.		£
Below 12s.	... 1,000,000	9 0	450	21,150,000
12s. to 15s.	... 1,500,000	13 0	975	45,825,000
Over 15s.	... 500,000	17 0	425	19,975,000
Women in Situations ...	... 3,000,000	12 4	1,850	86,950,000
Casuals ...	... 100,000	3 6	17½	822.500
Adult women	... 3,100,000	11 7	1,867½	87,772,500
Girls ...	... 1,500,000	7 6	565	26,550,000
All females	... 4,600,000	10 7	2,432½	114,322,500

Average earnings per adult woman throughout the year

$= \frac{87\cdot772}{3\cdot1}$ £28·31, or 10s. 10½d. per week.

Total Wages Bill £740,800,000

Allowing for the increase since these estimates were made, we may safely say that the manual labour class receives for all its millions of **workers** at most some **£1,360,000,000** per annum.

* Allowing five weeks for short time, sickness, involuntary holidays and unemployment.

Thus we are provided with the following summary of the distribution of the National Income during 1923 :—

Rent	£380,000,000
Interest	840,000,000
Profits and Salaries	820,000,000
Total (that is, the entire income of the upper, middle, trading, clerical and professional classes)	2,040,000,000
Income of manual labour class	**1,360,000,000**
Total Produce	**£3,400,000,000***

IX.—The Two Nations.

But the division of the nation's income into its economic categories does not coincide with its actual distribution among social classes. Many owners of land and capital work for profits, salaries, or wages. Many manual workers enjoy small shares of rent and interest. In particular we have to notice the great development during the half-century prior to the recent European war of a class numbering about three or four million persons who did not belong to what is usually spoken of as the wage-earning class (artisans and labourers of all kinds), but whose annual earnings were below £160 per family group. The total income of that class (which included the great mass of teachers, clerks, minor officials, junior professionals, independent craftsmen, and small shopkeepers and dealers) was estimated at £232,000,000 (Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 10th edition, p. 19) or £350,000,000 (Report of Committee of Economic Section, British Association, *Statistical Society's Journal*, December, 1910, p. 65), according as three or four millions were placed within that class. Prof. A. L. Bowley (*The Division of the Product of Industry*, p. 14) estimated their income at £264,000,000 and their number at 3,585,000 in 1911.

To obtain a comparable figure for 1923, it would appear reasonable to adopt a limit of £250 per family group, and thus we may assume the total income of the class mentioned above to have been £340,000,000.

Dividing the nation's income, not according to its economic categories, but according to how it is actually allotted, we get the following distribution for 1923 :

* It may be mentioned here that the total income of the charities of the United Kingdom in 1923 was £26,273,378, made up as follows :—

Ordinary income	£21,500,221
Legacies	2,460,754
Special donations, building funds, etc. ...	2,312,403

(*Burdett's Hospitals and Charities*, 1925, page 8.)

The total cost of poor relief in 1921-22 for Great Britain was £46,048,017, or, including an estimate for Ireland, £50,000,000 for the whole of the United Kingdom. (*Statistical Abstract*, Cmd. 2207).

	Numbers.	Amount.
Riches.—Persons with incomes of £1,000 and upwards and their families	1,600,000	£1,200,000,000
Comfort.—Persons with incomes between £250 and £1,000 and their families	4,800,000	500,000,000
Poverty.—Persons with incomes less than £250 and their families	41,400,000	1,360,000,000 340,000,000
	47,800,000	£3,400,000,000

(Adapted, the figures being brought down to date, from Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 10th edn., p. 9.)

This unequal division of the fruits of the combined labour of the working community divides us, as Lord Beaconsfield said, into "two nations," widely different from each other in education, in comfort, and in security. There is some limited central territory between, and some luckier few escape from the large camp in which their fellows are toiling to the more comfortable fortress of the monopolists, from which on the other hand, others sink into destitution from extravagance or misfortune. But for the great majority the lines between these two nations are practically impassable.

The division is not based on any essential differences between individuals in morality or industry.

"Since the human race has no means of enjoyable existence, or of existence at all, but what it derives from its own labour and abstinence, there would be no ground for complaint against society if everyone who was willing to undergo a fair share of this labour and abstinence could attain a fair share of the fruits. But is this the fact? Is it not the reverse of the fact? The reward, instead of being proportioned to the labour and abstinence of the individual, is almost in an inverse ratio to it; those, who receive the least, labour and abstain the most." (John Stuart Mill, *Fortnightly Review*, 1879, p. 226, written in 1869).

We have seen what the "two nations" each receive; it remains to estimate their respective numbers, and the following facts supply material for this computation:

(a) *The Comparatively Rich.*

It has been shown that the adult males without professed occupation numbered 751,050 in 1921. This represents a population of over 3,000,000, all of whom were living on incomes not derived from any specified occupation.

"Two-thirds of the entire accumulated 'wealth' of the United Kingdom is held by just under 400,000 people, and

Continued on next page.

(b) *The Comparatively Poor.*

M. G. Mulhall, *Dict. of Statistics*, 1910. p. 320; families 4,774,000

Sir L. G. Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 11th edn., p. 47, estimates that the lower middle and working classes numbered in 1909 39,000,000

(a) *The Comparatively Rich.* (*cont.*)

the top one-third by 36,000 people." (Sir J. C. Stamp, *Wealth and Taxable Capacity*, p. 102).

The landlords (of more than ten acres) number only 176,520, owning ten-elevenths of the total area (Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, 1910, p. 341).

Only thirteen out of every hundred persons dying leave behind them £300 worth of property (including furniture, etc.), and only eighteen per hundred leave any property worth mentioning at all.

The number of estates in Great Britain exceeding £10,000 in value in 1922-23 upon which Estate Duty was paid was 5,845, their capital value was £295,859,652. They include seven-tenths of the total net capital of the estates liable for duty (*Inland Revenue Report*, Cmd. 1934).

In 1922-23 the estates of 102 persons were proved for £84,105,773 or about one-fifth of the value of all estates. Of these, fifteen were more than £1,000,000, forty over £500,000. (Cmd. 1934).

More than one-third of the entire income of the United Kingdom is enjoyed by less than one-thirtieth of its people (Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 1905, p. 48).

The payers of income tax (1,100,000), representing 5,500,000 people, take £909,000,000, nearly half the national income (L. G. Chiozza Money for 1908, *Riches and Poverty*, 1912, p. 44).

(b) *The Comparatively Poor.* (*cont.*)

In 1923, it is estimated that this number had increased to over... 41,000,000

Eight hundred and seventy out of every 1,000 persons (about half of whom are adults) die without property worth speaking of. (Cmd. 1,934, 1922-23).

The number of persons "employed" at wages in the industries of the Kingdom is placed at thirteen to fourteen millions, and this includes over four million women.

Mr. J. S. Jeans, *Statistical Society's Journal*, vol. xlvii., p. 631, places the number at about ... 14,000,000

Sir R. Giffen, *Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., p. 461 (1886) (separate incomes of manual labour class) ... 13,200,000

Prof. A. L. Bowley, *Statistical Society's Journal*, June, 1895, manual labourers 13,000,000

Prof. A. L. Bowley, *The Division of the Product of Industry*, p. 25, estimated the number of wage earners during 1911 to have been 15,650,000

In 1908, of persons with incomes of less than £160, 39,000,000 out of 44,500,000 took £935,000,000, or a shade more than half the national income (Chiozza Money, *Riches*

An estimate for 1923 shows that those persons receiving an income of more than £250 per annum received just one-half of the total national income.

Sir Leo Chiozza Money estimates that 1,250,000 people take £600,000,000 a year, 3,750,000 people take £250,000,000 (*Daily Mail Year Book*, 1908).

Abounding Prosperity.—In addressing the Leeds Luncheon Club on May 11th, 1914, the Rt. Hon. Frederick Huth Jackson (Vice-President of the Institute of Bankers, and a Director of the Bank of England) said: "Let me ask you to compare our position now with what it was twenty years ago. The volume of our foreign trade has more than doubled, having risen from 681½ millions to 1,400 millions. Our banking deposits have just about doubled. In 1893 they were 433 millions, while they are now 867 millions. The amounts due to depositors in Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks have risen from 123 millions to 236 millions, again about double what they were. And the London Clearing House returns are even more impressive; they show an increase from £6,478,000,000 in 1893 to £16,436,000,000 in 1913."

In 1922, the clearances at the London Bankers' Clearing House had further increased to the huge total of 37,161 £ million.

and Poverty, 12th edn., 1912, p. 47).

In 1923, it is estimated that persons receiving incomes of less than £250 per annum, or 97 per cent. of the population, received only one-half of the total national income.

From returns obtained from 8,121 private and government works, employing 862,365 persons, it appears that the average annual wage per head amounted to not more than £50. These returns include the police and other public servants, but do not take any account of agricultural and general labourers (*Annual Report of Labour Department, Board of Trade*, 1893-4, C. 7,565).

From the table given on a preceding page, it will be seen that, before the recent war, only six per cent. of manual working wage-earning men received over 45s. per week, and that the average earnings of all the adult men were only 25s. 9d. per week. The average earnings of all the adult women were only 10s. 10½d. per week.

Accumulated Wealth.

It is very difficult to arrive at even an approximate estimate of the total value of real and personal property stored in the hands of those who have been favoured by fortune. Sir Leo Chiozza Money, in his *Riches and Poverty* (p. 65), put the total figure at £13,762,000,000. He constructed the following table, entitled:

THE DIVISION OF PROPERTY—AN ARGUMENT FROM THE DEAD TO THE LIVING.

Classes of estate.	*The Dead.*		*The Living.*		
	Annual average Estate Duty Records duing the five years 1904-5 to 1908-9.		Figures of columns 2 and 3 multiplied by 30 upon the assumption that each dead property owner in column 2 corresponds to 30 living ones.		Average value of estates per head.
(1)	Persons. (2)	Property. (3)	Persons. (4)	Property. (5)	(6)
	No.	£	No.	£	£
Less than £100 net ...	15,956	900,000	478,680	27,000,000	56
Less than £300 gross ...	18,917	3,600,000	567,510	108,000,000	190
£300 to £500 gross ...	9,288	3,700,000	278,640	111,000,000	398
£100 to £500 net ...	6,074	2,700,000	182,220	81,000,000	444
Estates not over £500 ...	50,235	10,900,000	1,507,050	327,000,000	216
£500 to £1,000 net ...	10,404	8,600,000	312,120	258,000,000	826
£1,000 to £10,000 net ...	16,910	62,100,000	507,000	1,863,000,000	3,672
£10,000 to £25,000 net ...	2,338	41,000,000	70,140	1,230,000,000	17,536
£25,000 to £50,000 net ...	910	35,100,000	27,300	1,053,000,000	38,571
£50,000 to £75,000 net ...	291	19,400,000	8,730	582,000,000	66,600
£75,000 to £100,000 net...	145	13,200,000	4,350	396,000,000	91,034
£100,000 to £150,00 net...	133	16,900,000	3,990	507,000,000	127,067
£150,000 to £250,000 net..	90	19,700,000	2,700	591,000,000	218,800
£250,000 to £500,000 net..	54	20,620,000	1,620	618,000,000	381,481
£500,000 to £1,000,000 net	19	13,600,000	570	408,000,000	715,789
Over £1,000,000 net ...	7	18,100,000	210	543,000,000	2,585,714
Estates over £500 ...	31,301	268,300,000	939,030	8,049,000,000	8,571
Total	81,536	279,200,000	2,446,080	8,376,000,000	3,424

In order to observe what changes have taken place in the distribution of real and personal property since Sir Leo Chiozza Money compiled the table given above, the following table has been prepared from information given in the *Inland Revenue Report*, 1922-23. Cmd. 1934. Unfortunately, the statistics contained in the latter report are not quite comparable with those published in pre-war reports, owing to a slight re-classification and the fact that current values are those on which estate duty was actually paid, whereas the values quoted above represent capital values reported to the Inland Revenue Department. Moreover, the following table refers to Great Britain only, while that above includes Ireland. Nevertheless, the comparison is probably not seriously affected by the change, and the results are not without interest.

THE DIVISION OF PROPERTY—AN ARGUMENT FROM THE DEAD TO THE LIVING.

Class of estate.	*The Dead.* Annual average Estate Duty Records during the three years 1920-21 to 1922-23.		*The Living.* Figures of columns 2 and 3 multiplied by 30 upon the assumption that each dead property owner in column 2 corresponds to 30 living owners.		Average value of estates per head.
(1)	Persons. (2)	Property. (3)	Persons. (4)	Property. (5)	(6)
	No.	Thousand £.	No.	Thousand £.	£
Less than £100 net ...	11,513	736	345,390	22,095	64
Less than £300 gross ...	24,438	4,744	733,140	142,320	194
£300 to £500 gross ...	14,192	5,583	425,760	167,482	393
£100 to £1,000 net ...	23,022	17,095	690,660	512,844	743
Estates not over £1,000 net	73,165	28,158	2,194,950	844,741	385
£1,000 to £5,000 net ...	22,636	60,430	679,080	1,812,904	2,669
£5,000 to £10,000 net ...	4,808	40,909	144,240	1,227,255	8,500
£10,000 to £25,000 net ...	3,385	62,639	101,550	1,879,167	18,500
£25,000 to £50,000 net ...	1,175	47,586	35,250	1,427,587	40,500
£50,000 to £100,000 net...	548	44,748	16,440	1,342,447	81,700
£100,000 to £150,000 net..	146	21,742	4,380	652,267	149,000
£150,000 to £250,000 net..	103	22,938	3,090	688,149	223,000
£250 000 to £500,000 net..	58	25,141	1,740	754,212	430,000
£500,000 to £1,000,000 net	20	16,256	600	487,687	810,000
Over £1,000,000 net ...	12	32,247	360	967,403	2,700,000
Estates over £1,000 net ..	32,891	374,636	986,730	11,239,078	11,390
Total	106,056	402,794	3,181,680	12,083,819	3,798

The Public Trustee now administers a large and increasing number of estates, the following comparison being instructive :—

	Estates.	Value.
Year ended 31st March, 1909 ...	444 ...	£3,517,840
Do. do. 1914 ...	5,930 ...	49,174,865
Do. do. 1924 ...	21,133 ...	216,858,552

The office of Public Trustee was not instituted until 1st October, 1907, and nearly half the estates administered in 1914 were under £2,000 in value (Cd. 7,343).

The average value of Ordinary Trusteeships accepted during the year ended 31st March, 1924, was £9,983 ; that of Executorships and Administratorships, excluding one estate of unusually large value, was £15,170. (*Sixteenth General Report of the Public Trustee*, 1924.)

STATISTICS OF INCOME AND INCOME TAX IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

During the past few years there has been a rapid increase in the gross income reviewed by the Inland Revenue for income tax purposes. The figures are as follows :—

Year.	Gross Income Reviewed.	Income Taxed.	Net Produce of Tax.
	£	£	£
1900-01 ...	833,355,513	594,106,253	29,705,312
1901-02 ...	866,993,453	607,550,919	35,440,470
1902-03 ...	879,638,546	608,606,903	38,037,931
1903-04 ...	902,758,585	615,012,373	28,188,067
1904-05 ...	912,129,680	619,328,097	30,966,404
1905-06 ...	925,184,556	632,024,746	31,601,237
1906-07 ...	943,702,014	640,048,238	32,002,412
1907-08 ...	980,117,000	671,313,000	32,380,000
1908-09 ...	1,009,935,926	693,323,082	33,408,754
1909-10 ...	1,011,100,345	686,812,104	37,679,602
1910-11 ...	1,045,833,755	697,074,032	38,344,767
1911-12 ...	1,070,142,343	720,640,587	39,631,630
1912-13 ...	1,111,456,413	755,577,547	41,574,277
1913-14 ...	1,167,184,229	791,714,865	43,523,345
1914-15 ...	1,238,313,397	814,849,304	63,392,288
1915-16 ...	1,322,684,843	873,841,065	118,765,226
1916-17 ...	1,662,724,028	981,715,873	201,636,704
1917-18 ...	1,967,065,911	1,083,982,282	220,087,992
1918-19 ...	2,445,655,311	1,287,278,171	303,630,376
1919-20 ...	2,970,604,036	1,416,223,256	336,555,563
1920-21 ...	3,477,058,268	1,356,627,864	353,219,573
1921-22 ...	3,214,828,625	1,308,278,011	352,000,000(*a*)
1922-23 ...	2,900,000,000(*a*)	1,320,000,000(*a*)	314,374,524(*b*)

(*a*) Estimated. (*b*) Net receipt of tax for Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the number of income tax payers to be 1,190,000 in 1913-14, as against 950,000 ten years previously, and the taxable income per income tax payer to be £780. During the fiscal year 1915-16 the exemption limit was lowered from £160 to £130, thus the number of individuals in the United Kingdom chargeable with tax had increased to 3,900,000 in 1919-20. In 1922-23 there were 2,515,000 individuals in Great Britain and Northern Ireland chargeable with tax, and their average taxable income was approximately £525. (*Inland Revenue Report.* Cmd. 1934).

In their annual report for 1914-15 the Commissioners, as far as possible, identify income derived from investments in countries overseas. This source of income is one that was growing steadily, as the following figures show :—

1907-08... ...	£85,116,246	1911-12... ...	£103,894,667
1908-09... ...	88,837,393	1912-13... ...	110,421,797
1909-10... ...	93,264,604	1913-14... ...	118,113,703
1910-11... ...	100,952,723	1914-15... ...	131,927,122

Since 1914-15 this information has not been published.

High Prices.

In order to appreciate the considerable changes which have occurred in the prices of food and other things since the beginning of the present century, we have compiled the following table from information given in the *Board of Trade Journal* and the *Labour Gazette.*

INDEX NUMBERS OF PRICES.

Year.	Wholesale prices, 1913=100	Retail prices; July, 1914=100	
		All commodities.	Food only.
1896	76	73	73
1900	86	79	80
1906	93	81	81
1909	89	85	86
1910	93	86	87
1911	94	86	87
1912	99	90	91
1913	100	91	92
1914	101	100	100
1915	124	123	124
1916	160	146	160
1917	209	176	199
1918	230	203	215
1919	255	215	219
1920	307	249	256
1921	197	226	229
1922	159	183	175
1923	159	174	169
1924	166	175	170
1925	160	176	171

It is interesting to compare these official figures with a table prepared by the Co-operative Wholesale Society showing the cost of an average weekly family grocery order. This indicated that in a working class budget prices increased by over 20 per cent. between 1898 and 1910 (as contrasted with a 16 per cent. general rise over the same period), and shows that the wage-earning classes have been hit more heavily than other sections of the community.

All this means that, unless their wages have risen considerably, the workers are actually earning less now than they did in 1900, and still less than in 1895, as the following table, drawn up by Mr. G. S. Barnes, C.B., of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, to show the purchasing power of the sovereign, proves :—

A sovereign was worth :—

Year.	s.	d.	Year.	s.	d.
1895	20	0	1904	18	0
1896	20	0	1905	17	11
1897	19	3	1906	18	0
1898	18	6	1907	17	7
1899	19	4	1908	17	2
1900	18	5	1909	17	3
1901	18	4	1910	16	11
1902	18	3	1911	17	0
1903	17	11	1912	16	3

Since Mr. Barnes prepared this interesting analysis of the continued fall in the purchasing power of the sovereign, the depreciation has become accentuated. The following values, continuing Mr. Barnes' computation shown above, indicate how much further the real value of the sovereign has fallen :—

Year.	s.	d.	Year.	s.	d.
1914	14	7	1920	5	10
1915	11	10	1921	6	6
1916	10	0	1922	8	0
1917	8	4	1923	8	5
1918	7	2	1924	8	4
1919	6	9	1925	8	3

X.—The Competitive Struggle.

Disguise it as we may by feudal benevolence, or the kindly attempts of philanthropists, the material interests of the small nation privileged to exact rent for its monopolies, and of the great nation thereby driven to receive only the remnant of the product, are permanently opposed. "The more there is allotted to labour the less there will remain to be appropriated as rent" (Fawcett, *Manual of Political Economy*, p. 123).

It is therefore "the enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of industry are able to take from the produce" (J. S. Mill, quoting Feugueray, *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 477, Popular Edition of 1865) which is the primary cause of the small incomes of the comparatively poor. That neither class makes the best possible social use of its revenues, and that both waste much in extravagance and vice, is an apparently inevitable secondary result of the unequal division, which it intensifies and renders permanent ; but it is a secondary result only, not the primary cause.

The force by which this conflict of interests is maintained, without the conscious contrivance of either party, is monopoly and competition, diverted, like other forces, from their legitimate social use. The legal disposers of the great natural and artificial monopolies are able, by means of legally licensed competition, to exact the full amount of their economic rents ; and the political economists tell us that so long as these monopolies are left practically unrestrained in private hands, a thorough remedy is impossible.

In 1874, Professor Cairnes thought that some help might be found (at any rate by the better-paid labourers) by means of co-operation in production. He then wrote :

"If workmen do not rise from dependence upon capital by the path of co-operation, then they must remain in dependence upon capital ; the margin for the possible improvement of their lot is confined within narrow barriers, which cannot be passed, and the problem of their elevation is hopeless" (Professor J. E. Cairnes, *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, p. 348 ; 1874).

Fifty years have passed away since these words were written, and it must now be apparent, even to the most sanguine of individualists, that the chance of the great bulk of the labourers

coming to work upon their own land and capital in associations for co-operative production has become even smaller than ever.

Professor Sir W. J. Ashley, writing in 1914 of J. S. Mill's hopes for the future of co-operative production (self-governing workshops) as an alternative to capitalism, says :

"But these expectations have been grievously disappointed. Hundreds of experiments have been made, and there is a noble story to tell of persistence and self-denial in the scraping-together of capital; but undertakings for co-operative production in Mill's sense have without exception failed completely, either from the business or from the co-operative point of view" (*The Economic Organization of England*, 1914, p. 175).

Yet this, according to authorities so eminent, is the only hope for the labourer under the present arrangements of society.

XI.—Some Victims of the Struggle.

The statistics hitherto quoted have been mainly based on the assumption of reasonable regularity of employment. But of the great standing army of the "unemployed," no reliable statistics could be obtained in pre-war years. From returns rendered to the Labour Department of the Board of Trade by Trade Unions, it appears that in the seven years, 1905-11, the mean percentage of members unemployed was 5.4 (*Abstract of Labour Statistics, Board of Trade*, Cd. 6,228). As a result of the formation of the Ministry of Labour and the extension of the scope of the Unemployment Insurance Act, more complete returns are now available. Since the conclusion of the war, the annual average percentage of trade union members unemployed has been as follows :—

1919	...	2.4 per cent.	1922	...	15.4 per cent.
1920	...	2.4 „	1923	...	11.5 „
1921	...	15.3 „	1924	...	8.1 „

These figures indicate to what enormous extent the worker has borne his share of the great depression. The average for 1913 was 2.1 per cent. The average number of persons in London, whose home is the "common lodging-house," is over 30,000.

As regards the four millions of persons in the metropolis in 1890, Mr. Charles Booth told us that 37,610, or 0·9 per cent., were in the lowest class (occasional labourers, loafers and semi-criminals); 316,834, or 7·5 per cent., in the next (casual labour, hand-to-mouth existence, *chronic want*); 938,293, or 22·3 per cent., formed "the poor" (including alike those whose earnings were small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, was ill-paid). These classes, on or below the "poverty line" of *earnings not exceeding a guinea per week per family*, numbered together 1,292,737, or 30·7 per cent. of the whole population. To these must be added 99,830 inmates of workhouses, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools, etc., making altogether nearly 1,400,000 persons in this one city alone whose condition even the most optimistic social student can hardly deem satisfactory (*Life and Labour of the People*, edited by Charles Booth, 1891, vol. ii., pp. 20-21).

The ultimate fate of these victims it is not easy adequately to realise. In 1911 no less than 100 persons (44 in London) were reported as having died from starvation, and of these 11 were in receipt of Old Age Pensions (Cd. 6,980). Actual starvation is, however, returned as the cause of death in but a few cases annually; but it is well known that many thousands of deaths are directly due to long-continued under-feeding and exposure. Young children especially suffer.

In England and Wales in 1911, 106,642 deaths were registered as having taken place in poor law institutions, workhouses, infirmaries, schools, hospitals, and asylums, or 20·11 per cent. of the total deaths; the proportion during the ten years immediately preceding having averaged 17.88 per cent. Of these, 55,570 occurred in workhouses, 39,899 in hospitals, and 10,636 in lunatic asylums.

In London in 1911 four persons in every ten died in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. Out of 68,505 deaths, 27,146 being under twenty years of age, 15,328 were in workhouses, 10,591 in hospitals, and 2,474 in lunatic asylums, or, altogether, 28,393 in public institutions (*Registrar-General's Report*, 1912, Cd. 6,578).

It is worth notice that a large number of those compelled in their old age to resort to the workhouse have made ineffectual efforts at thrifty provision for their declining years. In January, 1913, out of 275,292 inmates of workhouses, 70,087 were women, and 70,676 were children (Cd. 6,980). Among the men a very large number had been members of benefit societies, a former return revealing the fact that 25 per cent. of male inmates had in this way made an attempt to provide for a "rainy day." It is probable that one in every three London adults will be driven into these refuges to die, and the proportion in the case of the "manual labour class" must, of course, be still larger. And the number of persons who die while in receipt of outdoor relief is not included in this calculation.

Turning to the *Fifth Annual Report of the Ministry of Health*, 1923-24, Cmd. 2218, we find that a much larger proportion of the population is now in receipt of poor relief than was the case before the war. The annual average for the period 1910-14 was below 2 per cent. of the population; during the years of the war the percentage did not exceed 1·8. In the year under review, however, the proportion was never less than 3·19 per cent., an increase of more than 50 per cent. compared with pre-war years. The average weekly number of persons—excluding lunatics, casuals, and persons in receipt of domiciliary medical relief only, a total of approximately 117,000—in receipt of relief in England and Wales during the year 1923·24 was 1,285,848. In the previous year the average was 214,089 greater.

Of those persons insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts, approximately 600,000, including dependants, were in receipt of domiciliary relief during 1923-24. It is estimated that this figure represented about 140,000 families. Thus, in this large number of cases, the amount received from unemployment insurance benefit was insufficient for the needs of the recipients.

In February, 1924, 225,275 persons were in receipt of institutional relief in England and Wales; in London in March, 1924, 52,677 persons were receiving such relief.

The total cost of out-relief in England and Wales during the year ended 31st March, 1924, was, according to returns supplied to the Ministry of Health, £14,664,802. This large figure included £7,202,970 which had to be paid in respect of persons "normally employed" and their dependants. Of the latter amount, £6,409,265 represented relief granted to persons insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts.

It is estimated by the Ministry of Health that the total expenditure on Poor Law relief during the year 1923-24 was £38,000,000 as compared with £42,000,000 in the previous year.

The number of persons relieved in the 28 Metropolitan Unions of London rose to 255,818 on the 28th July, 1923. When one is reminded of the fact that London is commonly supposed to be the centre of the world's financial operations, one begins to wonder what is wrong with the world in which we live. At the end of March, 1924, 4·84 per cent. of the population of London was receiving relief; the comparable proportions for pre-war years and March, 1923, were 2·32 per cent. and 5·36 per cent. respectively.

12,317 persons died by fatal accidents in 1922 (*Registrar-General's Statistical Review for the Year*, 1922), 929 losing their lines in mines, quarries, etc.; 3,485 on railways and other vehicles; 192 in working machinery; 345 by poisoning and poisonous vapours; and 1,722 from burns other than those due to conflagration. These are figures for England and Wales alone, and thus would be much increased by including the accidents in Scotland and Ireland.

In a preliminary statement for 1924, the Mines Department announces that the number of separate fatal accidents at mines and quarries in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, which are subject to the supervision of that Department, was 1,218, resulting in 1,287 deaths. Of the deaths, 1,192 were at mines registered under the Coal Mines Act, 1911, and of this number 1,077 were underground.

The Ministry of Transport's *Returns of Accidents and Casualties* as reported by the several railway companies in Great Britain during the year 1922 show that 207 railway servants were killed, and 2,947 injured, by accidents caused by the movement of trains. Of these 5 were killed and 331 injured whilst coupling or uncoupling vehicles, and 34 men were killed and 1,292 injured in connection with other shunting operations. Accidents from causes other than the movement of trains, such as unloading goods, seem to be seriously on the increase. In 1921, 30 men were killed and 12,878 injured in this way; in 1922 the respective numbers were 33 and 13,021.

It is of interest to note from the official return mentioned above that although all accidents to persons other than those employed by the railway companies, however slight, are required to be notified, only those occurring to railway servants, which entail their absence from duty for at least one whole day, must be reported.

Many of the workers, by reason of their occupation, are peculiarly liable to accident, industrial disease and poisoning.

The *Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops*, 1913 (Cd. 7,491), refers to the difficulty of securing proper notification of accidents. One firm, employing over 4,000 work-people, reported only nine out of 73 notifiable accidents in six months; another two out of 65. Scouts are posted to give warning of inspectors' visits, yet prosecutions numbered 3,872. Liverpool reported 80 accidents where from 12 to 30 hours' continuous work had been performed.

The *Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops*, 1923 (Cmd. 2,165), states that there were 125,551 accidents, including 867 fatal, in 1923, an increase of 27,565 compared with 1922. In accounting for the increase, the following reasons are given among others (p. 9) :—

(*a*) Unemployment in the family of the worker, with resultant reduced standard of living, so that the worker is not so fit physically or so alert mentally.

(*b*) Workers unable to find employment at their own trade taking up work with which they are unfamiliar.

(*c*) Anxiety on the part of elderly men to preserve their employment and full wages resulting in their concealing trivial injuries until compelled to lie off work by sepsis.

The number, of accidents and deaths reported to the Chief Inspector in recent years have been as follows :—

	All Accidents.	Deaths.		All Accidents.	Deaths.
1914 ...	159,872	1,287	1921 ...	92,565	951
1919 ...	126,023	1,385	1922 ...	97,986	843
1920 ...	138,702	1,404	1923 ...	125,551	867

Figures for the last two years exclude those for Ireland.

CASES OF POISONING, INCLUDING ANTHRAX, IN FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS.

	Cases.	Deaths.		Cases.	Deaths
1905	663	42	Average 1912-14	597	40
1906	707	54	Do. 1915-17	592	69
1907	653	40	1918	265	30
1908	727	40	1919	279	38
1909	625	42	1920	476	38
1910	573	48	1921	318	32
1911	755	49	1922	374	35
1912	656	50	1923	510	36
1913	625	34			

Figures for the last two years exclude those for Ireland.

Certain cases of poisoning are not reported under the Acts. In 1923 the number of these cases was 74, and included 24 deaths, making a total for that year of 584 cases and 60 deaths from poisoning.

"At present the average age at death among the nobility, gentry, and professional classes in England and Wales was 55 years; but among the artisan classes of Lambeth it only amounted to 29 years; and whilst the infantile death-rate among the well-to-do classes was such that only eight children died in the first year of life out of 100 born, as many as 30 per cent. succumbed at that age among the children of the poor in some districts of our large cities. The only real causes of this enormous difference in the position of the rich and poor with respect to their chances of existence lay in the fact that at the bottom of society wages were so low that food and other requisites of health were obtained with too great difficulty" (Dr. C. R. Drysdale, Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1885, p. 130).

"Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme . . . . that condition which the French call *la misère*, a word for which I do not think there is any exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing, which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state, cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave" (Professor Huxley, *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888).

B. S. Rowntree estimated that the average income from all sources of the 11,560 working class families in York in 1899 was 32s. 8¾d. per week, or £85 a year. And 1,465 families, comprising 7,230 persons, that is, 15·46 per cent. of the wage-earning class and 9·91 per cent. of the population of York, were living in "primary poverty," that is, on less than enough to provide the minimum of food, clothing, and shelter. (*Poverty*, pp. 83 & 111).

Infant Mortality.

"The best indication probably as to whether the conditions of life in any locality are healthy or the reverse is the infant mortality" (*The Dwelling House*, by C. V. Poore).

In the *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Local Government Board*, 1912-13, Dr. Newsholme says: "It is a well-established fact that the circumstances of life in most urban communities are unfavourable to infants. At birth the urban excess is usually about 8 per cent., during the first three months 11·6 per cent., in the next three months 43 per cent., and in the second half of infancy 67 per cent. higher in the urban than in the rural counties." Stalybridge had the highest infantile death-rate, 189·0 per 1,000 births in 1907-10, and in the counties the towns with the highest infantile mortality are Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Glamorganshire, and Yorkshire (West Riding), while such important centres of industry as Rhondda, Merthyr Tydvil, Hull, Nottingham and Huddersfield earn an unenviable notoriety. The infantile mortality is, as might be expected, high among the poor and low among the well-to-do, the rates being 77 per 1,000 among the upper-middle classes, 133 among the wage-earners (77 among agricultural labourers), 148 among textile operatives, 160 among miners, and 152 in the unskilled labour class (Cd. 6,909).

Detailed statistics of infant mortality are not available for recent years, but the rate for the whole of England and Wales has shown a remarkable improvement since the report mentioned above was published. The following table, which shows the number of deaths of children under one year of age per 1,000 live births, illustrates the steady improvement which has taken place ; an improvement which may be said to have been brought about as a result of socialist teachings.

INFANT MORALITY IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Year.	Rate.	Year.	Rate.
1913	108	1919	89
1914	105	1920	80
1915	110	1921	83
1916	91	1922	77
1917	96	1923	69
1918	97	1924	75

Sir George Newman, the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education in the report for the Year 1924 entitled *The Health of the School Child*, remarks that

"There is general recognition of the broad fact, which is more fully recognised than formerly, that the physical and mental character of the child is often an expression not of medical conditions and influences so much as of the economic state." (See the Report published 1925 : p. 38.)

PAUPERISM.

We clog our public poor relief with irksome and degrading conditions, so that the honest poor often die lingering deaths rather than accept it. Mr. Charles Booth states that "as regards entering the workhouse, it is the one point on which no difference of opinion exists among the poor. The aversion to the 'house' is absolutely universal, and almost any suffering and privation will be endured by people rather than go into it" (*The Aged Poor in England and Wales*). Yet the paupers in actual receipt of public relief on one day number nearly two millions :

England and Wales, January 1st, 1923	1,537,900	cost	£42,272,555 in 1922
Scotland, January 15th, 1923,	271,858	,,	3,775,462 ,,
Ireland, January 3rd, 1920 ...	61,823	,,	1,816,093 in 1919
	1,872,000		£47,900,000

(Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, Cmd. 2,207.)

But this relief is not usually given permanently ; to obtain the number of different individuals who receive relief during a year we must multiply the mean daily number by 2·15 (Royal Commission on

the Poor Law (Majority) Report, 8vo. edn., p. 32). The mean daily number of paupers in 1923 was approximately 2,037,000, and therefore the total number of individuals in receipt of relief was about 4,480,000, or 1 in 4 of the manual labour class.

But in addition to this public expenditure, the various charitable societies spent, in 1923, £23,586,316 on hospitals, orphanages, and similar charities (Burdett's *Hospitals and Charities*, 1925, p. 9), and the charity of individuals is known to be enormous. The numbers of the destitute class must therefore be largely increased. Sir R. Giffen spoke, in 1886, of the class of five millions "whose existence is a stain on our civilization" (*Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., p. 350).

"To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold, that 90 per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or of so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution, that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. . . . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country" (Mr. Frederic Harrison, p. 429, Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1885).

Statistics of Overcrowding in England and Wales.

(Extracted from the Censuses of 1901, 1911 and 1921).

The number of one to four-roomed tenements containing more than two occupants per room, together with the relative number of occupants in England and Wales, at each of the three dates, was as follows :—

Particulars.	Tenements with				
	One room.	Two rooms.	Three Rooms.	Four rooms.	One to four rooms.
Number of tenements with more than two occupants per room :					
1901	66,669	147,527	102,556	75,662	392,414
1911	57,835	135,092	130,272	81,811	405,010
1921	83,146	156,199	149,266	81,703	470,314
Number of occupants of such tenements :					
1901	245,586	884,672	807,596	729,652	2,667,506
1911	211,770	804,071	1,023,925	792,716	2,832,482
1921	300,028	938.363	1,185,635	795,972	3,219,998
Percentage of total population in such tenements :					
1901	0.8	2.7	2.5	2.2	8.2
1911	0.6	2.2	2.8	2.2	7.8
1921	0.8	2.6	3.3	2.2	8.9

The total number of tenements, together with their occupants, recorded in England and Wales in each of the three years was as follows:

Year.	Tenements.	Population.	Average number o occupants per tenement.
1901	7,036,868	32,527,843	4.6
1911	8,005.290	36,070,492	4.5
1921	8,739,197	36,179,946	4.1

The rapid decline in the average number of occupants per tenement may be traced to the effects of the rapid growth in socialistic opinion during the decade 1911-1921.

Turning to London, where 16.1 per cent of its private family population was living in overcrowded conditions in 1921, and of which Kensington with its 16.7 per cent would appear be the type, and analysing the returns more fully, one finds that the nine most overcrowded metropolitan boroughs were as follows :—

Metropolitan Borough.	1901 (a)	1911	1921
Finsbury	53.2	39.8	34.0
Shoreditch	30.0	36.6	32.0
Stepney	33.2	34.9	29.0
Bethnal Green	29.6	33.2	27.8
Southwark	22.4	25.8	23.5
Bermondsey	19.7	23.4	23.2
St. Pancras	24.0	25.5	22.4
Poplar	16.4	20.6	21.2
Holborn	25.0	25.6	19.8

(*a*) In tenements of less than 5 rooms only.

Compared with the return for 1911, conditions in 1921 would seem to have improved to a great extent, no doubt due to the fact that these boroughs are now represented to a considerable extent by adherents to the socialist cause.

The five great towns, in which the percentage of overcrowded persons (that is, more than two persons per room) was the highest recorded in 1921, were as follows :—

Town.	1901	1911	1921
Gateshead	34.5	33.7	37.0
South Shields	32.4	32.9	36.5
Tynemouth	30.7	30.8	34.4
Sunderland	30.1	32.7	33.8
Newcastle-on-Tyne	30.5	31.7	83.6

The foregoing table does not, of course, complete the picture with regard to Durham and Northumberland, because, if one looks at the comparable figures for the municipal boroughs and urban districts of those two counties, one is disgusted to find that the majority of the municipal boroughs and urban districts return percentages of over 30, while many of them actually return proportions of greater than 40 per cent.

The administrative counties with more than 10 per cent. of population living in overcrowded conditions in 1921 were as follows :

County.	1901	1911	1921
Northumberland	32.1	30.0	30.8
Durham	28.5	29.2	29.5
London	16.0	17.8	16.1
Yorkshire (West Riding) ...	10.3	10.1	11.5
Stafford	7.4	8.4	11.1
Cumberland	8.5	9.7	10.6
Denbigh	7.9	10.4	10.1

Thus the worst overcrowded areas outside London would appear to be confined to the counties containing the more important coalfields.

XII.—The Evil and the Remedy.

"The deepest root of the evils and iniquities which fill the industrial world is not competition, but the subjection of labour to capital, and the enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of industry are able to take from the produce." (J. S. Mill quoting Feugueray, *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 447, edition of 1865).

Socialists affirm that the evil can never be remedied until the "two nations" are united by the restitution to public purposes of rent and interest of every kind, and by the growth of social sympathy promoted by the accompanying cessation of class distinctions. It will be seen by the above quotations that this position is based on the facts of the case as ascertained and declared by the recognised authorities in statistics, and is in entire harmony with the doctrines of Modern Economics.

XIII.—Some Steps already taken towards Socialism.

The transfer to public purposes of rent and interest of every kind cannot be effected by revolution, or by one or a dozen Acts of Parliament. Legislative reforms must be supplemented by a thoroughly organised exercise by all local authorities, from Parish to County Councils, of the powers they already possess, as well as by the acquisition of new and further reaching powers. The supply of water, milk, gas, and electric light, the establishment of

markets, slaughter-houses, tramways, steamboats, baths, wash-houses, cemeteries, harbours, libraries, bands, art galleries, museums, open spaces, gymnasia, allotments, the building of workmen's dwellings are being carried on almost everywhere by municipal authorities for the common good. They might be extended to every urban community in the kingdom if public opinion and public enterprise were sufficiently alert to their opportunities. The following figures show the influence of Socialistic principles in our municipal administration.

Municipal Trading.

Tramways: Particulars of 170 tramway undertakings in Great Britain owned by local authorities during the year 1923-24 are as follows:—

Capital expenditure		£71,341,947
Gross receipts		£23,823,170
Working expenses		£18,554,128
Net receipts		£5,269,042
Passengers carried	number	3,783,562,310
Car miles run		298,542,973

Electricity: Of the 560 authorised undertakers in Great Britain on 31st March, 1924, 335 were local authorities. Loans sanctioned during the year 1923-24 to local authority undertakers were as follows:—

County of London	£813,433
Rest of England and Wales ...	£8,600,957
Scotland	£362,203
Great Britain	£9,776,593

Water Supply: No annual official return is published relating to water undertakings in the United Kingdom, but a Local Government Board return published in 1915 showed that, of the 2,100 water authorities enumerated, 786 were local authorities and 17 consisted of joint boards and joint committees. Of the 786 local authorities with separate undertaking, 51 were county borough councils, 298 were urban and 286 were rural district councils.

Authorised Gas Undertakings: In 1924, there were 784 authorised undertakings supplying gas in Great Britain, the quantity of gas sold amounting to 256, 891, 922 thousand cubic feet. Information regarding the number of local authorities included in the figure was as follows:—

	England.	Scotland.
No. of local authorities supplying gas	245	69
Quantity of gas made in thousand cubic feet	76,611,322	21,569,889
Quantity of gas sold in thousand cubic feet	72,749,444	19,547,181
No. of consumers	2,408,042	773,524
Length of gas mains in miles ...	13,826½	3,305½

Taxation as a Remedy.

The transfer of rent and interest, so far as the means of extracting them are left in individual ownership, from private pockets to public purposes will be mainly brought about by means of progressive increases in direct taxation in the shape of graduated death duties, graduated income tax, super tax, and the rating of land values. The budgets of the last twenty years, taken as a whole, have not only cleared the way for the application of Socialist principles to taxation, but have brought a largely increased revenue into the national exchequer. An estate duty, varying from 1 per cent. on estates of £500 to 40 per cent., on those over £2,000,000, in addition to legacy duties, varying according to the relationship of legatees from 1 per cent. to 10 per cent. now recovers for public use over sixty million pounds a year. During the year 1912-13 the revenue from the death duties was £25,406,369. In the the period 1894-5 to 1912-13 no less than £347,959,370 was collected from death duties, an average of £19,331,087 a year, as against £9,979,691 in 1893-4 (Cd. 7,022). During the year ended 31st March, 1923, the net revenue from this source was £56,494,667, but this latter figure excludes the amount collected in Ireland (Cmd. 1934). Thus the receipt of death duties has more than doubled since the years before the war and the 1925 Budget added a further ten million pounds. From Income Tax and Super Tax more than 300 million pounds a year is collected.

The extension of these means by the Socialist Chancellors of the Exchequer of the future will whilst dealing lightly with modest accumulations for family provision, so far to extinguish any class permanently existing on unearned incomes and, so far as taxation can do it, bring about the emancipation of the people from private monopoly.

XIV.—The Organised Forces of Socialism, Trade Unionism and Co-operation.

The strength of Socialism at home and abroad is fairly accurately represented in the following table, In most cases the figures have been stated with as close an approximation to accuracy as is possible; in other cases estimates have been made on a conservative basis.

Country.	Socialist-Labour Vote.	No. of M.P.'s. †	Trade Unionists.	Co-operators.
Australia ...	620,000 (1922)	29 (76)	750,000 (1923)	110,979 (1922)
Austria	1,311,870 (1923)	68 (165)	1,049,949 (1922)	408,222 (1923)
Belgium	672,474 (1921)	68 (187)	618,871 (1923)	169,086 (1922)
Canada	84,000 (1921)	2 (234)	2,121,842 (1923)	42,300 (1922)
Czecho-Slovakia...	2,301,171 (1923)	82 (294)	979,365 (1922)	808,546 (1923)
Denmark... ...	469,949 (1923)	55 (149)	233,116 (1923)	337,700 (1923)
Finland	254,672 (1922)	60 (200)	49,000 (1922)	354,835 (1922)
France	3,898,357 (1924)	102 (610)	C.G.T.U. 350,000 C.G.T. 757,847 (1922)	2,329,869 (1922)
Germany... ...	7,880,058 (1924)	131 (493)	7,187,251* (1923)	3,367,286 (1923)
Holland ...	567,772 (1920)	20 (100)	449,336 (1923)	126,725 (1923)
Hungary... ...	272,359 (1922)	24 (245)	202,956 (1922)	840,000 (1923)
Irish Free State...	142,388 (1923)	15 (153)	183,000 (1923)	?
Italy	801,061 (1924)	Unitarians 25 Nati'nalists 22 (535)	212,016 (1923)	Fascist 348,270 (1923) National 500,000 (approx.)
New Zealand ...	319,045 (1922)	17 (80)	23,653 (1923)	?
Norway	87,000 (1922) (app.)	8 (150)	87,189 (1923)	96,401 (1923)
Poland	911,067 (1922)	41 (444)	1,250,000 (1922)	1,500,000 (approx.1923)
Russia	?	?	4,828,500 (1923)	6,265,400 (1923)
South Africa ...	41,836 (1924)	— 18 (135)	50,000 (1922)	?
Sweden	727,507 (1924)	104 (230)	313,022 (1923)	274,269 (1923)
Switzerland ...	155,000 (1922)	43 (198)	155,000 (1923)	357,208 (1923)
U.K.	5,551,549 (1924)	151 (615)	4,326,235 (1924)	4,569,256 (1923)
U.S.A.	4,500,000 (1922) (app.)	2 (531)	2,926,468 (1923)	775,000 (1920)

* Membership affiliated to International Federation of Trade Unions.
† The figure in brackets is the total number of members of Parliament

The Co-operative Movement.

The Co-operative Movement employs nearly 200,000 workers, has a membership of 4,600,000, and a share and loan capital of £125,000,000. Their sales reached £250,000,000 per annum. The fact that the Co-operative Movement was built up and is controlled by the workers themselves gives the lie to those who assume that there is a monopoly of brains in any section of the community.

Trade Unionism in Gt. Britain.

The growth of trade unionism in the United Kingdom is shown by the following tables. The figures of membership include members in overseas branches and in Irish Free State branches of such Unions, but wholly exclude Unions having their head offices in the Irish Free State area :—

Year.	Number of Trade Unions at end of Year.	Membership † at end of Year.			Percentage Inc. (+) or Dec. (−) on Total Membership of previous Year.
		Males.	Females.	Total.	
		Thousands.	Thousands.	Thousands.	Per cent.
1893...	1,279	*	*	1,559	— 1·1
1903...	1,285	1,838	156	1,994	— 1·0
1913...	1,267	3,703	433	4,136	+ 21·0
1914...	1,258	3,709	437	4,146	+ 0·2
1915...	1,227	3,868	491	4,359	+ 5·1
1916...	1,222	4,019	625	4,644	+ 6·5
1917...	1,236	4,622	877	5,499	+ 18·4
1918...	1,258	5,326	1,209	6,535	+ 18·8
1919...	1,350	6,603	1,325	7,928	+ 21·3
1920...	1,346	6,996	1,340	8,336	+ 5·1
1921...	1,231	5,622	1,003	6,625	— 20·5
1922...	1,176	4,742	868	5,610	— 15·3
1923...	1,135	4,590	815	5,405	— 3·7

Thus, in 1920, trade union membership had grown to be 5½ times that recorded in 1893. In 1923, which followed on the great post-war depression, the membership was still 3½ times as great as that of 1893.

Trades Councils.

The following table shows the growth and geographical distribution of these Councils in 1913, 1922 and 1923 :—

* Details of male and female membership are not available for years prior to 1896.

† The figures for 1923 are provisional and may be subject to slight revision when further information is available. The subdivision of the total membership into male and female is not exact, as estimates have been made for some Trade Unions which are unable to state precisely the numbers of males and females comprised within their membership.

District.	Number of Trades Councils.			Total Trade Union Membership represented for industrial purposes by payment of fees. (000's omitted).		
	1913	1922	1923	1913	1922	1923
Northern Counties and Cleveland	14	22	23	60	103	100
Yorkshire, excluding Cleveland	35	41	38	152	251	223
Lancashire, Cheshire and Isle of Man ...	58	71	69	403	526	489
N. & W. Midland Counties	53	74	72	266	470	433
S. Midland & E. Counties	39	79	74	74	186	187
London	17	22	22	103	240	230
South-Eastern Counties	26	56	54	46	107	84
South-Western Counties	14	31	29	21	73	70
Wales & Monmouthshire	36	60	57	126	185	179
Scotland	35	46	42	230	299	287
Northern Ireland ...	1	2	2	14	23	27
Total for Great Britain and Northern Ireland	328	504	482	1,495	2,463	2,309

EXPENDITURE OF REGISTERED TRADE UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.
(*Statistical Summary*, 1912-1923, *Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies.*)

(Thousand £.)

Head of Expenditure.	1921	1922	1923
Unemployment, travelling and emigration benefit	15,150	8,359	3,733
Dispute benefit	3,427	1,428	721
Sick and accident benefit	980	910	783
Funeral benefit	323	318	286
Other benefits, including superannuation and grants to members	861	817	934
Political fund	160	268	238
Grants to federations and other societies, etc.	721	494	403
Management and other expenses ...	4,504	3,857	3,308
Total expenditure	26,126	16,451	10,406

FUNDS OF REGISTERED TRADE UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.
(*Statistical Summary*, 1912-1923, *Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies.*)
(Thousand £.)

Date.	1921	1922	1923
At beginning of year	15,869	11,021	9,907
At end of year	10,950	10,008	10,889

The membership of registered trade unions represented at the end of 1923 about 82 per cent. of the membership of all trade unions in Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The Labour Party.

The Labour Party, established in 1900, is now the leading political party pledged to reforms on the lines indicated in the foregoing pages. It is represented in Parliament by 153 members forming the official Opposition Party, and at the General Election of October, 1924, its 514 official candidates polled no less than 5,487,620 votes out of a total of just over sixteen million votes cast in the election. The Labour Party includes in its Affiliated Societies many of the Trade Unions enumerated above, the figures being for 1924: 108 Trade Uuions with 3,158,000 members so affiliated. Besides these Trade Unions there are seven Socialist Societies affiliated, of which the three principal ones are as follows :—

1. THE FABIAN SOCIETY, Established 1884. 1,900 members.
2. THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY. Established 1894. 30,000 members.
3. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION. Established 1884. 2,000 members. (Originally formed in 1881 as the Democratic Federation.)

The other four are small local or specialised bodies with a total membership of about 2,000 among them.

SOCIALIST CRITICISMS OF TO-DAY.

"The first principle is that industry should be subordinated to the community in such a way as to render the best service technically possible, that those who render that service should be honourably paid, and that those who render no service should not be paid at all, because it is of the essence of a function that it should find its meaning in the satisfaction, not of itself, but of the end which it serves."—(R. H. Tawney. *The Acquisitive Society*, p. 7.)

"I feel that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community such as ours, having such command over external Nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do."—(William Morris. "How we live and how we might live;" in *Signs of Change*, p. 29.)

"I believe that any society which desires to found itself on a high standard of integrity of character in its units, should organise itself in such a fashion as to make it possible for all men and all women to maintain themselves in reasonable comfort by their industry without selling their affections and their convictions."—(Bernard Shaw. *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant.* Vol. I, *Unpleasant*, p.xxv.)

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Fabian Tract No. 7.

CAPITAL AND LAND.

PUBLISHED AND SOLD BY

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Capital and Land.

The practical aim of Socialists with regard to the materials of wealth is "the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit."* Land and capital are instruments with which man works for the production of wealth, material for the maintenance of his existence and comfort. Now it is important to notice that, though in common talk we separate the two, and though political economists have given a scientific dignity to this rough classification of the instruments of production, distinguishing as "land" that which has been provided by "Nature," and as "capital" that which has been made by human industry, the distinction is not one which can be clearly traced in dealing with the actual things which are t instruments of production, because most of these are compound of the gifts of Nature and the results of human activity.

"Land."

The only instruments given to us by Nature are climate, physi forces, and virgin soil. The use of these passes with legal "propert in the land to which they belong, and they are consequently class with "land." Those virgin soils are called good or fertile which contain in abundance elements which the chemistry of animal or vegetable life can convert into the materials of human food, clothing, etc. Other mineral elements of particular patches of soil are convertible, by the arts of the mining, metallurgic, building, and engineering industries, into a thousand forms of wealth.

How "Land" gets Value.

But even these qualities of virgin soil are of no use or value unless they are found in accessible positions; and their advantage to the proprietor of the land increases rapidly as human society develops in their neighborhood; whilst in all advanced societies we find large areas of town lands whose usefulness and value have nothing to do with their soils, but are due entirely to the social existence and activity of man. Land in Cornhill, worth a million pounds an acre, owes its value to the world-wide industry and commerce whose threads are brought together there, not to its natural fertility or to the attractions of its climate. "Prairie value" is a fiction. Unpopulated land has only a value through the expectation that it will be peopled.

* See the "Basis" of the Fabian Society, page 18.

The "natural" capabilities of land are thus increased, and, indeed, even called into existence, by the mere development of society. But, further, every foot of agricultural and mining land in England has been improved as an instrument of production by the exercise of human labor.

First, of human labor *not on* that land itself; by the improvement of the general climate, through clearing of forest and draining of marsh; by the making of canals, roads, railways, rendering every part of the country accessible; by the growth of villages and towns; by the improvement of agricultural science; and still more by the development of manufactures and foreign commerce. Of all this human labor, no man can say which part has made the value of his land, and none can prove his title to monopolize the value it has made.

Secondly, all our land has been improved by labor bestowed especially upon it. Indeed, the land itself, *as an instrument of production*, may be quite as truly said to be the work of man as the gift of Nature. Every farm or garden, every mine or quarry, is saturated with the effects of human labor. Capital is everywhere infused into and intermixed with land. Who distinguishes from the mine the plant by which it exists? Who distinguishes from the farm the lanes, the hedges, the gates, the drains, the buildings, the farm-house? Certainly not the English man of business, be he landlord, farmer, auctioneer, or income tax commissioner. Only the bold bad economist attempts it, and, we must add, some few amongst our allies, the Land Nationalizers. It may be worth while to digress for a while in the company of these latter.

A Word to "Land Nationalizers."

The arguments revived in our generation by John Stuart Mill and Henry George, and the activity of the various societies that have taken in hand the work of diffusing them, have now converted an immense body of public opinion to the Socialist view of the justice of, and urgent necessity for, Nationalization of the Land; or, at least, the absorption, by the State or Municipality, of ground rents, mining royalties, and similar unearned profits from the soil. Land Nationalizers go, generally, so far with Socialists that (in the words of the Fabian "Basis") they "work for the extinction of private property in land, and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites."

But some, who are thus far Land Nationalizers, still shrink from any interference with the legal powers enjoyed by the holders of capital. Hence a most unfortunate separation exists between them and the Socialists, whose design of nationalizing the industrial capital with the land appears to them unjustifiable and unessential.

Capitalist and Landlord in One Boat.

They use the argument that capital, unlike land, is created by labor, and is therefore a proper subject of private ownership, while land is not. Socialists do not overlook the facts on which this

argument rests, but they deny, on the grounds already partly stated, that any distinction can be founded on them sufficiently clear and important to justify the conclusion drawn. But, supposing we assume it true that land is not the product of labor, and that capital is; it is not by any means true that the rent of land is not the product of labor, and that the interest on capital is. Nor is it true, as Land Nationalizers frequently seem to assume, that capital necessarily becomes the property of those whose labor produces it; whereas land is undeniably in many cases owned by persons who have got it in exchange for capital, which may, according to our premisses, have been produced by their own labor. Now since private ownership, whether of land or capital, simply means the right to draw and dispose of a revenue from the property, why should the landowner be forbidden to do that which is allowed to the capitalist, in a society in which land and capital are commercially equivalent? Virgin soil, without labor upon or about it, can yield no revenue, and all capital has been produced by labor working on land. The landlord receives the revenue which labor produces on his land in the form of food, clothing, books, pictures, yachts, racehorses, *and command of industrial capital*, in whatever proportions he thinks best. The ownership of land enables the landlord to take capital for nothing from the laborers as fast as their labor creates it, exactly as it enables him to squander idly other portions of its product in the manner that so scandalizes the Land Nationalizers. When his tenants improve their holdings by their own labor, the landlord, on the expiration of the lease, remorselessly appropriates the capital so created, by raising the rent. In the case of poor tenants holding farms from year to year in Ireland, the incessant stealing of capital by this method so outraged the moral sense of the community, that the legislature interfered to prevent it long before land nationalization was commonly talked of in this country.* Yet Land Nationalizers seem to be prepared to treat as sacred the landlords' claim to private property in capital acquired by thefts of this kind, although they will not hear of their claim to property in land. Capital serves as an instrument for robbing in a precisely identical manner. In England industrial capital is mainly created by wage workers—who get nothing for it but permission to create in addition enough subsistence to keep each other alive in a poor way. Its immediate appropriation by idle proprietors and shareholders, whose economic relation to the workers is exactly the same in principle as that of the landlords, goes on every day under our eyes. The landlord compels the worker to convert his land into a railway, his fen into a drained level, his barren sea-side waste into a fashionable watering place, his mountain into a tunnel, his manor park into a suburb full of houses let on repairing leases; and lo! he has escaped the Land Nationalizers: his land is now become capital, and is sacred.

The position is so glaringly absurd, and the proposed attempt to discriminate between the capital value and the land value of estates

* See, for instance, the Irish Land Acts of 1870 and 1881.

is so futile, that it seems almost certain that the Land Nationalizers will go as far as the Socialists, as soon as they understand that the Socialists admit that labor has contributed to capital, and that labor gives some claim to ownership. The Socialists, however, must contend that only an insignificant part of our capital is now in the hands of those by whom the labor has been performed, or even of their descendants. How it was taken from them, none should know better than the Land Nationalizers.

It is scarcely necessary to enlarge on or illustrate the obvious truth that, whatever the origin of land and capital, the source of the revenues drawn from them is contemporary labor. The remainder of this Tract may still further impress the impossibility of maintaining any hard and fast lines between them, either as regards their characteristics and importance in developed societies, or the defensibility of their private ownership or the arguments for their nationalization.

"Capital."

To return from our digression. When we consider what is usually called *capital*, we are as much at a loss to disentangle it from land as we are to find land which does not partake of the attributes of capital.

For though capital is commonly defined as wealth produced by human labor, and destined, not for the immediate satisfaction of human wants, but for transformation into, or production of, the means of such satisfaction in the future; yet railways, docks, canals, mines, etc., which are classed among the instruments of production as capital, are really only somewhat elaborate modifications of land. The buildings and the plant with which they are worked are further removed from the form of land, but we lump the lot as capital. All farming improvements, all industrial buildings, all shops, all machinery, raw material, live and dead stock of every kind, are called capital. And just as there is a purely social element in the value of land, so are there purely social elements in the value of capital; and its value, in all its forms, depends upon its accessibility and fitness here and now, and not on the labor it has cost. The New River Company's Water Shares had their enormous value, not because Sir Hugh Myddelton's venture was costly, but because London had become great. The usefulness of fixed and unchangeable forms of capital increases and decreases through external causes, just as does that of land. If instruments of production must be classified, the best division of them is into *immovables* and *movables*, the annual value of buildings, railways, mines, quarries, waterworks, gasworks, durable fixed machinery, and many other forms of so-called capital, manifestly agreeing with that of land in fluctuating according to causes of which the effects are generalized in the "Law of Rent" of abstract economics.

Besides industrial capital, there is a considerable amount of what has been conveniently called "consumers' capital." Dwelling-houses, and all their domestic machinery and conveniences are as necessary for production as land and factories; for though the worker uses them in his character of consumer, they are necessary to maintain

him in efficiency for his work. All private stores of food and clothing, all forms of personal property, may likewise be classed as consumers' capital. It will, however, be evident that, in classing these as capital, the signification of that name is becoming very vague and indefinite.

Finally, we have such purely non-material and social kinds of capital as banking and credit organizations, inventions, and other devices for extending and intensifying our power over Nature; social forces of immense importance for the carrying on of wealth production, largely capable of social ownership, not entirely capable of private monopoly, but at present appropriated by some individuals more than by others.

What is the Estimated Value of our National Stock of the above-named form of Wealth?

In December, 1889, Sir Robert Giffen attempted to compute the capital value of realized property in the United Kingdom as it was in the year 1885.* The following table is reproduced from that furnished by him, the figures being corrected according to the official Returns of Income Tax Assessments for 1905-6.† The estimate of the value of the capital is arrived at by taking what Sir R. Giffen considered a suitable number of years' purchase of the income :—

Gross Income. Under :		No. of Years' Purchase.	Capital Value.
Schedule A—	£		£
Profits from the ownership of—			
Land	52,151,543	... 26 ...	1,355,940,118
Houses	205,486,455	... 15 ...	3,082,296,825
Other property	1,310,673	... 30 ...	39,320,190
Schedule B—			
Profits from the occupation of lands (farmers' profits mainly)	52,421,649	... 8 ...	419,373,192‡§
Schedule C—			
Profits from British, Indian, Colonial, and Foreign Government Securities ...	46,925,674	... 25 ...	1,173,141,850
Schedule D—			
Quarries, mines and ironworks	24,379,408	... 4 ...	97,517,632 §
Gasworks	7,413,611	... 25 ...	185,340,275 §
Waterworks	5,816,300	... 20 ...	116,326,000 §
Canals, etc.	3,847,201	... 20 ...	76,944,020 §
Fishings in the U. K. and Sporting Rights in Ireland	203,304	... 20 ...	4,066,080 §
Markets, tolls, etc.	869,635	.. 20 ...	17,392,700 §
Salt springs or works and alum works	150,573	.. 20 ...	3,011,460 §
Carried forward			£6,570,670,342

(For notes and explanations as to this table, see next page.)

* See *The Growth of Capital*, by Robert Giffen (London, Bell and Sons, 1889). Also *Essays in Finance*, 2 vols., by the same author.

† Fiftieth Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue [Cd.—3686], price 2s. The amount stated as annual farmers' profits appears to be excessive, as Sir R. Giffen overlooked the fact that the Income Tax Acts assume the net profits of agriculture (in England) to be equal to one-third the rent, not the whole as here given.

Gross Income, Under:	£	No. of Years' Purchase.	Capital Value. £	
Schedule D— Brought forward...	...	... ...	6,570,670,342	
Cemeteries	183,612	... 20 ...	3,672,240	§
Railways in United Kingdom	41,241,692	... 28 ...	1,154,767,376	§
„ out of „	16,111,221	... 20 ...	322,224,420	
Loans secured on public rates	6,687,134	... 25 ...	167,178,350	
Indian, Colonial, and Foreign Securities (other than Government)	14,794,821	... 20 ...	295,896,420	
Other interest and profits, etc.	19,137,857	.. 20 ...	382,757,140	
Other businesses, professions, etc., taking one-fifth of the gross incomes as interest on capital	73,562,831	... 15 ...	1,103,442,465	§
Businesses, professions, etc., omitted from assessment, say 20 per cent. on amount assessed (£367,814,155), taking one-fifth of this income as interest on capital...	14,712,566	... 15 ...	220,688,490	§
Income from capital of non-taxpayers, say	70,000,000	... 5 ..	350,000,000	§‖
Foreign investments not included in Scheds. C and D, say	50,000,000	... 10 ...	500,000,000	
Movables, not yielding income, say			1,000,000,000	‖
Government and local public property, say			600,000,000	‖
			£12,671,297,243	¶

"Land" and "Capital" Indistinguishable.

It may be noticed that there is no attempt in this table to distinguish between what Land Nationalizers might think should be classed as land, and what they would admit to be capital. The common sense of the ordinary business man and statistician recognizes that such distinction is impracticable and arbitrary. To the business

The number of years' purchase of rural land may also be regarded as too high. On the other hand, that of urban properties is much understated. But these considerations do not materially affect the aggregate total, and Sir R. Giffen's basis has therefore been throughout maintained.

‡ This includes £13,821 income assessed under Schedule D.

§ Of these totals, which make up the "industrial capital" of the country, amounting to £3,752,541,930, at least £3,290,275,001 is under joint stock management, £2,003,392,001 being the paid-up capital of the 40,995 registered companies carrying on business in April, 1906, and £1,286,883,000 being the paid-up capital of the railways in the United Kingdom at the end of 1906. See the Annual Statistical Abstract, fifty-fourth number, C—3691 (1907); price 1s. 7d. To this must be added the capital administered by chartered banks and trading companies not registered under the Companies Acts.

‖ These amounts being conjectural only, are reproduced from Sir R. Giffen's estimate in 1885, with small additions, amounting in all to £155,000,000 on the capital value.

¶ Owing to a re-arrangement of the Income Tax Returns, the total works out at less than on the method previously in use. It is now probably a considerable understatement. If we compare this total for 1905-6 with those of previous years we find the total estimated by Sir R. Giffen in 1865 was £6,114,063,000; in 1875 £8,548,120,000; and in 1885 £10,079,579,000. In a paper read to the British Association in September, 1903, and published in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Vol. LXVI.,

man they are both equally forms of property, merely different kinds of investments—that is, arrangements for obtaining a revenue from the labor of others. The practical statesman sees in them simply sources of income, and assesses them equally to income tax. Indeed, that famous tax of 20 per cent. on rent, of which the English Land Restoration League and many Radicals are demanding the revival, was not imposed as a land tax at all, but formed part of the incidence of a general tax of four shillings in the pound on the annual value of ALL REALIZED PROPERTY AND SALEABLE INTERESTS, excepting only farm stock and household furniture.* Will not the Land Nationalizers take this hint, and include *all* unearned incomes in their "Single Tax" Program?

Who own all this Land and Capital?

Who, then, are the Landlords and the Capitalists amongst us? They are those persons who own the instruments of wealth-production and enjoy the profits of them. In England, as in all developed industrial societies, almost the whole of the land and industrial capital, and most of the consumers' capital (chiefly consisting of dwelling-houses), is at present owned and controlled by one set of people, while it is another set of people who produce wealth by using them.

"Capitalists" and "Landlords."

A glance at Sir R. Giffen's table will show how little of the material wealth of England is available for immediate enjoyment or consumption, and how large a proportion is in the form of machinery to aid labor in the supply of our wants from day to day. The value of movable personal property, not employed as instruments of production, must be less than one-tenth of the total. Dwelling-houses, and the land attached to them, may amount to about two-tenths more. But occupying ownership of these properties is the exception, and most of them are used by their owners as an investment yielding rent, paid out of the earnings of working occupiers. The whole of the remainder consists of land and capital employed for wealth-production in agriculture, mining, transport, and other industries, trades, and professions.

Part III., Sir R. Giffen estimated the total capital of the United Kingdom to be £15,000,000,000. (The number of years' purchase taken above is low, and a small increase would easily account for this larger figure.) The increase in realized wealth in forty-one years may, therefore, safely be estimated at six thousand millions sterling, or an average of more than 140 millions a year. The average annual increase has been at the rate of 2½ per cent., or nearly two and a half times the rate of increase of the population.

* It was an "Aid" (or tax upon realized property) imposed primarily upon all persons "having any Estate in ready Monies, or in any Debts whatsoever owing to them, within this Realm or without, or having any Estate in Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, or other Chattels or personal Estate whatsoever" . . except "the Stock upon Lands and such Goods as are and for Household Stuff" . . . at the rate of "four Shillings in the Pound according to the true Yearly Value thereof," computed at 6 per cent. of their capital value (see the Act of Parliament of 1692, 4 Willliam and Mary, cap. I., sec. 2), including also the emoluments of public officers, at that time regarded as saleable property (sec. 3), and finally "to the end a further Aid and Supply for their Majesties' Occasions may be raised," a similar tax is imposed on Lands "according to the true Yearly Value thereof at a Rack Rent" (sec. 4).

Four-fifths of our national wealth, we may safely say, consists of such instruments. The wants of the community are supplied from year to year, and week to week, by the reciprocal services of the active workers who use and administer them. The worker, of whatever kind, is paid by a wage, a salary, a professional income, or profits due to his skill in organizing or directing industry, the amount of which is determined by competition between himself and other workers. The owners of the instruments of production receive as rent and interest such an amount of the value of the produce as equalizes the normal income of the workers in each calling; that is to say, they obtain from the workers who are using their land and capital a toll equal to the difference between the product of industry engaged in with any particular instrument of land or capital, and the product of the like industry engaged in with the least efficient instrument actually employed anywhere at the time.

Some of the workers are, it is true, themselves capitalists, that is to say, own larger or smaller amounts of land and capital; and many capitalists work. How many, and how much? Here are some facts gathered from the Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue and other reliable sources.

Probate or administration was granted in 66,082 estates, of the net capital value of £298,460,180 in 1906-7.* They were classified as follows:—

34,296	estates not exceeding	£500	...	...	...	aggregating	£10,001,740
10,516	estates over	£500	and not exceeding	£1,000	,,		8,616,449
17,098	,,	1,000	,, ,,	10,000	,,		61,588,433
4,086	,,	10,000	,, ,,	250,000	,,		149,959,280
58	,,	250,000	,, ,,	500,000	,,		21,292,964
18	,,	500,000	,, ,,	1,000,000	,,		12,863,132
10	,,	1,000,000			,,		34,138,182

About one-seventieth part of the population owns far more than one-half of the entire accumulated wealth, public and private, of the United Kingdom. More than one-half the area of the whole country is owned by 2,500 people.†

"Workers."

How much land and capital do the manual labor class own? Supposing that they were the owners of the *whole* of the—

Deposits in the P.O. Savings Bank (1906)‡	... ...	£155,996,446
,, Trustee ,, (1906)‡	... ...	53,009,299
Consols purchased for small holders by the Post Office‡	...	18,986,199
Consols held for depositors in Trustee Savings Banks‡	...	2,369,869
Nominal Capital of the—		
Building Societies (1905)‡	... ...	70,348,997
100 Principal Trade Unions (1905)§	... ...	4,808,106

* Inland Revenue Reports, C—3686, 1907.

† See *Riches and Poverty*, by L. G. Chiozza Money, M.P., pp. 72 and 75. Also "Facts for Socialists," published by the Fabian Society; price 1d.

‡ See "Statistical Abstract," 1907 (Cd—3691).

§ "Eleventh Annual Report of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade," Cd—3690, 1907.

Co-operative Societies (1905)*	68,251,495†
Friendly Societies (1904)*	50,458,287
Industrial Life Assurance Societies‡	34,913,210

they would own land and capital valued at ... £459,141,908§

that is to say, a little less than one thirty-second part of the land and capital with which they work. The number of *persons* "employed at wages" in the industries of the kingdom was estimated at about fourteen millions, including over four million women in 1891, and must be at least fifteen and a half millions now. The share of the able-bodied manual workers, in property, then, must average about £29 per head of those in employment.

What sort of a System is this?

Labor politicians, Land Nationalizers, Conservatives, Radicals, all who interest themselves in social science as the study of the well-being of man, will agree with us that

The Use of Land and Capital

should be to serve as instruments for the active, the energetic, the industrious, the intelligent of mankind to produce wealth for themselves and those who are necessarily dependent on them, and to maintain the conditions of healthy existence for the society which they compose. And will they not also agree with us that it is

The Abuse of Land and Capital

that they should be made by the laws of any people a "property" often owned by entirely idle and unprofitable persons, who may exact hire for them from those who are working for the maintenance of social existence, or may even refuse the would-be workers access to these indispensable instruments of industry? For what are the effects?

If the access be refused—land kept out of cultivation; tillage turned into sheepwalks, and sheepwalks into shootings; natural sources of wealth locked up from use; the pleasant places of the earth, the mountains, the moors, the woodlands, the sea shores, parked and preserved and placarded, that the few may have space for their pride, while the many must crowd into squalid cities and dismal agricultural towns, and take their holidays in herds on the few beaten tracks left free for them. In commerce—rings, corners, syndicates, pools, and monopolies, and all the fearful social loss and

* "Eleventh Annual Report of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade," Cd—3690, 1907.

‡ See "Statistical Abstract," 1907 (Cd—3691).

† This figure includes some societies such as the Civil Services Stores, which are not Workmen's Co-operative Societies, though registered as Industrial and Provident Societies under the Friendly Societies Acts.

§ This total is undoubtedly a great deal too large, and much of it is duplicate. Thus, for instance, many of the Building Societies, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Friendly Societies, and Industrial Assurance Societies, bank their surplus funds in the Post Office and the Trustee Savings Banks, and those amounts therefore are in this total counted twice over. Much of it, moreover, is owned by children and others belonging to the middle class.

waste of under-production; lock-outs, short time, and other expedients of the reckless selfishness of capitalists who are nursing the market for private ends.

If access be granted—if the land and capital be devoted to their proper use, then it is on condition that rent and interest be paid to the proprietor, simply in virtue of his existence as such. He may or may not be doing some work of social utility, but the rent and interest are paid to him as an absolutely idle person, and it is this,

The Tribute of Industry to Idleness,

that Land Nationalizers denounce in its form of rent, and that Socialists, and all who have the Socialist spirit, denounce in all its forms.

With the Land Nationalizers we are at one entirely on this point: That so much of the annual value of land as they class as rent (which is caused by the physical qualities, advantages, or position of land), is a toll taken by an idle class from the industry of the rest of the nation, and should be resumed by the nation in the quickest and most effectual manner possible.

With the non-Socialists we agree entirely on this point: That so much of the income of any landlord as is caused, not by rent as defined by the political economists, but by the exercise of his own abilities as a superintendent and director of agriculture or industry, is of the nature of a salary, the competitive price of useful work done for society. And we further agree with the non-Socialists that so much of the income of any capitalist as is caused, not by interest as defined by the economists, but by the exercise of a similar ability in the administration of capital and the organization of industry, is equally of the nature of a salary obtained by useful work.

We must, however, point out that the monopoly of land and capital has led, and still leads, to a virtual class monopoly of the opportunities of doing this kind of work, and of the education and training required for it; and that not till these private monopolies are abolished will the remuneration of such activity reach its normal level of competition value. The same monopoly has given to the sons of the privileged classes an advantage which still keeps the wages of certain professions (the Bar, for instance), to which access is guarded by the useless convention of a long and extravagant sham-education, above the level at which they would stand were their opportunities equally open to all.

The Amount of Tribute and its Effects.

Of the tolls enumerated in Sir R. Giffen's table we cannot say what part should be classed as rent and what part as interest; we can only state that the total income derived from real property—lands and buildings—must amount to about £310,000,000 a year; and that, according to the table, at least £390,000,000 may be classed as pure interest on other instruments of production (apart from all reward for personal services).*

* See Fabian Tract No. 5, "Facts for Socialists."

The profits and salaries of the class who share in the advantages of the monopoly of the instruments of production, or are endowed by nature with any exceptional ability of high marketable value, amount, according to the best estimate that can be formed, to about £490,000,000 annually. While, out of a national income of some £1,920,000,000 a year, the workers in the manual labor class, four-fifths of the whole population, obtain in wages not more than £730,000,000.*

Rent and interest alone, the obvious tribute of the workers as such to the drones as such, amount demonstrably to almost as much as this sum annually, and it may be safely said that the workers, from top to bottom of society, pay a fine of

One-half the Wealth they Produce

to a parasitic class, before providing for the maintenance of themselves and their proper dependents.

Is a healthy existence secured for society by this arrangement?

The income of the manual labor class may be put at less than £50 per family,† and out of this they must pay heavy rents for the houses they live in. How much is left for healthy life? Even that little is not always vouchsafed to them. There are in London now at least 35,000 adult men who with their families (say 100,000) are slowly starving for want of *regular* employment. Over thirty per cent. of the whole four million inhabitants of the richest city in the world were found by Mr. Charles Booth to fall below his "Poverty Line" of bare subsistence earnings.‡

"At present the average age at death among the nobility, gentry and professional classes in England and Wales is 55 years; but among the artizan classes of Lambeth it only amounts to 29 years; and whilst the infantile death-rate among the well-to-do classes is such that only eight children die in the first year of life out of 100 born, as many as 30 per cent. succumb at that age among the children of the poor in some districts of our large cities. The only real cause of this enormous difference in the position of the rich and poor with respect to their chances of existence lies in the fact that at the bottom of society wages are so low that food and other requisites of health are obtained with too great difficulty." (Dr. C. R. Drysdale, "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," p. 130.)

One in three of Londoners dies in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum; one in six of the manual labor class is a pauper, or has been one.

Hear Professor Huxley (*Nineteenth Century* for February, 1888):

"Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme . . . . that condition which the French call *la misère*, a word for which I do not think there is any exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing, which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state, cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful

* See Fabian Tract No. 5, "Facts for Socialists."

† Annual Report of the Labor Department, 1893-4, C—7565.

‡ *Life and Labor of the People.* By Charles Booth. (Macmillan; 1894.)

existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave. . . . When the organization of society, instead of mitigating this tendency, tends to continue and intensify it, when a given social order plainly makes for evil and not for good, men naturally enough begin to think it high time to try a fresh experiment. I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass, who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it."

Land Reform a Partial Remedy Only.

How far would land restoration alone remedy this? If it were possible to nationalize soil apart from capital, the ground rents recovered for the nation might possibly amount to the present sum of our imperial and local taxation, £240,000,000, or thereabouts.* The pecuniary relief certainly could not amount to more. Land nationalization might further immensely benefit society, where it now suffers from the curmudgeonism of private owners. But so long as capital continued to be used for the exploitation of the workers, so long would their economic slavery continue. Those who retain the capital, without which the earth and all its products cannot be worked, will step into the place of the landlord, and the tribute of "interest" will be augmented. Society will be relieved, but not freed.

Objections to Socialism.

But the "practical" objector may ask: Does not the capitalist now administer his capital and direct industry? Was not this admitted above? And is not capital, the product of labor, maintained and augmented by saving? How will Socialists provide for the administration and increase of capital?

"Management."

The question is being answered by the contemporary development of industrial organization. How much of the "management of land" is done now by the landlords, and how much by the farmer and the agent or the bailiff? The landlord's supposed function in this respect is almost entirely performed by salaried professional men. As to capital, who manages it? The shareholders in the joint stock companies, who own nearly five-sixths of the whole industrial capital? No! The shareholding capitalist is a sleeping partner. More and more every day is the capitalist pure and simple, the mere *owner* of the lien for interest, becoming separated from the administrator of capital, as he has long been separated from the wage worker employed therewith. The working partner, with sleeping partner drawing interest, is every day passing into the form of the director of a joint stock company. More and more is the

* "Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom," Cd—3691, 1907.

management of industries falling into the hands of paid managers, and even the "directors" emphazise the fiction that they are not mere money-bags and decorative M.P.'s by the humorous practice of taking fees for their labors at board meetings.

The administrator of capital can be obtained at present for a salary equivalent to his competition value, whether the concern to be managed be a bank, a railway, a brewery, a mine, a farm, a factory, a theatre, or a hotel. The transfer to the community (national or local) of the ownership of the main masses of industrial capital need make no more difference in this respect than does the sale of shares on the Stock Exchange at the present moment.

"Saving."

As for the *saving* of capital, what does that mean? The artificial instruments of production which form the bulk of property exist certainly only because human labor has been devoted to the production of forms of wealth other than those which are for immediate consumption. Every man in receipt of an income has the option of taking out his claim on the labor of society in the form of immediate enjoyments, passing and perishing in the use, and leaving the world no richer—as luxuries of all kinds, leisure for amusement or travel, service of menials, royal wedding illuminations, beer and skittles, or else in the form of more permanent products or of instruments which can be used for further wealth-production. All that he spends on the latter class of product is said to be saved—and at least one hundred and seventy-five million pounds annually, according to Sir R. Giffen, are "saved" in this way by the creation of new houses, docks, railways, roads, machinery, and other aids to future labor. If a man's income represents the competition value of work done by him, it is said that he has "produced" the amount of saving so made, and has some title to its ownership.

But just as the productive qualities of land are only maintained by the continuous application of human industry, so the most permanent forms of capital are perpetually wasting and being repaired, whilst, of the less durable forms, such as machinery, raw material, and farming stock, the whole is incessantly transformed, consumed, replaced and renewed. The capital saved by the original investor has long since disappeared.

There are, however, very few forms of consumable wealth which can be "saved" at all. Food, clothing, ordinary comforts and luxuries, amusements, and all that makes up our daily life, admit of little storage.

When we say that a man has saved so much wealth, we simply mean that he has abstained from taking out a claim which he had on society, and that its payment is by agreement deferred to the future. But the wealth which is to meet that claim does not at present exist. It is to be produced by the workers, when, where, and in the form asked for.

If we admit the fairness and advantage of guaranteeing to every man the equivalent of the result of his own industry, we should

deny that there is adequate social advantage in a system which permits him to convert this claim into a lien for a perpetual annuity, an enduring tribute from the workers for the use of that which only their using can keep from perishing, while he retains undiminished all the time his claim to the repayment of the original "saving."

The "saving" of capital, the increase of the instruments of production and of permanent commodities by the abstention from consumption of all wealth produced, is undoubtedly an advantage to society. If any individual, for the sake of rendering such advantages to society, abstains in any year from himself consuming all that he has earned, by all means let him be repaid in his old age, or whenever he wants the equivalent of his past activity. Why should we not, as a transitional expedient, treat such economizers as we treat inventors, and if they will not work without such a precise guarantee, if they are still purely individualist in their motive for activity, give them such a reward as we give individualist inventors* in their patent rights, so long as such encouragement is necessary for the creation and interest of our capital. But let that which society has maintained and fructified invariably pass to society within a limited period. So much may be necessary for the present to promote saving out of earned incomes; for saving out of the unearned incomes of rent and interest society can even now take its own measures by taxation for the increase of public capital. As soon as industrial capital is owned by those who use it, provision out of income for all necessary maintenance and increase of the instruments of production will be an ordinary and obvious element in its administration, as it is now in a joint stock company, and our present precarious dependence on the caprice or acquisitiveness of individuals will be superseded.

We appeal, therefore, to Land Nationalizers to consider their reason for hesitating to work with us for the

Nationalization of Capital,

on the ground that the evolution of industry has rendered land and capital indistinguishable and equally indispensable as instruments of production, and that, holding with J. S. Mill that the "deepest root of the evils and iniquities which fill the industrial world is . . . the subjection of labor to capital, and the enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of industry are able to take from the produce,"† we see clearly that if they would make any improvement in the condition of the agricultural laborer and his fellow wage-slave in the towns, they will be forced to abandon the illogical distinctions that are sometimes drawn between the instruments with which they work.

* Non-individualist inventors are those who, like the late Thomas Stevenson (lighthouse engineering), Michael Faraday (industrial chemistry and electricity), Sir William Simpson (anæsthetics), and a host of others, return gratuitously to society the fruits of their inventive genius, and take out no patents.

† Quotation from Feugueray, in *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 477, edn. of 1865.

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WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

What "Unsocialism" Is.

WE English have a habit of speaking of England as if it belonged to us. We are wrong: England is still private property; and if a laboring man out of employment makes so free with "his country" as to lie down for a night's sleep on it without paying its owner for the accommodation, he is liable to be imprisoned as a vagrant. The price we must pay rises as the population grows; for the more people there are, the higher they will bid against one another for their dwellings and places of business. In London, for instance, the price paid annually to the ground landlords for the use of the soil alone is £25,000,000; and it goes up by £520,819 every year, without counting the additional charge for new buildings, or repairs and improvements to old ones. After payments of one sort or another to the owners of the whole country have been deducted from the produce of the workers' labor, the balance left for wages is so small, that if every working-class family got an equal share, each share would come to about £150 a year, which (though it would seem a fortune to many poor people) is not enough for a comfortable living, much less for saving. Nevertheless the proprietary classes, without working at all for it, divide among them enough to give over three hundred thousand rich families more than £2,000 a year, and still leave more than £500 a year per family for about a million families of moderately well-off people *in addition to what they make by their professions and businesses.*

The Extreme Cases.

The above figures, bad as they are, only represent averages, and give no idea of the extreme cases of wealth and poverty. Some of our great landowners get upwards of £5,000 a week without ever doing a stroke of work for it; whilst the laborers on their estates, working early and late from the time they are lads until they draw the old age pension of 10/- per week or go into the union as aged and worn-out paupers, get twenty-five to thirty shillings a week. As women get lower wages than men when they work, but receive just as large incomes from property when they are rich and idle, a comparison between the share of our yearly produce that goes to a poor working woman at the East end of London, working twelve hours a day for half a crown, and the rich, idle lady at the West end, is still more startling. If you doubt these statements, read Fabian Tract No. 5, "Facts for Socialists," in which you will find hundreds of the most terrible figures concerning the misery caused by our present social system, with full references to standard authorities for every one of them.

What Comes of Inequality.

If you are a person of common sense and natural feeling, you must have often thought over these inequalities and their cruel in-

justice. If you are rich, you perhaps think that inequality is a good thing—that it fosters a spirit of emulation, and prevents things from stagnating at a dead level. But if you are poor, you must know well that when inequality is so outrageous as the figures above shew, it fosters nothing but despair, recklessness and drunkenness among the very poor; arrogance and wastefulness among the very rich; meanness, envy and snobbery among the middle classes. Poverty means disease and crime, ugliness and brutality, drink and violence, stunted bodies and unenlightened minds. Riches heaped up in idle hands mean flunkeyism and folly, insolence and servility, bad example, false standards of worth, and the destruction of all incentive to useful work in those who are best able to educate themselves for it. Poverty and riches together mean the misuse of our capital and industry for the production of frippery and luxury whilst the nation is rotting for want of good food, thorough instruction, and wholesome clothes and dwellings for the masses. What we want in order to make true progress is more bakers, more schoolmasters, more woolweavers and tailors, and more builders: what we get instead is more footmen, more gamekeepers, more jockeys, and more prostitutes. That is what our newspapers call "sound political economy." What do you think of it? Do you intend to do anything to get it remedied?

No Remedy without Political Change.

The produce of industry has been increased enormously during this last century by machinery, railways, and division of labor. But the first cost of machinery, railways and factories has to be paid out of savings, and not out of the money that people are living on. Now the only people who can spare money to save are those who have more than enough to live on: that is to say, the rich. Consequently the machinery has been introduced, and the factories built out of the savings of the rich; and as they paid for it (with money made by the labour of the poor), they expect to get all the advantage that comes by using it; so that here again the workers are left as badly off as ever. The worst of it is that when the rich find how easily they get still richer by saving, they think it as easy for everybody as for themselves; and when the worker complains, they say, "Why don't you save as we do?" or "How can you expect to be well off if you are not thrifty?" They forget that though you can save plenty out of £40 a week without stinting your family, you cannot save anything out of thirty shillings without starving them. Nothing can help the poor except political change from bad social institutions to good ones.

The Three Monopolies.

Moreover the propertied classes, by giving their sons an expensive education, are able to put them into the learned professions and the higher managerial posts in business, over the heads of the wage-workers, who are too poor to get more than the Council School standards for their children. So that out of the price paid for the use of the land, the propertied classes save capital; and out of the profits of the capital they buy the education which gives to their working members a monopoly of the highly paid employments; whilst the wage-workers are hopelessly cut out of it all. Here are the figures for the United Kingdom:—

*Income of Propertied Classes (6,400,000 persons)	£2,040,000,000
„ left for Wage-workers (41,400,000 „)	1,360,000,000
Total National Income	£3,400,000,000

This means that the rich are masters of the wage-workers, because the whole country is governed by the House of Commons, the County Councils and Municipal Corporations, and few but rich men can afford to give their time to these bodies, or to pay the heavy expenses of getting elected to them. The workman's vote enables him to choose between one rich man and another, but not to fill the Councils and Parliament with men of his own class. Thus the poor keep the rich up; and the rich keep the poor down; and it will always be so whilst the land and the machinery from which the nation's subsistence is produced remains in the hands of a class instead of in the hands of the nation as a whole.

What Socialism Is.

Socialism is a plan for securing equal rights and opportunities for all. The Socialists are trying to have the land and machinery gradually "socialized," or made the property of the whole people, in order to do away with idle owners, and to win the whole product for those whose labor produces it. The establishment of Socialism, when once the people are resolved upon it, is not so difficult as might be supposed. If a man wishes to work on his own account, the rent of his place of business, and the interest on the capital needed to start him, can be paid to the County Council of his district just as easily as to the private landlord and capitalist. Factories are already largely regulated by public inspectors, and can be conducted by the local authorities just as gas-works, water-works and tramways are now conducted by them in various towns. Railways and mines, instead of being left to private companies, can be carried on by a department under the central government, as the postal and telegraph services are carried on now. The Income Tax collector who to-day calls for a tax of a few shillings in the pound on the income of the idle millionaire, can collect a tax of twenty shillings in the pound on every unearned income in the country if the State so orders. Remember that Parliament, with all its faults, has always governed the country in the interest of the class to which the majority of its members belonged. It governed in the interest of the country gentlemen in the old days when they were in a majority in the House of Commons; it has governed in the interests of the capitalists and employers since they won a majority by the Reform Bill of 1832; and it will govern in the interest of the people when the majority is selected from the wage-earning class. Inquirers will find that Socialism can be brought about in a perfectly constitutional manner, and that none of the practical difficulties which occur to everyone in his first five minutes' consideration of the subject have escaped the attention of those who have worked at it for years. Few now believe Socialism to be impracticable except those with whom the wish is father to the thought.

* This item is made up of one thousand two hundred and twenty millions (£1,220,000,000) which go as Rent and Interest absolutely for nothing, and of eight hundred and twenty millions (£820,000,000) incomes of professional men and profits of business management. (See Fabian Tract No. 5, "Facts for Socialists." 13th edition, 1926; Sixpence).

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ITS EARLY HISTORY.

By G. BERNARD SHAW.

A Paper read at a Conference of the London and Provincial Fabian Societies at Essex Hall on the 6th February, 1892, and ordered to be printed for the information of members.

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THE FABIAN SOCIETY:*

What it has done;
and
How it has done it.

IF any delegate present thinks that the Fabian Society was wise from the hour of its birth, let him forthwith renounce that error. The Fabian wisdom, such as it is, has grown out of the Fabian experience; and our distinction, if we may claim any, lies more in our capacity for profiting by experience (a rarer faculty in politics than you might suppose) than in any natural superiority on our part to the follies of incipient Socialism. In 1883 we were content with nothing less than the prompt "reconstruction of society in accordance with the highest moral possibilities." In 1884 we were discussing whether money should be permitted under Socialism, or whether labor notes would not be a more becoming currency for us; and I myself actually debated the point with a Fabian who had elaborated a pass-book system to supersede both methods. Then we were joined by Mrs. Wilson, now one of the chief members of the Freedom Group of Kropotkinist Anarchists; and a sort of influenza of Anarchism soon spread through the society. When we issued our fortunately little-known Tract No. 4, "What Socialism Is," we divided it into two sections, one answering the question from the Collectivist and the other from the Anarchist point of view. The answer did not amount to much either way; for the tract contains nothing that was not already to be found better stated in the famous Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels.

On the Warpath.

It must not be supposed that Anarchism encountered any resistance among us on the ground of its associations with physical force The Fabian Society was warlike in its origin: it came into existence through a schism in an earlier society for the peaceful regeneration of the race by the cultivation of perfection of individual character. Certain members of that circle, modestly feeling that the revolution would have to wait an unreasonably long time if postponed until they personally had attained perfection, set up the banner of Socialism

* A paper by G. Bernard Shaw, read at a Conference of the London and Provincial Fabian Societies at Essex Hall on the 6th February, 1892, and ordered to be printed for the information of members.

militant; seceded from the Regenerators; and established themselves independently as the Fabian Society. That was how the Fabian began; and although exactly the same practical vein which had led its founders to insist on an active policy afterwards made them the most resolute opponents of Insurrectionism, the Constitutionalism which now distinguishes us was as unheard-of at the Fabian meetings in 1884 and 1885 as at the demonstrations of the Social-Democratic Federation or the Socialist League. For example, in 1885, a conflict with the Government arose over the right of free speech at Dod Street—a conflict precisely similar to that now [February 1892] on hand at the World's End, Chelsea. But nobody dreamt of giving the Fabian delegate to the Vigilance Committee of 1885 the strict instructions which bind the delegates of 1892 to use all their influence to avert a conflict with the police. He was simply to throw himself into the struggle on the side of the Socialists, and take the consequences. In short, we were for a year or two just as Anarchistic as the Socialist League and just as insurrectionary as the Federation. It will at once be asked why, in that case, we did not join them instead of forming a separate society. Well, the apparent reason was that we were then middle-class all through, rank and file as well as leaders, whereas the League and Federation were quite proletarian in their rank and file. But whatever weight this sort of consideration may have had with our members in general, it had none with our leaders, most of whom, indeed, were active members of the Federation as well. It undoubtedly prevented working-men from joining the Fabian whilst we were holding our meetings in one another's drawing-rooms; but it did not prevent any Fabian worth counting from joining the working-class organizations. The true cause of the separation lay deeper. Differences, which afterwards became explicit and definite, were latent from the first in the temperament and character of the Fabians. When I myself, on the point of joining the Social-Democratic Federation, changed my mind and joined the Fabian instead, I was guided by no discoverable difference in program or principles, but solely by an instinctive feeling that the Fabian and not the Federation would attract the men of my own bias and intellectual habits who were then ripening for the work that lay before us.

However, as I have said, in 1885 our differences were latent or instinctive; and we denounced the capitalists as thieves at the Industrial Remuneration Conference, and, among ourselves, talked revolution, anarchism, labor notes *versus* pass-books, and all the rest of it, on the tacit assumption that the object of our campaign, with its watchwords, "EDUCATE, AGITATE, ORGANIZE." was to bring about a tremendous smash-up of existing society, to be succeeded by complete Socialism. And this meant that we had no true practical understanding either of existing society or Socialism. Without being quite definitely aware of this, we yet felt it to a certain extent all along; for it was at this period that we contracted the invaluable habit of freely laughing at ourselves which has always distinguished

us, and which has saved us from becoming hampered by the gushing enthusiasts who mistake their own emotions for public movements. From the first, such people fled after one glance at us, declaring that we were not serious. Our preference for practical suggestions and criticisms, and our impatience of all general expressions of sympathy with working-class aspirations, not to mention our way of chaffing our opponents in preference to denouncing them as enemies of the human race, repelled from us some warm-hearted and eloquent Socialists, to whom it seemed callous and cynical to be even commonly self-possessed in the presence of the sufferings upon which Socialists make war. But there was far too much equality and personal intimacy among the Fabians to allow of any member presuming to get up and preach at the rest in the fashion which the working-classes still tolerate submissively from their leaders. We knew that a certain sort of oratory was useful for "stoking up" public meetings; but we needed no stoking up, and, when any orator tried the process on us, soon made him understand that he was wasting his time and ours. I, for one, should be very sorry to lower the intellectual standard of the Fabian by making the atmosphere of its public discussions the least bit more congenial to stale declamation than it is at present. If our debates are to be kept wholesome, they cannot be too irreverent or too critical. And the irreverence, which has become traditional with us, comes down from those early days when we often talked such nonsense that we could not help laughing at ourselves.

Tory Gold at the 1885 Election.

When I add that in 1885 we had only 40 members, you will be able to form a sufficient notion of the Fabian Society in its nonage. In that year there occurred an event which developed the latent differences between ourselves and the Social-Democratic Federation. The Federation said then, as it still says, that its policy is founded on a recognition of the existence of a Class War. How far the fact of the working classes being at war with the proprietary classes justifies them in suspending the observance of the ordinary social obligations in dealing with them was never settled; but at that time we were decidedly less scrupulous than we are now in our ideas on the subject; and we all said freely that as gunpowder destroyed the feudal system, so the capitalist system could not long survive the invention of dynamite. Not that we were dynamitards: indeed the absurdity of the inference shows how innocent we were of any practical acquaintance with explosives; but we thought that the statement about gunpowder and feudalism was historically true, and that it would do the capitalists good to remind them of it. Suddenly, however, the Federation made a very startling practical application of the Class War doctrine. They did not blow anybody up; but in the general election of 1885 they ran two candidates in London—Mr. Williams, in Hampstead, who got 27 votes, and Mr. Fielding, in Kennington, who got 32 votes. And they made no secret of the fact

that the expenses of these elections had been paid by one of the established political parties in order to split the vote of the other. From the point of view of the abstract moralist there was nothing to be said against the transaction; since it was evident that Socialist statesmanship must for a long time to come consist largely of taking advantage of the party dissensions between the Unsocialists. It may easily happen to-morrow that the Liberal party may offer to contribute to the expenses of a Fabian candidate in a hopelessly Tory stronghold, in order to substantiate its pretensions to encourage Labor representation. Under such circumstances it is quite possible that we may say to the Fabian in question, Accept by all means; and deliver propagandist addresses all over the place. Suppose that the Liberal party offers to bear part of Mr. Sidney Webb's expenses at the forthcoming County Council election at Deptford, as they undoubtedly will, by means of the usual National Liberal Club subscription, in the case of the poorer Labor candidates. Mr. Webb, as a matter of personal preference for an independence which he is fortunately able to afford, will refuse. But suppose Mr. Webb were not in that fortunate position, as some Labor candidates will not be! It is quite certain that not the smallest odium would attach to the acceptance of a Liberal grant-in-aid. Now the idea that taking Tory money is worse than taking Liberal money is clearly a Liberal party idea and not a Social-Democratic one. In 1885 there was not the slightest excuse for regarding the Tory party as any more hostile to Socialism than the Liberal party; and Mr. Hyndman's classical quotation, "*Non olet*"—"It does not smell," meaning that there is no difference in the flavor of Tory and Whig gold once it comes into the Socialist treasury, was a sufficient retort to the accusations of moral corruption which were levelled at him. But the Tory money job, as it was called, was none the less a huge mistake in tactics. Before it took place, the Federation loomed large in the imagination of the public and the political parties. This is conclusively proved by the fact that the Tories thought that the Socialists could take enough votes from the Liberals to make it worth while to pay the expenses of two Socialist candidates in London. The day after the election everyone knew that the Socialists were an absolutely negligeable quantity there as far as voting power was concerned. They had presented the Tory party with 57 votes, at a cost of about £8 apiece. What was worse, they had shocked London Radicalism, to which Tory money was an utter abomination. It is hard to say which cut the more foolish figure, the Tories who had spent their money for nothing, or the Socialists who had sacrificed their reputation for worse than nothing.

The disaster was so obvious that there was an immediate falling off from the Federation, on the one hand of the sane tacticians of the movement, and on the other of those out-and-out Insurrectionists who repudiated political action altogether, and were only too glad to be able to point to a discreditable instance of it. Two resolutions were passed, one by the Socialist League and the other by the Fabian Society. Here is the Fabian resolution:

"That the conduct of the Council of the Social-Democratic Federation in accepting money from the Tory party in payment of the election expenses of Socialist candidates is calculated to disgrace the Socialist movement in England."—4th Dec., 1885.

Here is the resolution of the League, characteristically non-Fabian in tone:

"That this meeting of London members of the Socialist League views with indignation the action of certain members of the Social Democratic Federation in trafficking with the honor of the Socialist party, and desires to express its sympathies with that section of the body which repudiates the tactics of the disreputable gang concerned in the recent proceedings."—7th Dec., 1885.

The Unemployed Agitation.

From that time forward we were counted by the Federation as a hostile body; and we ourselves knew that we should have to find our way for ourselves without looking to the other bodies for a trustworthy lead. You will perhaps expect to hear that the immediate result was the extinction of the Federation and the advance to the front of the Fabian with its peculiar opportunist policy. But this was not so. Even those members of the Federation who seceded from it then under the leadership of C. L. Fitzgerald and J. Macdonald, never thought of joining the Fabian. They formed in Feb. 1886 a new body called "The Socialist Union," which barely managed to keep breathing for two years. Still, it suited them better than the Fabian. The fact is, 1886 and 1887 were not favorable years for drawing room Socialism and scientific politics. They were years of great distress among the working classes—years for street-corner agitators to marshal columns of hollow-cheeked men with red flags and banners inscribed with Scriptural texts to fashionable churches on Sunday, and to lead desperate deputations from the Holborn Board of Guardians to the Local Government Board office and back again, using stronger language at each official rebuff from pillar to post. These were the days when Mr. Champion told a meeting in London Fields that if the whole propertied class had but one throat he would cut it without a second thought, if by doing so he could redress the injustices of our social system; and when Mr. Hyndman was expelled from his club for declaring on the Thames Embankment that there would be some attention paid to cases of starvation if a rich man were immolated on every pauper's tomb. Besides these London gatherings, there were meetings of the unemployed, not always unaccompanied by window-breaking, in Manchester, Birmingham, Leicester, Yarmouth, and many of the large towns throughout the country. Matters were much the same in Holland and Belgium. In America the Eight Hours Movement, intensified by the distress of the unemployed, who were estimated at a million strong in the United States, led to riots in April 1886,

culminating on the 4th May with the famous Chicago meeting where the bomb was thrown which led to the hanging of four Anarchists. In London the police supervision of the meetings was sufficient to prevent any violence until Monday, 8th February 1886, when a Sugar Bounty meeting was held in Trafalgar Square. It was swamped by a huge crowd of the unemployed. The Federation orators, who were present, seized the opportunity to hold a counter demonstration; after which there was an adjournment to Hyde Park. Unfortunately, on this occasion the police, through some blunder in telephoning or the like, received orders to proceed, not to Pall Mall, but to *The* Mall. Accordingly, they were shivering in St. James's Park whilst the unemployed were passing through the street of rich men's clubs. The rich men crowded to the windows to see the poor men pass along; and Dives, not noticing the absence of the police, mocked Lazarus. Lazarus thereupon broke Dives's windows, and even looted a shop or two, besides harmlessly storming the carriage of a tactless lady near the Achilles statue. Hyndman, Champion, Burns and Williams were arrested and tried for this affair; but there were one or two good men on the jury, notably a Christian Socialist named Crickmay; our friend Sparling was proved by himself and others to have used the most terrible of the phrases for which Burns was indicted; and what with these advantages and the unimpeachable gentility of two of the defendants, all four were acquitted. This was a great success, especially as the Mansion House Fund for the relief of the unemployed had gone up with a bound from £30,000 to £79,000 after the window breaking. The agitation went on more violently than ever afterwards; and the restless activity of Champion, seconded by Burns's formidable oratory, seized on every public opportunity, from the Lord Mayor's Show to services for the poor in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, to parade the unemployed and force their claims upon the attention of the public. A commercial firm attempted to make a census of the unemployed in order to advertize themselves; the *Pall Mall Gazette* tried also; and matters looked very gloomy indeed when Champion, impatient of doing nothing but marching hungry men about the streets and making stale speeches to them, offered the Federation the alternative of either empowering him to negotiate some scheme of relief with his aristocratic sympathizers, or else going to Trafalgar Square and staying there day and night until something should happen—the something being perhaps the best available attempt at a revolution possible under the circumstances. The Federation refused both alternatives; and Champion withdrew from the agitation in disgust. A long-brewing dissension between Burns and Hyndman also came to a head about this time; and the result was that the unemployed agitation was left almost leaderless at the moment when the unemployed themselves were getting most desperate. Early in the winter of 1887 the men themselves, under all sorts of casual leaders, or rather speechmakers, took to meeting constantly in Trafalgar Square, thus taking up Champion's alternative for want of anything else to do. Champion, however,

was gone; and the shopkeepers began to complain that the sensational newspaper accounts of the meetings were frightening away their customers and endangering the Christmas quarter's rent. On this the newspapers became more sensational than ever; and those fervid orators who preserve friendly relations with the police began to throw in the usual occasional proposal to set London on fire simultaneously at the Bank, St. Paul's, the House of Commons, the Stock Exchange, and the Tower. This helped to keep the pot boiling; and at last the police cleared the unemployed out of the Square. Immediately the whole working-class political organization of London rallied to the defence of the right of meeting. The affair of 1866, when the railings of Hyde Park were thrown down and the right of meeting there vindicated, and the Free Speech triumph at Dod Street, were precedents in favor of the people. The papers which declared that the workers had an excellent forum in Hyde Park without obstructing Trafalgar Square, were reminded that in 1866 the convenience of Trafalgar Square for public meetings was made an excuse for the attempt to put down meetings in the Park. Mr. Stead, who was then editing the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and who, with all his enthusiasm, had about as much practical knowledge of how to do the Dod Street trick* as a London tram-conductor has of conducting classical concerts, gave the word "To the Square!" To the Square we all went, therefore, with drums beating and banners waving, in our tens of thousands, nominally to protest against the Irish policy of the Government, but really to maintain the right of meeting in the Square. The meeting had been proclaimed; but the authority cited was an Act for the Regulation of Traffic which clearly gave no power to the police to prohibit processions, and which was abandoned by the Government when they had to justify their action in court. However, the new Chief Commissioner of Police, successor to him who had been dismissed for making that mistake in the previous year about Pall Mall, had no notion of sharing his predecessor's fate. He took no half measures in the matter: there was no reading of the Riot Act, or calling on the processions to disperse, as they had arranged to do peacefully and constitutionally if so ordered. It was, as one of Bunyan's pilgrims put it, but a word and a blow with him; for the formal summons to disperse was

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* It may be useful to say here that "the way to do the Dod Street trick" is simply to find a dozen or more persons who are willing to get arrested at the rate of one per week by speaking in defiance of the police. In a month or two, the repeated arrests, the crowds which they attract, the scenes which they provoke, the sentences passed by the magistrates and at the sessions, and the consequent newspaper descriptions, rouse sufficient public feeling to force the Home Secretary to give way whenever the police are clearly in the wrong. Mr. Matthews, victorious in Trafalgar Square, has been completely beaten at the World's End, Chelsea, by this method since the above paper was read. The method, however, is extremely hard on the martyrs, who suffer severely, and get no compensation, and but little thanks.

accompanied by a vigorous baton charge, before which the processionists, though outnumbering their assailants by a hundred to one, fled in the utmost confusion and terror. That eventful 13th November 1887 has since been known as "Bloody Sunday." The heroes of it were Burns and Cunninghame Graham, who charged, two strong, at the rampart of policemen round the Square and were overpowered and arrested. The heroine was Mrs. Besant, who may be said without the slightest exaggeration to have all but killed herself with overwork in looking after the prisoners, and organizing on their behalf a "Law and Liberty League" with Mr. Stead. Meanwhile the police received the blessing of Mr. Gladstone; and Insurrectionism, after a two years' innings, vanished from the field and has not since been much heard of. For, in the middle of the revengeful growling over the defeat at the Square, trade revived; the unemployed were absorbed; the *Star* newspaper appeared to let in light and let off steam: in short, the way was clear at last for Fabianism. Do not forget, though, that Insurrectionism will reappear at the next depression of trade as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow morning.*

The Fabian Conference of 1886.

You will now ask to be told what the Fabians had been doing all this time. Well, I think it must be admitted that we were overlooked in the excitements of the unemployed agitation, which had, moreover, caused the Tory money affair to be forgotten. The Fabians were disgracefully backward in open-air speaking. Up to quite a recent date, Graham Wallas, myself, and Mrs. Besant were the only representative open-air speakers in the Society, whereas the Federation speakers, Burns, Hyndman, Andrew Hall, Tom Mann, Champion, Burrows, with the Socialist Leaguers, were at it constantly. On the whole, the Church Parades and the rest were not in our line; and we were not wanted by the men who were organizing them. Our only contribution to the agitation was a report which we printed in 1886, which recommended experiments in tobacco culture, and even hinted at compulsory military service, as means of absorbing some of the unskilled unemployed, but which went carefully into the practical conditions of relief works. Indeed, we are at present trying to produce a new tract on the subject without finding ourselves able to improve very materially on the old one in this respect. It was drawn up by Bland, Hughes, Podmore, Stapelton, and Webb, and was the first of our publications that contained any solid information. Its tone, however, was moderate and its style somewhat conventional; and the Society was still in so hot a temper on the

* This is the sentence which led a London evening newspaper (*The Echo*) to denounce the author in unmeasured terms for inciting the unemployed to armed rebellion. The incident is worth mentioning as an example of the ordinary Press criticism of Socialist utterances.

social question that we refused to adopt it as a regular Fabian tract, and only issued it as a report printed for the information of members. Nevertheless we were coming to our senses rapidly by this time. We signalized our repudiation of political sectarianism in June, 1886, by inviting the Radicals, the Secularists, and anyone else who would come, to a great conference, modelled upon the Industrial Remuneration Conference, and dealing with the Nationalization of Land and Capital. It fully established the fact that we had nothing immediately practical to impart to the Radicals and that they had nothing to impart to us. The proceedings were fully reported for us; but we never had the courage even to read the shorthand writer's report, which still remains in MS. Before I refreshed my memory on the subject the other day, I had a vague notion that the Conference cost a great deal of money; that it did no good whatever; that Mr. Bradlaugh made a speech; that Mrs. Fenwick Miller, who had nothing on earth to do with us, was in the chair during part of the proceedings; and that the most successful paper was by a strange gentleman whom we had taken on trust as a Socialist, but who turned out to be an enthusiast on the subject of building more harbors. I find, however, on looking up the facts, that no less than fifty-three societies sent delegates; that the guarantee fund for expenses was £100; and that the discussions were kept going for three afternoons and three evenings. The Federation boycotted us; but the *Times* reported us. Eighteen papers were read, two of them by members of Parliament, and most of the rest by well-known people. William Morris and Dr. Aveling read papers as delegates from the Socialist League; the National Secular Society sent Mr. Foote and Mr. Robertson, the latter contributing a "Scheme of Taxation" in which he anticipated much of what was subsequently adopted as the Fabian program; Wordsworth Donisthorpe took the field for Anarchism of the type advocated by the authors of "A Plea for Liberty"; Stewart Headlam spoke for Christian Socialism and the Guild of St. Matthew; Dr. Pankhurst dealt with the situation from the earlier Radical point of view; and various Socialist papers were read by Mrs. Besant, Sidney Webb, and Edward Carpenter, besides one by Stuart-Glennie, who subsequently left us because we fought shy of the Marriage Question when revising our "Basis." I mention all this in order to shew you how much more important this abortive Conference looked than the present one. Yet all that can be said for it is that it made us known to the Radical clubs and proved that we were able to manage a conference in a businesslike way. It also, by the way, shewed off our pretty prospectus with the design by Crane at the top, our stylish-looking blood-red invitation cards, and the other little smartnesses on which we then prided ourselves. We used to be plentifully sneered at as fops and armchair Socialists for our attention to these details; but I think it was by no means the least of our merits that we always, as far as our means permitted, tried to make our printed documents as handsome as possible, and did

our best to destroy the association between revolutionary literature and slovenly printing on paper that is nasty without being cheap. One effect of this was that we were supposed to be much richer than we really were, because we generally got better value and a finer show for our money than the other Socialist societies.

The Fabian Parliamentary League.

The Conference was the last of our follies. We had now a very strong Executive Committee, including Mrs. Besant, who in June 1885 had effected her public profession of Socialism by joining the Fabian. Five out of the seven authors of "Fabian Essays," which were of course still unwritten, were at the helm by 1887. But by 1886 we had already found that we were of one mind as to the advisability of setting to work by the ordinary political methods and having done with Anarchism and vague exhortations to Emancipate the Workers. We had several hot debates on the subject with a section of the Socialist League which called itself Anti-State Communist, a name invented by Mr. Joseph Lane of that body. William Morris, who was really a free democrat of the Kropotkin type, backed up Lane, and went for us tooth and nail. Records of our warfare may be found in the volumes of the extinct magazine called *To-Day*, which was then edited by Hubert Bland; and they are by no means bad reading. We soon began to see that at the debates the opposition to us came from members of the Socialist League, who were present only as visitors. The question was, how many followers had our one ascertained Anarchist, Mrs. Wilson, among the silent Fabians. Bland and Mrs. Besant brought this question to an issue on the 17th September, 1886, at a meeting in Anderton's Hotel, by respectively seconding and moving the following resolution:

> "That it is advisable that Socialists should organize themselves as a political party for the purpose of transferring into the hands of the whole working community full control over the soil and the means of production, as well as over the production and distribution of wealth."

To this a rider was moved by William Morris as follows:

> "But whereas the first duty of Socialists is to educate the people to understand what their present position is, and what their future might be, and to keep the principle of Socialism steadily before them; and whereas no Parliamentary party can exist without compromise and concession, which would hinder that education and obscure those principles, it would be a false step for Socialists to attempt to take part in the Parliamentary contest."

I shall not attempt to describe the debate, in which Morris, Mrs. Wilson, Davis, and Tochatti did battle with Burns, Mrs. Besant, Bland, Shaw, Donald, and Rossiter: that is, with Fabian and S.D.F.

combined. Suffice it to say that the minutes of the meeting close with the following significant note by the secretary:

> "Subsequently to the meeting, the secretary received notice from the manager of Anderton's Hotel that the Society could not be accommodated there for any further meetings."

Everybody voted, whether Fabian or not; and Mrs. Besant and Bland carried their resolution by 47 to 19, Morris's rider being subsequently rejected by 40 to 27.

I must not linger over those high old times, tempting as they are. In order to avoid a breach with the Fabians who sympathized with Mrs. Wilson, we proceeded to form a separate body within the society, called the Fabian Parliamentary League, which any Fabian could join or not as he pleased. I am afraid I must read you at full length the preliminary manifesto of this body. It is dated February, 1887:

Manifesto of the Fabian Parliamentary League.

The Fabian Parliamentary League is composed of Socialists who believe that Socialism may be most quickly and most surely realized by utilizing the political power already possessed by the people. The progress of the Socialist party in the German Reichstag, in the Legislatures of the United States, and in the Paris Municipal Council, not only proves the possibility of a Socialist party in Parliament, but renders it imperative on English Socialists to set energetically about the duty of giving effect in public affairs to the growing influence of Socialist opinion in this country.

The League will endeavor to organize Socialist opinion, and to bring it to bear upon Parliament, municipalities, and other representative bodies; it will, by lectures and publications, seek to deal with the political questions of the day, analysing the ultimate tendencies of measures as well as their immediate effects, and working for or against proposed measures of social reform according as they tend towards, or away from, the Socialist ideal.

The League will take active part in all general and local elections. Until a fitting opportunity arises for putting forward Socialist candidates to form the nucleus of a Socialist party in Parliament, it will confine itself to supporting those candidates who will go furthest in the direction of Socialism. It will not ally itself absolutely with any political party; it will jealously avoid being made use of for party purposes; and it will be guided in its action by the character, record, and pledges of the candidates before the constituencies. In Municipal, School Board, Vestry, and other local elections, the League will, as it finds itself strong enough, run candidates of its own, and by placing trustworthy Socialists on local representative bodies it will endeavor to secure the recognition of the Socialist principle in all the details of local government.

It will be the duty of members of the League, in every borough, to take active part in the public work of their districts; and to this end they should organize themselves into a Branch of the League. They should appoint a secretary to keep lists of all annual and other elections in his dis-

trict and of all candidates; to attend to the registration of Socialists; to watch the public conduct of all officials, and keep a record thereof for guidance at future elections; to enlist volunteers for special work, and generally to act as a centre of the organization. Individual members should write to their Parliamentary representatives on any Bill on which the League takes action; should take every opportunity of defending and advocating Socialism in their local press; should visit the workhouses of their neighborhood; and should exercise a careful supervision of local funds. By steady work on these and similar lines, Socialists will increase their power in the community, and will before long be able to influence effectively the course of public opinion.

Socialists willing to co-operate should communicate with J. Brailsford Bright, hon. sec. of the Fabian Parliamentary League, 34 Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C., who will give full details as to the method of organizing a Branch of the League.

THE COUNCIL OF THE

February, 1887. FABIAN PARLIAMENTARY LEAGUE.

RULES OF THE LEAGUE.

1. That the name of the Society be The Fabian Parliamentary League.
2. That the minimum subscription be 2s. 6d. per annum.
3. That at the annual general meeting the Society shall elect a Council, which shall hold office for one year, the secretary or secretaries, and the treasurer being appointed at the same meeting.
4. That each Branch shall appoint a member to serve on the Council.
5. That meetings of the members of the League shall be held at least once in every three months, and on such other occasions as the Council shall think necessary.

Here you have the first sketch of the Fabian policy of to-day. The Parliamentary League, however, was a short-lived affair. Mrs. Wilson's followers faded away, either by getting converted or leaving us. Indeed, it is a question with us to this day whether they did not owe their existence solely to our own imaginations. Anyhow, it soon became plain that the Society was solidly with the Executive on the subject of political action, and that there was no need for any separate organization at all. The League first faded into a Political Committee of the Society, and then merged silently and painlessly into the general body. During its separate existence it issued two tracts, a criticism of seven Bills then before Parliament, and "The True Radical Programme," which still survives in an up-to-date form as our Tract No. 11, "The Workers' Political Program." One other point about the League must be noted. Mrs. Besant tried to form provincial branches of it; and some such branches did draw breath for a moment here and there in the country. I have not the least idea what became of them, nor is any one present, I venture to say, wiser than I in the matter. This failure was not to be wondered at; for outside Socialist circles

in London the Society remained unknown. It was still unable to bring up its roll of members to a hundred names; and its funds were so modest that nobody ever thought of proposing that we should keep a banking account or rent an office. In fact, we were literally passing rich on £40 a year. There may be among the delegates of the younger Societies represented here, one or two who stand in some awe of the London Society. It may do them good to know that the Birmingham Fabian Society, on the very first day of its existence, was more numerous and more prosperous pecuniarily than the London Society was until quite the other day; and I daresay the same is true of other provincial Fabian bodies. If ever there was a Society which lived by its wits, and by its wits alone, that Society was the Fabian.

Socialism "Equipped with All the Culture of the Age."

By far our most important work at this period was our renewal of that historic and economic equipment of Social-Democracy of which Ferdinand Lassalle boasted, and which had been getting rustier and more obsolete ever since his time and that of his contemporary Karl Marx. In the earlier half of this century, when these two leaders were educated, all the Socialists in Europe were pouncing on Ricardo's demonstration of the tendency of wages to fall to bare subsistence, and on his labor theory of value, believing that they constituted a scientific foundation for Socialism; and the truth is that since that bygone time no Socialist (unless we count Ruskin) had done twopennyworth of economic thinking, or made any attempt to keep us up to date in the scientific world. In 1885 we used to prate about Marx's theory of value and Lassalle's Iron Law of Wages as if it were still 1870. In spite of Henry George, no Socialist seemed to have any working knowledge of the theory of economic rent: its application to skilled labor was so unheard-of that the expression "rent of ability" was received with laughter when the Fabians first introduced it into their lectures and discussions; and as for the modern theory of value, it was scouted as a blasphemy against Marx, with regard to whom the Social-Democratic Federation still maintains a Dogma of Finality and Infallibility which has effectually prevented it from making a single contribution to the economics of Socialism since its foundation. As to history, we had a convenient stock of imposing generalizations about the evolution from slavery to serfdom and from serfdom to free wage labor. We drew our pictures of society with one broad line dividing the bourgeoisie from the proletariat, and declared that there were only two classes really in the country. We gave lightning sketches of the development of the medieval craftsman into the manufacturer and finally into the factory hand. We denounced Malthusianism quite as crudely as the Malthusians advocated it, which is saying a good deal; and we raged against emigration, National Insurance,

Co-operation, Trade-Unionism, old-fashioned Radicalism, and everything else that was not Socialism; and that, too, without knowing at all clearly what we meant by Socialism. The mischief was, not that our generalizations were unsound, but that we had no detailed knowledge of the content of them: we had borrowed them ready-made as articles of faith; and when opponents like Charles Bradlaugh asked us for details we sneered at the demand without being in the least able to comply with it. The real reason why Anarchist and Socialist worked then shoulder to shoulder as comrades and brothers was that neither one nor the other had any definite idea of what he wanted or how it was to be got. All this is true to this day of the raw recruits of the movement, and of some older hands who may be absolved on the ground of invincible ignorance; but it is no longer true of the leaders of the movement in general. In 1887 even the British Association burst out laughing as one man when an elderly representative of Philosophic Radicalism, with the air of one who was uttering the safest of platitudes, accused us of ignorance of political economy; and now not even a Philosophic Radical is to be found to make himself ridiculous in this way. The exemplary eye-opening of Mr. Leonard Courtney by Mr. Sidney Webb lately in the leading English economic review surprised nobody, except perhaps Mr. Courtney himself. The cotton lords of the north would never dream to-day of engaging an economist to confute us with learned pamphlets as their predecessors engaged Nassau Senior in the days of the Ten Hours Bill, because they know that we should be only too glad to advertize our Eight Hours Bill by flattening out any such champion. From 1887 to 1889 we were the recognized bullies and swashbucklers of advanced economics.

How to Train for Public Life.

Now this, as you may imagine, was not done without study; and as that study could not possibly be carried on by the men who were organizing the unemployed agitation in the streets, the Fabians had a monopoly of it. We had to study where we could and how we could. I need not repeat the story of the Hampstead Historic Club, founded by a handful of us to read Marx and Proudhon, and afterwards turned into a systematic history class in which each student took his turn at being professor. My own experience may be taken as typical. For some years I attended the Hampstead Historic Club once a fortnight, and spent a night in the alternate weeks at a private circle of economists which has since blossomed into the British Economic Association—a circle where the social question was left out, and the work kept on abstract scientific lines. I made all my acquaintances think me madder than usual by the pertinacity with which I attended debating societies and haunted all sorts of hole-and-corner debates and public meetings and made speeches at them. I was President of the Local Government Board at an amateur Parliament where a Fabian ministry had to put its proposals into black-and-white in the shape of Parliamentary Bills. Every Sunday

I lectured on some subject which I wanted to teach to myself; and it was not until I had come to the point of being able to deliver separate lectures, without notes, on Rent, Interest, Profits, Wages, Toryism, Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Trade-Unionism, Co-operation, Democracy, the Division of Society into Classes, and the Suitability of Human Nature to Systems of Just Distribution, that I was able to handle Social-Democracy as it must be handled before it can be preached in such a way as to present it to every sort of man from his own particular point of view. In old lecture lists of the Society you will find my name down for twelve different lectures or so. Nowadays I have only one, for which the secretary is good enough to invent four or five different names. Sometimes I am asked for one of the old ones, to my great dismay, as I forget all about them; but I get out of the difficulty by delivering the new one under the old name, which does as well. I do not hesitate to say that all our best lecturers have two or three old lectures at the back of every single point in their best new speeches; and this means that they have spent a certain number of years plodding away at footling little meetings and dull discussions, doggedly placing these before all private engagements, however tempting. A man's Socialistic acquisitiveness must be keen enough to make him actually prefer spending two or three nights a week in speaking and debating, or in picking up social information even in the most dingy and scrappy way, to going to the theatre, or dancing or drinking, or even sweethearting, if he is to become a really competent propagandist—unless, of course, his daily work is of such a nature as to be in itself a training for political life; and that, we know, is the case with very few of us indeed. It is at such lecturing and debating work, and on squalid little committees and ridiculous little delegations to conferences of the three tailors of Tooley Street, with perhaps a deputation to the Mayor thrown in once in a blue moon or so, that the ordinary Fabian workman or clerk must qualify for his future seat on the Town Council, the School Board, or perhaps in the Cabinet. It was in that way that Bradlaugh, for instance, graduated from being a boy evangelist to being one of the most formidable debaters in the House of Commons. And the only opponents who have ever held their own against the Fabians in debate have been men like Mr. Levy or Mr. Foote, who learnt in the same school.

Collaring the "Star."

Now let me return from this digression as to how we grounded ourselves in the historic, economic and moral bearings of Socialism, to consider the consequences of our newly acquired proficiency. The first effect was, as we have already seen, to make us conscious that we were neither Anarchists nor Insurrectionists. We demolished Anarchism in the abstract by grinding it between human nature and the theory of economic rent; and when, driven in disgrace out of Anderton's Hotel, and subsequently out of a chapel near Wardour

Street in which we had taken refuge, we went to Willis's Rooms, the most aristocratic, and also, as it turned out, the cheapest place of meeting in London, our favorite sport was inviting politicians and economists to lecture to us, and then falling on them with all our erudition and debating skill, and making them wish they had never been born. The curious may consult the files of Mr. George Standring's extinct journal, called *The Radical*, for a graphic account, written by an individualist, of the fate of a well-known member of Parliament who was lured into our web on one of these occasions. The article is suggestively entitled, "Butchered to make a Fabian Holiday." We also confuted Co-operation in the person of Mr. Benjamin Jones on a point on which we now see reason to believe that we were entirely in the wrong, and he entirely in the right.

The butchery of the M.P. took place on the 16th March, 1888, four months after the rout at Trafalgar Square. Trade had revived; and with the disappearance of the unemployed the occupation of the Federation was gone. Champion was trying to organize a Labor party with a new paper; Burns, just out of prison for the Square affair, was getting into political harness at Battersea; and the *Star* newspaper was started. We collared the *Star* by a stage-army stratagem, and before the year was out had the assistant editor, Mr. H. W. Massingham, writing as extreme articles as Hyndman had ever written in *Justice*. Before the capitalist proprietors woke up to our game and cleared us out, the competition of the *Star*, which was immensely popular under what I may call the Fabian *régime*, had encouraged a morning daily, the *Chronicle*, to take up the running; and the *Star*, when it tried to go back, found that it could not do so further than to Gladstonize its party politics. On other questions it remained and remains far more advanced than the wildest Socialist three years before ever hoped to see a capitalist paper. Nowadays even the *Daily News* has its Labor column, although five years ago the editor would as soon have thought of setting aside a column for Freethinkers.

Permeating the Liberals.

However, I must not anticipate. In 1888 we had not been found out even by the *Star*. The Liberal party was too much preoccupied over Mr. O'Brien's breeches and the Parnell Commission, with its dramatic climax in the suicide of the forger Pigott, to suspect that the liveliness of the extreme left of the Radical wing in London meant anything but the usual humbug about working-class interests. We now adopted a policy which snapped the last tie between our methods and the sectarianism of the Federation. We urged our members to join the Liberal and Radical Associations of their districts, or, if they preferred it, the Conservative Associations. We told them to become members of the nearest Radical Club and Co-operative Store, and to get delegated to the Metropolitan Radical Federation and the Liberal and Radical Union if possible. On these bodies we made speeches and moved resolutions, or, better still, got

the Parliamentary candidate for the constituency to move them, and secured reports and encouraging little articles for him in the *Star*. We permeated the party organizations and pulled all the wires we could lay our hands on with our utmost adroitness and energy; and we succeeded so far that in 1888 we gained the solid advantage of a Progressive majority, full of ideas that would never have come into their heads had not the Fabian put them there, on the first London County Council. The generalship of this movement was undertaken chiefly by Sidney Webb, who played such bewildering conjuring tricks with the Liberal thimbles and the Fabian peas, that to this day both the Liberals and the sectarian Socialists stand aghast at him. It was exciting whilst it lasted, all this "permeation of the Liberal party," as it was called; and no person with the smallest political intelligence is likely to deny that it made a foothold for us in the press and pushed forward Socialism in municipal politics to an extent which can only be appreciated by those who remember how things stood before our campaign. When we published "Fabian Essays" at the end of 1889, having ventured with great misgiving on a subscription edition of a thousand, it went off like smoke; and our cheap edition brought up the circulation to about twenty thousand. In the meantime we had been cramming the public with information in tracts, on the model of our earliest financial success in that department, namely, "Facts for Socialists," the first edition of which actually brought us a profit—the only instance of the kind then known. In short, the years 1888, 1889, 1890 saw a Fabian boom, the reverberation of which in the provinces at last produced the local Fabian societies which are represented here to-night. And I now come to the most important part of this paper; for I must at once tell you that we are here, not to congratulate ourselves on the continuance of that boom, but to face the fact that it is over, and that the time has come for a new departure.

One day, about a year ago, a certain "Liberal and Radical' London member of Parliament, having been coaxed by Webl to the point of admitting that his aims were exactly those of the Socialists, namely, the extinction of incomes derived from privately appropriated rent and interest, and that it was therefore his high destiny to lead the working-classes along the path of progress, was asked to get to business. Thereupon he made the discovery that he was not a Socialist and that Webb was. The intelligence spread with remarkable rapidity to all the official Liberals who had been reached by the Fabian influence; and the word was promptly given to close up the ranks of Capitalism against the insidious invaders. As in the case of the *Star* newspaper, the discovery came too late. It is only necessary to compare the Nottingham program of the National Liberal Federation for 1887 with the Newcastle program for 1891, or to study the Liberal and Radical Union program for the 1892 London County Council election, to appreciate the extent to which the policy of permeating the party organizations with Socialism had succeeded. The official leaders of the Liberal party cannot now turn

their followers back: they can only refuse to lead them and sit as tight as they can under the circumstances. The Radicals are at last conscious that the leaders are obstructing them; and they are now looking for a lead in attacking the obstruction. They say to us, in effect, "Your policy of permeating has been successful: we *are* permeated; and the result is that we find all the money and all the official power of our leaders, who are not permeated and cannot be permeated, arrayed against us. Now shew us how to get rid of those leaders or to fight them." I want to impress this situation on you, because there are some Rip Van Winkles in our movement who are only now waking up to the special variety of permeating work which was begun in 1886 and finished in 1890, and who, now that it is over and done with as far as the London Fabian is concerned, are protesting loudly against its being begun. No doubt there still remains, in London as everywhere else, a vast mass of political raw material, calling itself Liberal, Radical, Tory, Labôr, and what not, or even not calling itself anything at all, which is ready to take the Fabian stamp if it is adroitly and politely pressed down on it. There are thousands of thoroughly Socialized Radicals to-day who would have resisted Socialism fiercely if it had been forced on them with taunts, threats, and demands that they should recant all their old professions and commit what they regard as an act of political apostasy. And there are thousands more, not yet Socialized, who must be dealt with in the same manner. But whilst our propaganda is thus still chiefly a matter of permeation, that game is played out in our politics. As long ago as 1889 we plainly said, in the last Fabian Essay—Bland's "Political Outlook"—that the moment the party leaders realized what we were driving at, they would rally round all the institutions we were attacking, even at the cost of coalescing with their rivals for office, unless they could put us off more cheaply by raising false issues such as Leaseholds Enfranchisement, Disestablishment of the Church, or bogus "endings or mendings" of their cherished bulwark the House of Lords. We now feel that we have brought up all the political laggards and pushed their parties as far as they can be pushed, and that we have therefore cleared the way to the beginning of the special political work of the Socialist—that of forming a Collectivist party of those who have more to gain than to lose by Collectivism, solidly arrayed against those who have more to lose than to gain by it. That is the real subject of this Conference. Whether the time is ripe now or not, to that it must come at last; for even the most patient Fabians are growing anxious to make their position clear and to escape from the suspicion of being a mere left wing of the party which rallies round Messrs. Bryant & May's statue to Mr. Gladstône. We are especially loth to let the forthcoming general election pass without making it known that the eight years' work which I am sketching for you in this paper was not done for the sake of the sweaters and place-hunters who will presently be claiming the credit of it at the polls. Not that we would hesitate to let the credit go for the moment to any quarter, however venal, from which we could get a fair return

in substantial concessions to our cause; but in this instance we believe that our natural inclinations and our political interests point to the same course, that of making it understood that Fabianism is neither official Liberalism nor official Toryism, but an intelligent Collectivism that will eventually wear down both.

The Tactics of the Social-Democratic Federation.

And now, some of you will be inclined to ask whether this does not mean that we have at last come round to the views of the Social-Democratic Federation? The reply is that our *views* have always been the same as those of that body. On the 29th February, 1884, Mr. Bland moved at a Fabian meeting the following resolution:

> "That whilst not entirely agreeing with all the statements and phrases used in the pamphlets of the Democratic Federation and in the speeches of Mr. Hyndman, this Society considers that the Democratic Federation is doing a good and useful work and is worthy of sympathy and support."

That was carried *nem. con.*; and it would no doubt be carried unanimously here this evening if Mr. Bland were to move it again. But we did not proceed to amalgamate with them in 1884 any more than we shall to-night. Our organization and our methods are radically different; and the experience of the past eight years has strengthened our preference for our own and confirmed our objection to theirs. Let me enumerate a few of the differences. In the first place, the Fabian Society is a society for helping to bring about the Socialization of the industrial resources of the country. The Social-Democratic Federation is a society for enlisting the whole proletariat of the country in its own ranks and itself Socializing the national industry. The Federation persistently claims to be the only genuine representative of working-class interests in England. It counts no man a Socialist until he has joined it, and supports no candidate who is not a member. If one of its speakers supports an outside candidate, he is disowned. Only the other day the Executive Council of the Federation proposed that no member should even vote for any candidate not enrolled in its ranks.* The Federation chooses its own candidates without consulting its neighbors, and sends them to the poll, when it has the money, without the slightest regard to the possibility of such a course making a present of the seat to the least Socialistic candidate in the field. This implacably sectarian policy evidently depends for its success on the recruiting powers of the Society which adopts it. It was planned in the days when we all believed that Socialism had only to be explained to the working-classes to bring every working-

* This policy was finally adopted, and promulgated in the S.D.F. Manifesto issued on the occasion of the General Election in June-July, 1892. See, however the postscript to this tract.

man, not only in England but in Europe—nay, in the world—into our ranks. It would clearly be the right policy if four out of every five men in England were members of the Social-Democratic Federation. But the experience of over half a century of agitation has proved that no such result is possible. The Federation, in every centre of the population where it exists, is practically as insignificant a minority as the Fabian. The ablest working-class agitators it ever produced, John Burns and Tom Mann, had to free themselves from it the moment they gained sufficient political experience to see that a united nation of subscribers to the Social-Democratic Federation can never be anything more than a dream. A necessary part of the Federation policy is the denunciation, as misleaders of the people, of Radicals, Co-operators, Teetotallers, Trade-Unionists, Fabians, and all rival propagandists. The result of this is that the Federation branches are not merely insignificant in numbers, but unpopular as well, in spite of the admittedly stimulating effect of their meetings on the political activity of the working class. Their hand being against every outsider, every outsider's hand is naturally against them; and as the outsiders outnumber them by more than a thousand to one, they cannot get any real influence among the men who really manage the political work and organization of the working-classes, and who are of course all Co-operators, Teetotallers, Trade Unionists, or party men of one kind or another. For it is only your middle-class enthusiast who comes into the movement by reading Mazzini or Marx, without any previous experience in the only sort of organization hitherto open to working men of any organizing capacity. The net result is that wherever the Federation can shew a fair degree of success in branch work, it will be found that the branches have modified their policy in the Fabian direction. In Battersea, for instance, they were only masters of the situation whilst they followed John Burns, who, like Tom Mann, is insanely denounced by the central council as a mercenary renegade, and who, in return, makes no secret of his unbounded contempt for Federation tactics. At Manchester, too, where the Federation has had a creditable success, the branch practically repudiates the central authority by maintaining harmonious relations with the new Unionism which Burns inaugurated down at the docks here. In London the Federation would be a cipher but for the fact that it has stopped short of boycotting the Trades Council, on which it is strongly represented.

Fabian Tactics.

Now let us look at the Fabian tactics. We have never indulged in any visions of a Fabian army any bigger than a stage army. In London we have never publicly recruited except for other bodies. When I lecture for the Federation, I do not invite workmen to join the Fabian, but to join the branch for which I am lecturing. So far are we from encouraging the rush of members that has lately come

upon us, that we have actually tried to check it by insisting on stricter guarantees of the sincerity of the applicants' acceptance of our basis; and I do not hesitate to say that if it were not for the need of spreading the cost of our work over as large a number of subscribers as possible, we should be tempted to propose the limitation of our society in London to a hundred picked members. We have never advanced the smallest pretension to represent the working-classes of this country. No such absurdity as a candidate nominated by the Fabian Society alone has ever appeared in London, though we flatter ourselves that a candidate finds it no disadvantage now to be a Fabian. Although we think we can see further ahead than the mere Trade-Unionist or Co-operator, we are ready to help them loyally to take the next step ahead that lies in their path. When we go to a Radical Club to inveigh against the monopolies of land and capital, we know perfectly that we are preaching no new doctrine, and that the old hands were listening to such denunciations twenty-five years before we were born, and are only curious to know whether we have anything new in the way of a practical remedy. In short, we know that for a long time to come we can only make headway by gaining the confidence of masses of men outside our Society who will have nothing to do with us unless we first prove ourselves safe for all sorts of progressive work. For this we are denounced by the Social-Democratic Federation as compromisers of our principles, Liberal wire-pullers, and sham middle-class Socialists of the gas-and-water variety.

Again, consider our relation to the local Societies. Unlike the Federation branches, these are so perfectly independent of our control or dictation, that one of them has already tried Federation tactics at the School Board election, with the result that its candidates were thoroughly beaten and the Society effectually discredited. We insisted on this independence ourselves, seeing the advantage of each Society being able to appeal for support as an independent and autonomous local body, not committed in any way to the proceedings of people in London on whom they could have no effective check, and yet sharing the prestige and freedom from insurrectionary associations of the Fabian name. Suppose we reversed this policy, and made the whole set of Fabian Societies into a Fabian Federation on the S.D.F. plan. They would all become the slaves of a council here in London on which they could not be represented. For though they would be entitled to have delegates on it, yet as they could not afford to pay the expenses of these delegates up and down for every council meeting, they would have to fall back on the S.D.F. or Trade-Union plan of asking London members to represent them, which would produce that worst form of pseudo-democratic slavery which consists in the appearance of representation without the reality of it.

Take another point. The Federation runs a newspaper called *Justice*, which has not hitherto been worth a penny to any man whose pence are so scarce as a laborer's, and which has made repeated attacks on the ordinary working-class organizations without whose co-operation Socialists can at present do nothing except cry in

the wilderness. The branches are expected to sell this paper at their meetings. Now I hope no Fabian tract at present in the market is worth less than a penny, or is calculated to give needless offence to any of our allies. As to a paper, we recognize that a workman expects for his penny a week a newspaper as big and as full of general news as any of the regular Sunday papers. Therefore our policy has been to try to induce some of these regular papers to give a column or two to Socialism, calling it by what name they please. And I have no hesitation in saying that the effect of this policy as shewn in the *Manchester Sunday Chronicle*, the *Star*, the London *Daily Chronicle*, and other more exclusively working-class papers, notably *The Clarion*, has done more for the cause than all the time and money that has been wasted on *Justice* since the *Star* was founded. *Fabian News* does everything for us that *Justice* does for the Federation; but what would you think of us if we invited you to offer it for a penny to the man in the street as the leading organ of Social-Democracy in England? Our mission is to Socialize the Press as we hope to Socialize Parliament and the other Estates of the realm, not to run the Press ourselves.

Finally, how has the Federation policy succeeded as a means of maintaining discipline and solidarity in its own ranks? Evidently not at all. First came the secession of the Socialist League, in which they lost their greatest man, William Morris, besides Andreas Scheu, Belfort Bax, the late C. J. Faulkner, Robert Banner, E. T. Craig (of Ralahine fame), Bland, Aveling, Mrs. Marx-Aveling, and others. But they retained Helen Taylor, John Burns, Champion, and Tom Mann. Not one of these remain with them. Now look at the Fabian record. Our first regular Executive Council was that appointed to serve from January 1885 to April 1886. The names are Pease, Bland, Shaw, Webb, and Mrs. Wilson. To them we added Mrs. Besant and Podmore in 1886, Olivier and Phillips in 1887, Graham Wallas and William Clarke in 1888. Look at the Executive of to-day, and you find Webb, Bland, Shaw, Pease, Olivier and Wallas there still; and you would find Podmore, Phillips and Clarke but for the fact that they voluntarily withdrew in favor of members who were better able to attend the Executive meetings. They are still available whenever they are called upon. Mrs. Wilson is the only one whom we have lost through any political incompatibility; for Mrs. Besant's loss is a grief which we share with all the advanced societies in London except the Theosophic Society. We are a regular old gang. But if you consider that we are all persons of tolerably strong individuality, and very diverse temperaments, and take that along with the fact that no one of us is strong enough to impose his will on the rest, or weak enough to allow himself to be overridden, you will, I think, allow me to claim our escape from the quarrels which rent asunder both the Federation and the League as a proof that our methods stand the test of experience in the matter of keeping our forces together.

In saying all this, I have had to be a little hard on the S.D.F., the rank and file of which are for the most part our very good friends,

as they shew by the freedom with which they help us and invite us to help them in any convenient way without the slightest regard to the denunciations of us in which *Justice* periodically indulges. On our side we take no offence and bear no grudge, knowing too well how often our success has been made easy by their exertions in breaking ground for us. But I think you will now see that it is impossible for us ever to amalgamate with the Social-Democratic Federation whilst it remains a federation, or to recommend any of our local Societies to venture on such a step. If such an amalgamation ever takes place, it will come about by branches of the Federation from time to time throwing off the leading strings of that body and combining with the other Socialists of the town, including the Fabians, to form a local independent Socialist Society.

Scientific Class Warfare.

But however we may combine or divide our forces, our tactics must always depend on our strength at the moment. At present it is good tactics for the United States to bully Chili; but it would be bad tactics for Portugal to bully England. It is good tactics to run a Labor candidate at Battersea: it would be folly to run one at Hampstead. If the numbers of the Fabian Society in any constituency ever rise to the point of making the result of the election depend on the Fabian vote, that Society will not only run Fabian candidates, but will run them with a highhandedness that will astonish even the Federation. It may be said, roughly, that the tactics of the Fabian Society will change with every additional thousand of its members. Only, remember, the addition must be a real addition. Our rolls of membership must not be padded with the names of deadheads who join in a fit of short-lived enthusiasm, and drop off after three weeks. In London we have always kept up a system of periodical purging so as to make our roll represent our real strength. If a member disappears for any length of time, or ceases to subscribe, he is asked whether he has changed his mind, and is struck off if his reply is not satisfactory. Thus our first rule is not to try and deceive ourselves as to our power. I will not pretend that we are always as scrupulous in the matter of enlightening other people. Though we have never deceived the public by overstating our numbers, we have not always insisted on undeceiving them when they shewed a disposition to make concessions to us which they would perhaps have thought twice about if their notions of our bulk had been derived from our official records instead of from their imaginations. But in politics as in the game of poker, bluffing belongs only to the early days of the game. The moment you go to the poll, all concealment is at an end. When the Social-Democratic Federation consisted of about forty members, the *Church Review* estimated them at about 4,000; and it was possible then to laugh at the *Church Review* with an air which conveyed to the superstitious that 40,000 would have been nearer the mark. But after 1885 there was an end of that,

just as there will be an end, after the coming general election, of all romantic notions about the influence of the Fabian. In 1888 it only cost us twenty-eight postcards written by twenty-eight members to convince the newly-born *Star* newspaper that London was aflame with Fabian Socialism. In 1893 twenty-eight dozen postcards will not frighten the greenest editor in London into giving us credit for an ounce over our real weight. The School Board election has robbed us of half our imaginary terrors; the County Council election may take away the rest; the General election will finish the bluffing element in our tactics for ever.* No more unearned increment of prestige for us then; for though rumor may count us at two hundred to the score, the returning-officer will count us strictly at twelve to the dozen, and publish the results where everyone will read them. Thenceforth we shall play with our cards on the table. Our business will then be, not to talk crudely about the Class War, with very cloudy notions as to the positions of the two camps and the uniforms of the two armies (both of which, by-the-bye, will sport red flags), but to organize it scientifically so that we shall drain the opposite host of every combatant whose interests really lie with ours. The day has gone by for adopting Fergus O'Connor's favorite test of the unshaven chin, the horny hand, and the fustian jacket as the true distinctive mark of the soldier of liberty. Nor will the Trade-Unionist test of having at some time done manual work for weekly wages serve us. Such distinctions date from the days when even the ability to read and write was so scarce, and commanded so high a price both in money and social status, that the educated man belonged economically to the classes and not to the masses. Nowadays the Board Schools have changed all that. The commercial clerk, with his reading, his writing, his arithmetic and his shorthand, is a proletarian, and a very miserable proletarian, only needing to be awakened from his poor little superstition of shabby gentility to take his vote from the Tories and hand it over to us. The small tradesmen and ratepayers who are now allying themselves with the Duke of Westminster in a desperate and unavailing struggle against the rising rates entailed by the eight hours day and standard wages for all public servants, besides great extensions of corporate activity in providing accommodation and education at the public expense, must sooner or later see that their interest lies in making common cause with the workers to throw the burden of taxation directly on to unearned incomes, and to secure for capable organizers of industry the prestige, the pensions, and the permanence and freedom from anxiety and competition which municipal employment offers. The professional men of no more than ordinary ability, struggling with one another for work in

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* This anticipation has fortunately not been justified by the event. Six members of the Fabian Society are now members of the County Council; and it is not too much to claim that the result of the General Election upset every estimate of the political situation except the Fabian one. See the preface to the 1892 edition of Fabian Tract No. 11, "The Workers' Political Program."

the overstocked professions, are already becoming far more tired of Unsocialism and Competition than the dock laborers are, because revivals of trade bring them no intervals of what they consider good times. In short, all men except those who possess either exceptional ability or property which brings them in a considerable unearned income, or both, stand to lose instead of to win by Unsocialism; and sooner or later they must find this out and throw in their lot with us. Therefore to exclude middle-class and professional men from our ranks is not "scientific Socialism" at all, but the stupidest sort of class prejudice. It would be far more sensible to exclude those skilled artisans who make several pounds a week; work overtime with reckless selfishness; and have even been known to refuse to employ laborers belonging to unions. But there is no need to exclude anybody. The real danger is that since we are certain to have an increasing number of professional men, tradesmen, clerks, journalists and the like in our ranks, these men may by their superior education, or rather their superior literateness—which is not exactly the same thing—and by their more polished manners, be chosen too often as candidates at elections and as committee-men. This would be a most fatal mistake; for it is of the first importance that all our candidates and executive council-men should be the ablest men in the movement, whereas the presumption must always be that our recruits from the professions and from business would not have joined us if they had not lacked the exceptional energy and practical turn which still enable men to make fortunes, or at least very comfortable incomes, in those classes. To become a Fabian agitator would hardly be looked on as promotion by Sir Charles Russell, or Mr. Whiteley, or the President of the Royal Academy, or a physician or dentist earning £1,500 a year. Speaking for myself as a professional man, claiming to be able to do a somewhat special class of work, I may say that the more my ability becomes known, the more do I find myself pressed to spend my time in shovelling guineas into my pocket instead of writing Fabian papers, attending to the Fabian Executive work, lecturing, revising or compiling tracts, and writing papers like the present. My case is a typical one; and it shews that if the working-classes run after middle-class men as representatives, they will have to choose between pecuniarily disinterested men and men who are discontented because they are not clever enough to get their fill of work or money in their professions or businesses. Now, though every clever and warmhearted young gentleman bachelor enjoys from two to ten years of disinterestedness, during which good work can be got from him, yet in the long run he gets tired of being disinterested. *Permanently* disinterested men of ability are very scarce: it is easier to find a thousand men who will sacrifice valuable chances in life once than to find a single man who will do it twice. And average duffers, though plentiful, are not to be trusted with the generalship of so great a campaign as ours. Consequently, the workers should make it a rule always to choose one of their own class as a candidate or councilman, except when the middle-class candidate has given special proofs

of his ability and disinterestedness. This is why I myself have so often urged working-class audiences to believe in themselves and not run after the tall hats and frock coats. It is only the clever wage-workman to whom political leadership in the workman's cause comes as a promotion.

My task, I am happy to say, is now done. You know what we have gone through, and what you will probably have to go through. You know why we believe that the middle-classes will have their share in bringing about Socialism, and why we do not hold aloof from Radicalism, Trade-Unionism, or any of the movements which are traditionally individualistic. You know, too, that none of you can more ardently desire the formation of a genuine Collectivist political party, distinct from Conservative and Liberal alike, than we do. But I hope you also know that there is not the slightest use in merely expressing your aspirations unless you can give us some voting power to back them, and that your business in the provinces is, in one phrase, to create that voting power. Whilst our backers at the polls are counted by tens, we must continue to crawl and drudge and lecture as best we can. When they are counted by hundreds we can permeate and trim and compromise. When they rise to tens of thousands we shall take the field as an independent party. Give us hundreds of thousands, as you can if you try hard enough, and we will ride the whirlwind and direct the storm.

POSTSCRIPT.

The lapse of time between the reading of the above paper and its publication, makes it necessary, in justice to the Social-Democratic Federation, to add a few words. The explanation of the delay is very simple: a glance back at pages 5 and 6 will shew that their publication on the eve of the General Election might have injured the prospects of the two Federation candidates who were in the field. The close of the polls has not only set the Fabian Society free to issue this tract; it has also apparently convinced the S.D.F. of the practically reactionary effect of its sectarian tactics. The victory of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the official Liberal candidate for Central Finsbury, who won by a majority of three only, was secured by the votes of the Clerkenwell branch of the S.D.F., which very sensibly threw off its allegiance to the central council and "went Fabian" for the occasion in flat defiance of the S.D.F. manifesto calling on the workers to vote for none but Social-Democratic candidates. Instead of a sentence of excommunication, there came from headquarters the following utterance in *Justice* (No. 444, 16th July, 1892), presumably from the pen of Mr. Belfort Bax, who was then acting as editor.

PRINCIPLES AND THEIR APPLICATION.

Talking about Naoroji affords us an opportunity of seconding the point mentioned in the letter above referred to, namely, as to the desirability on special occasions of relaxing the generally excellent principle of not voting or working for either side. The laxity we complained of last week which is shown by members of the S.D.F. who get the "election fever" in throwing themselves indiscriminately into the struggle on the Radical side irrespective of the programme or the candidate is undoubtedly due to the slightly pedantic attitude sometimes taken up on this point. Now the pollings are over we do not hesitate to say that we think that the *non possumus* rule should have been relaxed in the North Lambeth election for the purpose of keeping Stanley out, and thereby checkmating the designs of the British East Africa Company, even at the expense of assisting a colorless Radical nonentity to obtain the seat; and also in Central Finsbury, both as a demonstration against the conduct of official Liberalism and for the sake of getting a friendly outsider the chance of bringing the claims of the people of India for the first time prominently before the larger British public. If you give a Social Democrat some at least more

> or less, useful work in an election, you keep him out of the mischief of squandering his time in promiscuous assistance to worthless Liberals. For it is not given to every man during the excitement of election times to be able to twirl his thumbs and repeat the obvious Socialist truism that one political party is as bad as the other, as the Moslem reiterates the well-worn and doubtless to him equally certain dictum, "Allah is great." There may be a zeal of principle, "but not with discretion." We take it there is no compromise in a momentary alliance with any party for the purpose of carrying an important point. This is a very different thing from the principle of "permeation" advocated by the Fabians.

The recantation in the last sentence but one is complete. The last sentence means only that since *Justice* has given the Fabian dog a bad name, it feels bound to go on hanging him in spite of its tardy discovery of his good qualities.

I do not know whether this declaration of Opportunism is anything more than a passing excuse for the action of the insurgent branch. It would, however, be clearly unfair to allow pages 21 and 22 to become public without mentioning it.

July, 1892. G. B. S.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

25 TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.1.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY is supported by the voluntary subscription of its members and friends, and the extent of its operations is limited by the amount of the funds at its disposal.

The chief object to which the Society devotes its resources is the education of the people in political, economic and social subjects. To effect this purpose it must in the first place educate itself by the discussion of those problems which from time to time appear ripe for solution. Its members therefore undertake the study of such problems and lay the results before the Society, where they are considered from various points of view. Finally, the conclusions adopted or generally approved by the members are published, usually in pamphlet form, and by this means made available for the information of all. More than 200 such pamphlets have been issued to date.

The Society further endeavors to promote social amelioration by the dissemination of information about existing institutions, in order that better use may be made of the powers already possessed by local administrative authorities, now too often neglectful of their obligations. With this object in view the Society also issues a monthly journal, THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT NEWS.

The same ends are sought to be attained by means of circulating libraries supplied to Workmen's Clubs, Co-operative Societies, Trade Unions, and similar bodies; by the publication of lists of best books on social and political subjects; and by the means of the Summer School held each year for members and others.

The Society also at times engages trained lecturers to give courses of lectures during the winter months on social politics to working-class and other organisations.

The members of the Society, who control its policy, are Socialists: that is to say, are committed to the theory of the probable direction of economic evolution which is now often called Collectivism. But much of the activity of the Society must meet with the approval of all those interested in Social Reform, many of whom are not concerned to adopt a definite social ideal, and could not therefore apply for membership in the Society. To all such we venture to appeal for help for the Society's educational work.

Any who are willing to assist are invited to join the Society as associates or to subscribe to the funds without becoming members. Associates are required to subscribe not less than 10/- yearly. Such subscriptions may be allocated to any branch of the Society's work which may be selected. Subscribers of sums not less than 5s. a year can attend the ordinary meetings of the Society, except those called for private business, and will receive FABIAN NEWS, its monthly journal, together with all the publication issued to members.

Full particulars of all the undertakings of the Society are recorded in the Annual Report, which includes an audited account of the receipts and expenditure. This Report, and the other publications of the Society, can be obtained of the Secretary, who will be glad to give any other information desired, and to send forms of application for membership or associate membership, if requested.

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By BERNARD SHAW

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THE IMPOSSIBILITIES OF ANARCHISM.*

Anarchists and Socialists.

SOME years ago, as the practical policy of the Socialist party in England began to shape itself more and more definitely into the program of Social-Democracy, it became apparent that we could not progress without the greatest violations of principles of all sorts. In particular, the democratic side of the program was found to be incompatible with the sacred principle of the Autonomy of the Individual. It also involved a recognition of the State, an institution altogether repugnant to the principle of Freedom. Worse than that, it involved compromise at every step; and principles, as Mr. John Morley once eloquently showed, must not be compromised. The result was that many of us fell to quarrelling; refused to associate with one another; denounced each other as trimmers or Impossibilists, according to our side in the controversy; and finally succeeded in creating a considerable stock of ill-feeling. My own side in the controversy was the unprincipled one, as Socialism to me has always meant, not a principle, but certain definite economic measures which I wish to see taken. Indeed, I have often been reproached for limiting the term Socialism too much to the economic side of the great movement towards equality. That movement, however, appears to me be as much an Individualist as a Socialist one; and though there are Socialists, like Sir William Harcourt, to whom Socialism means the sum total of humanitarian aspiration, in which the transfer of some millions of acres of property from private to public ownership must seem but an inessential and even undesirable detail, this sublimer shade of Socialism suffers from such a lack of concentration upon definite measures, that, but for the honor and glory of the thing, its professors might as well call themselves Conservatives. Now what with Socialists of this sort, and persons who found that the practical remedy for white slavery was incompatible with the principle of Liberty, and the practical remedy for despotism incompatible with the principle of Democracy, and the practical conduct of politics incompatible with the principle of Personal Integrity (in the sense of having your own way in everything), the Practical men were at last driven into frank Opportunism. When, for instance, they found national and local organization of the working classes opposed by Socialists on the ground that Socialism is universal and international in principle; when they found their Radical and Trade Unionist allies ostracized by Socialists for being outside the pale of the Socialist faith one and indivisible; when they saw agricultural laborers alienated by undiscriminating denunciations of allotments as "individualistic"; then they felt the full force of the

* A paper read to the Fabian Society by G. Bernard Shaw, on 16th October, 1891

saying that Socialism would spread fast enough if it were not for the Socialists. It was bad enough to have to contend with the conservative forces of the modern unsocialist State without also having to fight the seven deadly virtues in possession of the Socialists themselves. The conflict between ideal Socialism and practical Social-Democracy destroyed the Chartist organization half a century ago, as it destroyed the Socialist League only the other day. But it has never gone so far as the conflict between Social-Democracy and Anarchism. For the Anarchists will recommend abstention from voting and refusal to pay taxes in cases where the Social-Democrats are strenuously urging the workers to organize their votes so as to return candidates pledged to contend for extensions of the franchise and for taxation of unearned incomes, the object of such taxation being the raising of State capital for all sorts of collective purposes, from the opening of public libraries to the municipalization and nationalization of our industries. In fact, the denunciation of Social-Democratic methods by Anarchists is just as much a matter of course as the denunciation of Social-Democratic aims by Conservatives. It is possible that some of the strangers present may be surprised to hear this, since no distinction is made in the newspapers which support the existing social order between Social-Democrats and Anarchists, both being alike hostile to that order. In the columns of such papers all revolutionists are Socialists; all Socialists are Anarchists; and all Anarchists are incendiaries, assassins and thieves. One result of this is that the imaginative French or Italian criminal who reads the papers, sometimes declares, when taken red-handed in the commission of murder or burglary, that he is an Anarchist acting on principle. And in all countries the more violent and reckless temperaments among the discontented are attracted by the name Anarchist merely because it suggests desperate, thorough, uncompromising, implacable war on existing injustices. It is therefore necessary to warn you that there are some persons abusively called Anarchists by their political opponents, and others ignorantly so described by themselves, who are nevertheless not Anarchists at all within the meaning of this paper. On the other hand, many persons who are never called Anarchists either by themselves or others, take Anarchist ground in their opposition to Social-Democracy just as clearly as the writers with whom I shall more particularly deal. The old Whigs and new Tories of the school of Cobden and Bright, the "Philosophic Radicals," the economists of whom Bastiat is the type, Lord Wemyss and Lord Bramwell, Mr. Herbert Spencer and Mr. Auberon Herbert, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Leonard Courtney: any of these is, in England, a more typical Anarchist than Bakounin. They distrust State action, and are jealous advocates of the prerogative of the individual, proposing to restrict the one and to extend the other as far as is humanly possible, in opposition to the Social-Democrat, who proposes to democratize the State and throw upon it the whole work of organizing the national industry, thereby making it the most vital organ in the

social body. Obviously there are natural limits to the application of both views; and Anarchists and Social-Democrats are alike subject to the fool's argument that since neither collective provision for the individual nor individual freedom from collective control can be made complete, neither party is thoroughly consistent. No dialectic of that kind will, I hope, be found in the following criticism of Anarchism. It is confined to the practical measures proposed by Anarchists, and raises no discussion as to aims or principles. As to these we are all agreed. Justice, Virtue, Truth, Brotherhood, the highest interests of the people, moral as well as physical: these are dear not only to Social-Democrats and Anarchists, but also to Tories, Whigs, Radicals, and probably also to Moonlighters and Dynamitards. It is with the methods by which it is proposed to give active effect to them that I am concerned here; and to that point I shall now address myself by reading you a paper which I wrote more than four years ago on the subject chosen for to-night. I may add that it has not been revived from a wanton desire to renew an old dispute, but in response to a demand from the provincial Fabian Societies, bewildered as they are by the unexpected opposition of the Anarchists, from whom they had rather expected some sympathy. This old paper of mine being the only document of the kind available, my colleagues have requested me to expunge such errors and follies as I have grown out of since 1888, and to take this opportunity of submitting it to the judgment of the Society. Which I shall now do without further preamble.

Individualist Anarchism.

The full economic detail of Individualist Anarchism may be inferred with sufficient completeness from an article entitled "State Socialism and Anarchism: how far they agree, and wherein they differ," which appeared in March, 1888, in *Liberty*, an Anarchist journal published in Boston, Mass., and edited by the author of the article, Mr. Benjamin R. Tucker. An examination of any number of this journal will shew that as a candid, clear-headed, and courageous demonstrator of Individualist Anarchism by purely intellectual methods, Mr. Tucker may safely be accepted as one of the most capable spokesmen of his party.

"The economic principles of Modern Socialism," says Mr. Tucker, "are a logical deduction from the principle laid down by Adam Smith in the early chapters of his *Wealth of Nations*—namely, that labor is the true measure of price. From this principle, these three men [Josiah Warren, Proudhon and Marx] deduced 'that the natural wage of labor is its product.'"

Now the Socialist who is unwary enough to accept this economic position will presently find himself logically committed to the Whig doctrine of *laissez-faire*. And here Mr. Tucker will cry, "Why not? *Laissez-faire* is exactly what we want. Destroy the money monopoly, the tariff monopoly, and the patent monopoly. Enforce then only those land titles which rest on personal occupancy or cultiva-

tion ;* and the social problem of how to secure to each worker the product of his own labor will be solved simply by everyone minding his own business."†

Let us see whether it will or not. Suppose we decree that henceforth no more rent shall be paid in England, and that each man shall privately own his house, and hold his shop, factory, or place of business jointly with those who work with him in it. Let everyone be free to issue money from his own mint without tax or stamp. Let all taxes on commodities be abolished, and patents and copyrights be things of the past. Try to imagine yourself under these promising conditions with life before you. You may start in business as a crossing sweeper, shopkeeper, collier, farmer, miller, banker, or what not. Whatever your choice may be, the first thing you find is that the reward of your labor depends far more on the situation in which you exercise it than on yourself. If you sweep the crossing between St. James's and Albemarle Streets you prosper greatly. But if you are forestalled not only there, but at every point more central than, say, the corner of Holford Square, Islington, you may sweep twice as hard as your rival in Piccadilly, and not take a fifth of his toll. At such a pass you may well curse Adam Smith and his principle that labor is the measure of price, and either advocate a democratically constituted State Socialist municipality, paying all its crossing sweepers equally, or else cast your broom upon the Thames and turn shopkeeper. Yet here again the same difficulty crops up. Your takings depend, not on yourself, but on the number of people who pass your window per hour. At Charing Cross or Cheapside fortunes are to be made: in the main street at Putney one can do enough to hold up one's head: further out, a thousand yards right or left of the Portsmouth Road, the most industrious man in the world may go whistle for a customer. Evidently retail shopkeeping is not the thing for a man of spirit after Charing Cross and Cheapside have been appropriated by occupying owners on the principle of first come first served. You must aspire then to wholesale dealing—nay, to banking. Alas! the difficulty is intensified beyond calculation. Take that financial trinity, Glyn, Mills and Currie; transplant them only a few miles from Lombard Street; and they will soon be

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* This is an inference from the following paragraph in Mr. Tucker's article:

"Second in importance comes the land monopoly, the evil effects of which are seen principally in exclusively agricultural countries, like Ireland. This monopoly consists in the enforcement by government of land titles which do not rest on personal occupancy and cultivation. It was obvious to Warren and Proudhon that as soon as individuals should no longer be protected by their fellows in anything but personal occupation and cultivation of land, ground rent would disappear, and so usury have one less leg to stand on."

See also Mr. Tucker's article entitled "A Singular Misunderstanding," in *Liberty* of the 10th September, 1892. "Regarding land," writes Mr. Tucker, "it has been steadily maintained in these columns that protection should be withdrawn from all land titles except those based on personal occupancy and use.'

† "Nor does the Anarchist scheme furnish any code of morals to be imposed on the individual. 'Mind your own business,' is its only moral law."

objects of pity to the traditional sailor who once presented at their counter a cheque for £25 and generously offered to take it in instalments, as he did not wish to be too hard on them all at once. Turning your back on banking, you meddle in the wheat trade, and end by offering to exchange an occupying ownership of all Salisbury Plain for permission to pay a rack rent for premises within hail of "The Baltic" and its barometer.

Probably there are some people who have a blind belief that crossing sweepers, "The Baltic," Lombard Street, and the like, are too utterly of the essence of the present system to survive the introduction of Anarchism. They will tell me that I am reading the conditions of the present into the future. Against such instinctive convictions it is vain to protest that I am reading only Mr. Tucker's conditions. But at least there will be farming, milling, and mining, conducted by human agents, under Anarchism. Now the farmer will not find in his perfect Anarchist market two prices at one time for two bushels of wheat of the same quality; yet the labor cost of each bushel will vary considerably according to the fertility of the farm on which it was raised, and the proximity of that farm to the market. A good soil will often yield the strongest and richest grain to less labor per acre or per bushel than must be spent on land that returns a crop less valuable by five shillings a quarter. When all the best land is held by occupying owners, those who have to content themselves with poorer soils will hail the principle that labor is the measure of price with the thumb to the nose. Among the millers, too, there must needs be grievous mistrust of Proudhon and Josiah Warren. For of two men with equally good heart to work and machinery to work with, one may be on a stream that will easily turn six millstones; whilst the other, by natural default of water, or being cut off by his fellow higher up stream, may barely be able to keep two pairs of stones in gear, and may in a dry season be ready to tie these two about his neck and lie down under the scum of his pond. Certainly, he can defy drought by setting to work with a steam engine, steel rollers, and all the latest contrivances for squashing wheat into dust instead of grinding it into flour; yet, after all his outlay, he will not be able to get a penny a sack more for his stuff than his competitor, to whose water-wheel Nature is gratuitously putting her shoulder. "Competition everywhere and always" of his unaided strength against that of his rival he might endure; but to fight naked against one armed with the winds and waves (for there are windmills as well as watermills) is no sound justice, though it be sound Anarchism. And how would occupying ownership of mines work, when it is an easier matter to get prime Wallsend and Silkstone out of one mine than to get slates and steam fuel out of another, even after twenty years' preliminary shaft-sinking? Would Mr. Tucker, if he had on sale from a rich mine some Silkstone that had only cost half as much labor as steam coal from a relatively poor one, boldly announce:—"Prices this day: Prime Silkstone, per ton, 25s.; best steam ditto, 50s. Terms, cash. Principles, those of Adam Smith—see 'Wealth of Nations' *passim*"?

Certainly not with "competition everywhere and always," unless custom was no object to him in comparison with principle.

It is useless to multiply instances. There is only one country in which any square foot of land is as favorably situated for conducting exchanges, or as richly endowed by nature for production, as any other square foot; and the name of that country is Utopia. In Utopia alone, therefore, would occupying ownership be just. In England, America and other places, rashly created without consulting the Anarchists, Nature is all caprice and injustice in dealing with Labor. Here you scratch her with a spade; and earth's increase and foison plenty are added to you. On the other side of the hedge twenty steam-diggers will not extort a turnip from her. Still less adapted to Anarchism than the fields and mines is the crowded city. The distributor flourishes where men love to congregate: his work is to bring commodities to men; but here the men bring themselves to the commodities. Remove your distributor a mile, and his carts and travellers must scour the country for customers. None know this better than the landlords. Up High Street, down Low Street, over the bridge and into Crow Street, the toilers may sweat equally for equal wages; but their product varies; and the ground rents vary with the product. Competition levels down the share kept by the worker as it levels up the hours of his labor; and the surplus, high or low according to the fertility of the soil or convenience of the site, goes as high rent or low rent, but always in the long run rack rent, to the owner of the land.

Now Mr. Tucker's remedy for this is to make the occupier—the actual worker—the owner. Obviously the effect would be, not to abolish his advantage over his less favorably circumstanced competitors, but simply to authorize him to put it into his own pocket instead of handing it over to a landlord. He would then, it is true, be (as far as his place of business was concerned) a worker instead of an idler; but he would get more product as a manufacturer and more custom as a distributor than other equally industrious workers in worse situations. He could thus save faster than they, and retire from active service at an age when they would still have many years more work before them. His ownership of his place of business would of course lapse in favor of his successor the instant he retired. How would the rest of the community decide who was to be the successor—would they toss up for it, or fight for it, or would he be allowed to nominate his heir, in which case he would either nominate his son or sell his nomination for a large fine? Again, his retirement from his place of business would leave him still in possession, as occupying owner, of his private residence; and this might be of exceptional or even unique desirability in point of situation. It might, for instance, be built on Richmond Hill, and command from its windows the beautiful view of the Thames valley to be obtained from that spot. Now it is clear that Richmond Hill will not accommodate all the people who would rather live there than in the Essex marshes. It is easy to say, Let the occupier be the owner; but the question is, Who is to be the occupier? Suppose it

were settled by drawing lots, what would prevent the winner from selling his privilege for its full (unearned) value under free exchange and omnipresent competition? To such problems as these, Individualist Anarchism offers no solution. It theorizes throughout on the assumption that one place in a country is as good as another.

Under a system of occupying ownership, rent would appear only in its primary form of an excess of the prices of articles over the expenses of producing them, thus enabling owners of superior land to get more for their products than cost price. If, for example, the worst land worth using were only one-third as productive as the best land, then the owner-occupiers of that best land would get in the market the labor cost of their wares three times over. This 200 per cent. premium would be just as truly ground rent as if it were paid openly as such to the Duke of Bedford or the Astors. It may be asked why prices must go up to the expenses of production on the very worst land. Why not ascertain and charge the average cost of production taking good and bad land together?* Simply because nothing short of the maximum labor cost would repay the owners of the worst land. In fact, the worst land would not be cultivated until the price had risen. The process would be as follows. Suppose the need of the population for wheat were satisfied by crops raised from the best available land only. Free competition in wheat-producing would then bring the price down to the labor cost or expenses of production. Now suppose an increase of population sufficient to overtax the wheat-supplying capacity of the best land. The supply falling short of the demand, the price of wheat would rise. When it had risen to the labor cost of production from land one degree inferior to the best, it would be worth while to cultivate that inferior land. When that new source came to be overtaxed by the still growing population, the price would rise again until it would repay the cost of raising wheat from land yet lower in fertility than the second grade. But these descents would in nowise diminish the fertility of the best land, from which wheat could be raised as cheaply as before, in spite of the rise in the price, which would apply to all the wheat in the market, no matter where raised. That is, the holders of the best land would gain a premium, rising steadily with the increase of population, exactly as the landlord now enjoys a steadily rising rent.† As the agricultural industry is in this respect

* This would of course be largely practicable under a Collectivist system.

† English readers need not baulk themselves here because of the late fall of agricultural rents in this country. Rent, in the economic sense, covers payment for the use of land for any purpose, agricultural or otherwise; and town rents have risen oppressively. A much more puzzling discrepancy between the facts and the theory is presented by the apparent absence of any upward tendency in the prices of general commodities. However, an article may be apparently no less cheap or even much cheaper than it was twenty years ago; and yet its price may have risen enormously relatively to its average cost of production, owing to the average cost of production having been reduced by machinery, higher organization of the labor of producing it, cheapened traffic with other countries, etc. Thus, in the cotton industry, machinery has multiplied each man's power of production eleven hundred times; and Sir Joseph Whitworth was quoted by the President of the Iron and Steel Institute some years ago as having declared that

typical of all industries, it will be seen now that the price does not rise because worse land is brought into cultivation, but that worse land is brought into cultivation by the rise of price. Or, to put it in another way, the price of the commodity does not rise because more labor has been devoted to its production, but more labor is devoted to its production because the price has risen. Commodities, in fact, have a price before they are produced; we produce them expressly to obtain that price; and we cannot alter it by merely spending more or less labor on them. It is natural for the laborer to insist that labor *ought to be* the measure of price, and that the *just* wage of labor is its average product; but the first lesson he has to learn in economics is that labor is not and never can be the measure of price under a competitive system. Not until the progress of Socialism replaces competitive production and distribution, with individual greed for its incentive, by Collectivist production and distribution, with fair play all round for its incentive, will the prices either of labor or commodities represent their just value.

Thus we see that "competition everywhere and always" fails to circumvent rent whilst the land is held by competing occupiers who are protected in the individual ownership of what they can raise from their several holdings. And "the great principle laid down by Adam Smith," formulated by Josiah Warren as "Cost is the proper limit of price," turns out—since in fact price is the limit of cost—to be merely a preposterous way of expressing the fact that under Anarchism that small fraction of the general wealth which was produced under the least favorable circumstances would at least fetch its cost, whilst all the rest would fetch a premium which would be nothing but privately appropriated rent with an Anarchist mask on.

We see also that such a phrase as "the natural wage of labor is its product" is a misleading one, since labor cannot produce subsistence except when exercised upon natural materials and aided by natural forces external to man. And when it is so produced, its value in exchange depends in nowise on the share taken by labor in its production, but solely to the demand for it in society. The economic problem of Socialism is the just distribution of the premium

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a Nottingham lace machine can do the work formerly done by 8,000 lacemakers. The articles entitled "Great Manufacture of Little Things," in Cassell's *Technical Educator*, may be consulted for examples of this sort in the production of pins, pens, etc. Suppose, then, that an article which cost, on the average, fivepence to make in 1850, was then sold for sixpence. If it be now selling for threepence, it is apparently twice as cheap as it was. But if the cost of production has also fallen to three-halfpence, which is by no means an extravagant supposition, then the price, considered relatively to the cost of production, has evidently risen prodigiously, since it is now twice the cost, whereas the cost was formerly five-sixths of the price. In other words, the surplus, or rent, per article, has risen from 16⅔ per cent. to 100 per cent., in spite of the apparent cheapening. This is the explanation of the fact that though the workers were probably never before so monstrously robbed as they are at present, it is quite possible for statisticians to prove that on the whole wages have risen and prices fallen. The worker, pleased at having only to pay threepence where he formerly paid sixpence, forgets that the share of his threepence that goes to an idler may be much larger than that which went out of each of the two threepences he paid formerly.

given to certain portions of the general product by the action of demand. As Individualist Anarchism not only fails to distribute these, but deliberately permits their private appropriation, Individualist Anarchism is the negation of Socialism, and is, in fact, Unsocialism carried as near to its logical completeness as any sane man dare carry it.

Communist Anarchism.

State Socialism and Anarchism, says Mr. Tucker, "are based on two principles, the history of whose conflict is almost equivalent to the history of the world since man came into it; and all intermediate parties, including that of the upholders of the existing society, are based upon a compromise between them." These principles are Authority—the State Socialist principle, and Liberty—the Anarchist principle. State Socialism is then defined as "the doctrine that all the affairs of men should be managed by the government, regardless of individual choice," whereas Anarchism is "the doctrine that all the affairs of men should be managed by individuals or voluntary associations, and that the State should be abolished."

Now most revolutionists will admit that there was a stage in the growth of their opinions when the above seemed an adequate statement of the alternatives before them. But, as we have seen, when the Individualist Anarchist proceeds to reduce his principle to practice, he is inevitably led to Mr. Tucker's program of "competition everywhere and always" among occupying owners, subject only to the moral law of minding their own business. No sooner is this formulated than its effect on the distribution of wealth is examined by the economist, who finds no trouble in convicting it, under the economic law of rent, of privilege, monopoly, inequality, unjust indirect taxation, and everything that is most repugnant to Anarchism. But this startling reverse, however it may put the Anarchist out of conceit with his program, does not in the least reconcile him to State Socialism. It only changes his mind on one point. Whilst his program satisfied him, he was content to admit that State Socialism was the only possible alternative to Individualist Anarchism—nay, he rather insisted on it, because the evils of the State Socialist alternative were strong incentives to the acceptance of the other. But the moment it becomes apparent that the one is economically as bad as the other, the disillusioned Individualist Anarchist becomes convinced of the insufficiency of his analysis of the social problem, and follows it up in order to find out a *tertium quid*, or third system which shall collect and justly distribute the rent of the country, and yet prevent the collecting and distributing organ from acquiring the tyrannous powers of governments as we know them. There are two such systems at present before the world: Communism and Social-Democracy. Now there is no such thing as Anarchist Social-Democracy; but there is such a thing as Anarchist Communism or Communist Anarchism. It is true that Mr. Tucker does not recognize the Communist Anarchist as an Anarchist at all: he energetically repudiates Communism as the

uttermost negation of true Anarchism, and will not admit any logical halting place between thoroughgoing State Socialism and thoroughgoing Individualist Anarchism. But why insist on anybody occupying a logical halting place? We are all fond of showing that on any given subject there are only two of these safe spots, one being the point of agreement with us, and the other some inconceivable extremity of idiocy. But for the purposes of the present criticism it will be more practical to waive such crude rationalizing, and concede that to deal with Mr. Tucker without also dealing with Peter Kropotkine is not to give Anarchism fair play.

The main difficulty in criticising Kropotkine lies in the fact that, in the distribution of generally needed labor products, his Communism is finally cheap and expedient, whereas Mr. Tucker's Individualism, in the same department, is finally extravagant and impossible. Even under the most perfect Social-Democracy we should, without Communism, still be living like hogs, except that each hog would get his fair share of grub. High as that ideal must seem to anyone who complacently accepts the present social order, it is hardly high enough to satisfy a man in whom the social instinct is well developed. So long as vast quantities of labor have to be expended in weighing and measuring each man's earned share of this and that commodity —in watching, spying, policing, and punishing in order to prevent Tom getting a crumb of bread more or Dick a spoonful of milk less than he has a voucher for, so long will the difference between Unsocialism and Socialism be only the difference between unscientific and scientific hoggishness. I do not desire to underrate the vastness of that difference. Whilst we are hogs, let us at least be well-fed, healthy, reciprocally useful hogs, instead of—well, instead of the sort we are at present. But we shall not have any great reason to stand on the dignity of our humanity until a just distribution of the loaves and fishes becomes perfectly spontaneous, and the great effort and expense of a legal distribution, however just, is saved. For my own part, I seek the establishment of a state of society in which I shall not be bothered with a ridiculous pocketful of coppers, nor have to waste my time in perplexing arithmetical exchanges of them with booking clerks, bus conductors, shopmen, and other superfluous persons before I can get what I need. I aspire to live in a community which shall be at least capable of averaging the transactions between us well enough to ascertain how much work I am to do for it in return for the right to take what I want of the commoner necessaries and conveniences of life. The saving of friction by such an arrangement may be guessed from the curious fact that only specialists in sociology are conscious of the numerous instances in which we are to-day forced to adopt it by the very absurdity of the alternative. Most people will tell you that Communism is known only in this country as a visionary project advocated by a handful of amiable cranks. Then they will stroll off across the common bridge, along the common embankment, by the light of the common gas lamp shining alike on the just and the unjust, up the common street, and into the common Trafalgar Square, where, on

the smallest hint on their part that Communism is to be tolerated for an instant in a civilized country, they will be handily bludgeoned by the common policeman, and haled off to the common gaol.* When you suggest to these people that the application of Communism to the bread supply is only an extension, involving no new principle, of its application to street lighting, they are bewildered. Instead of picturing the Communist man going to the common store, and thence taking his bread home with him, they instinctively imagine him bursting obstreperously into his neighbor's house and snatching the bread off his table on the "as much mine as yours" principle—which, however, has an equally sharp edge for the thief's throat in the form "as much yours as mine." In fact, the average Englishman is only capable of understanding Communism when it is explained as a state of things under which everything is paid for out of the taxes, and taxes are paid in labor. And even then he will sometimes say, "How about the brainwork?" and begin the usual novice's criticism of Socialism in general.

Now a Communist Anarchist may demur to such a definition of Communism as I have just given; for it is evident that if there are to be taxes, there must be some authority to collect those taxes. I will not insist on the odious word taxes; but I submit that if any article—bread, for instance—be communized, by which I mean that there shall be public stores of bread, sufficient to satisfy everybody, to which all may come and take what they need without question or payment, wheat must be grown, mills must grind, and bakers must sweat daily in order to keep up the supply. Obviously, therefore, the common bread store will become bankrupt unless every consumer of the bread contributes to its support as much labour as the bread he consumes costs to produce. Communism or no Communism, he must pay or else leave somebody else to pay for him. Communism will cheapen bread for him—will save him the cost of scales and weights, coin, book-keepers, counter-hands, policemen, and other expenses of private property; but it will not do away with the cost of the bread and the store. Now supposing that voluntary co-operation and public spirit prove equal to the task of elaborately organizing the farming, milling and baking industries for the production of bread, how will these voluntary co-operators recover the cost of their operations from the public who are to consume their bread? If they are given powers to collect the cost from the public, and to enforce their demands by punishing non-payers for their dishonesty, then they at once become a State department levying a tax for public purposes; and the Communism of the bread supply becomes no more Anarchistic than our present Communistic supply of street lighting is Anarchistic. Unless the taxation is voluntary—unless the bread consumer is free to refuse payment without incurring any penalty save the reproaches of his conscience and his neighbors, the Anarchist ideal will remain unattained. Now the pressure of conscience and

* Written in the 1887-92 period, during which Trafalgar Square was forcibly closed against public meetings by the Salisbury administration.

public opinion is by no means to be slighted. Millions of men and women, without any legal compulsion whatever, pay for the support of institutions of all sorts, from churches to tall hats, simply out of their need for standing well with their neighbors. But observe, this compulsion of public opinion derives most of its force from the difficulty of getting the wherewithal to buy bread without a reputation for respectability. Under Communism a man could snap his fingers at public opinion without starving for it. Besides, public opinion cannot for a moment be relied upon as a force which operates uniformly as a compulsion upon men to act morally. Its operation is for all practical purposes quite arbitrary, and is as often immoral as moral. It is just as hostile to the reformer as to the criminal. It hangs Anarchists and worships Nitrate Kings. It insists on a man wearing a tall hat and going to church, on his marrying the woman he lives with, and on his pretending to believe whatever the rest pretend to believe; and it enforces these ordinances in a sufficient majority of cases without help from the law : its tyranny, in fact, being so crushing that its little finger is often found to be thicker than the law's loins. But there is no sincere public opinion that a man should work for his daily bread if he can get it for nothing. Indeed it is just the other way : public opinion has been educated to regard the performance of daily manual labor as the lot of the despised classes. The common aspiration is to acquire property and leave off working. Even members of the professions rank below the independent gentry, so called because they are independent of their own labor. These prejudices are not confined to the middle and upper classes : they are rampant also among the workers. The man who works nine hours a day despises the man who works sixteen. A country gentleman may consider himself socially superior to his solicitor or his doctor; but they associate on much more cordial terms than shopmen and carmen, engine drivers and railway porters, bricklayers and hodmen, barmaids and general servants. One is almost tempted in this country to declare that the poorer the man the greater the snob, until you get down to those who are so oppressed that they have not enough self-respect even for snobbery, and thus are able to pluck out of the heart of their misery a certain irresponsibility which it would be a mockery to describe as genuine frankness and freedom. The moment you rise into the higher atmosphere of a pound a week, you find that envy, ostentation, tedious and insincere ceremony, love of petty titles, precedences and dignities, and all the detestable fruits of inequality of condition, flourish as rankly among those who lose as among those who gain by it. In fact the notion that poverty favors virtue was clearly invented to persuade the poor that what they lost in this world they would gain in the next.

Kropotkine, too optimistically, as I think, disposes of the average man by attributing his unsocialism to the pressure of the corrupt system under which he groans. Remove that pressure, and he will think rightly, says Kropotkine. But if the natural man be indeed social as well as gregarious, how did the corruption and oppression

under which he groans ever arise? Could the institution of property as we know it ever have come into existence unless nearly every man had been, not merely willing, but openly and shamelessly eager to quarter himself idly on the labor of his fellows, and to domineer over them whenever the mysterious workings of economic law enabled him to do so? It is useless to think of man as a fallen angel. If the fallacies of absolute morality are to be admitted in the discussion at all, he must be considered rather as an obstinate and selfish devil, who is being slowly forced by the iron tyranny of Nature to recognize that in disregarding his neighbor's happiness he is taking the surest way to sacrifice his own. And under the present system he never can learn that lesson thoroughly, because he is an inveterate gambler, and knows that the present system gives him a chance, at odds of a hundred thousand to one or so against him, of becoming a millionaire, a condition which is to him the summit of earthly bliss, as from it he will be able to look down upon those who formerly bullied and patronized him. All this may sound harsh, especially to those who know how wholesomely real is the workman's knowledge of life compared to that of the gentleman, and how much more genuinely sympathetic he is in consequence. Indeed, it is obvious that if four-fifths of the population were habitually to do the utter worst in the way of selfishness that the present system invites them to do, society would not stand the strain for six weeks. So far we can claim to be better than our institutions. But the fact that we are too good for complete Unsocialism by no means proves that we are good enough for Communism. The practical question remains, Could men trained under our present system be trusted to pay for their food scrupulously if they could take it for nothing with impunity? Clearly, if they did not so pay, Anarchist Communism would be bankrupt in two days. The answer is that all the evils against which Anarchism is directed are caused by men taking advantage of the institution of property to do this very thing—seize their subsistence without working for it. What reason is there for doubting that they would attempt to take exactly the same advantage of Anarchist Communism? And what reason is there to doubt that the community, finding its bread store bankrupt, would instantly pitch its Anarchism to the four winds, and come down on the defaulters with the strong hand of a law to make them pay, just as they are now compelled to pay their Income Tax? I submit, then, to our Communist Anarchist friends that Communism requires either external compulsion to labor, or else a social morality which the evils of existing society shew that we have failed as yet to attain. I do not deny the possibility of the final attainment of that degree of moralization; but I contend that the path to it lies through a transition system which, instead of offering fresh opportunities to men of getting their living idly, will destroy those opportunities altogether, and wean us from the habit of regarding such an anomaly as possible, much less honorable.

It must not be supposed that the economic difficulties which I pointed out as fatal to Individualist Anarchism are entirely removed by Communism. It is true that if all the bread and coal in the country were thrown into a common store from which each man could take as much as he wanted whenever he pleased without direct payment, then no man could gain any advantage over his fellows from the fact that some farms and some coal-mines are better than others. And if every man could step into a train and travel whither he would without a ticket, no indivdual could speculate in the difference between the traffic from Charing Cross to the Mansion House and that from Ryde to Ventnor. One of the great advantages of Communism will undoubtedly be that huge masses of economic rent will be socialized by it automatically. All rent arising from the value of commodities in general use which can be produced, consumed, aud replaced at the will of man to the full extent to which they are wanted, can be made rent free by communizing them. But there must remain ouside this solution, first, the things which are not in sufficiently general use to be communized at all; second, things of which an unlimited free supply might prove a nuisance, such as gin or printing; and thirdly, things for which the demand exceeds the supply. The last is the instance in which the rent difficulty recurs. It would take an extraordinary course of demolition, reconstruction, and landscape gardening to make every dwelling house in London as desirable as a house in Park Lane, or facing Regent's Park, or overlooking the Embankment Gardens. And since everybody cannot be accommodated there, the exceptionally favored persons who occupy those sites will certainly be expected to render an equivalent for their privilege to those whom they exclude. Without this there would evidently be no true socialization of the habitation of London. This means, in practice, that a public department must let the houses out to the highest bidders, and collect the rents for public purposes. Such a department can hardly be called Anarchistic, however democratic it may be. I might go on to enlarge considerably on the limits to the practicability of direct Communism, which varies from commodity to commodity; but one difficulty, if insurmountable, is as conclusive as twenty.

It is sufficient for our present purpose to have shewn that Communism cannot be ideally Anarchistic, because it does not in the least do away with the necessity for *compelling* people to pay for what they consume; and even when the growth of human character removes that difficulty there will still remain the question of those commodities to which the simple Communist method of so-called "free distribution" is inapplicable. One practical point more requires a word; and that is the difficulty of communizing any branch of distribution without first collectivizing it. For instance, we might easily communize the postal service by simply announcing that in future letters would be carried without stamps just as they now are with them, the cost being thrown entirely upon imperial taxation. But if the postal service were, like most of our distributive business, in the hands of thousands of competing private traders, no such

change would be directly possible. Communism must grow out of Collectivism, not out of anarchic private enterprise. That is to say, it cannot grow directly out of the present system.

But must the transition system therefore be a system of despotic coercion? If so, it will be wrecked by the intense impulse of men to escape from the domination of their own kind. In 1888 a Russian subject, giving evidence before the Sweating Inquiry in the House of Lords, declared that he left the Russian dominion, where he worked thirteen hours a day, to work eighteen hours in England, *because he is freer here*. Reason is dumb when confronted with a man who, exhausted with thirteen hours' toil, will turn to for another five hours for the sake of being free to say that Mr. Gladstone is a better man than Lord Salisbury, and to read Mill, Spencer, and *Reynolds' Newspaper* in the six hours left to him for sleep. It brings to mind the story of the American judge who tried to induce a runaway slave to return to the plantation by pointing out how much better he was treated there than the free wage-nigger of the Abolitionist states. "Yes," said the runaway; "but would you go back if you were in my place?" The judge turned Abolitionist at once. These things are not to be reasoned away. Man will submit to fate, circumstance, society, anything that comes impersonally over him; but against the personal oppressor, whether parent, schoolmaster, overseer, official chief, or king, he eternally rebels. Like the Russian, he will rather be compelled by "necessity" to *agree to* work eighteen hours, than ordered by a master to work thirteen. No modern nation, if deprived of personal liberty or national autonomy, would stop to think of its economic position. Establish a form of Socialism which shall deprive the people of their sense of personal liberty; and, though it double their rations and halve their working hours, they will begin to conspire against it before it is a year old. We only disapprove of monopolists; we *hate* masters.

Then, since we are too dishonest for Communism without taxation or compulsory labor, and too insubordinate to tolerate task work under personal compulsion, how can we order the transition so as to introduce just distribution without Communism, and maintain the incentive to labor without mastership? The answer is, by Democracy. And now, having taken a positive attitude at last, I must give up criticizing the Anarchists, and defend Democracy against *their* criticisms.

Democracy.

I now, accordingly, return to Mr. Tucker's criticism of State Socialism, which, for the sake of precision, had better be called Social-Democracy. There is a Socialism—that of Bismarck; of the extinct young England party; of the advocates of moralized feudalism; and of mob contemners generally—which is not Social-Democracy, but Social-Despotism, and may be dismissed as essentially no more hopeful than a system of Moralized Criminality, Abstemious Gluttony, or Straightforward Mendacity would be. Mr. Tucker, as an American, passes it over as not worth powder and shot: he clearly indicates

a democratic State by his repeated references to the majority principle, and in particular by his assertion that "there would be but one article in the constitution of a State Socialistic country: 'The right of the majority is absolute.'" Having thus driven Democracy back on its citadel, he proceeds to cannonade it as follows:

"Under the system of State Socialism, which holds the community responsible for the health, wealth and wisdom of the individual, the community, through its majority expression, will insist more and more on prescribing the conditions of health, wealth, and wisdom, thus impairing and finally destroying individual independence and with it all sense of individual responsibility.

"Whatever, then, the State Socialists may claim or disclaim, their system, if adopted, is doomed to end in a State religion, to the expense of which all must contribute and at the altar of which all must kneel; a State school of medicine, by whose practitioners the sick must invariably be treated; a State system of hygiene, prescribing what all must and must not eat, drink, wear, and do; a State code of morals, which will not content itself with punishing crime, but will prohibit what the majority decide to be vice; a State system of instruction, which shall do away with all private schools, academies and colleges; a State nursery, in which all children must be brought up in common at the public expense; and, finally, a State family, with an attempt at stirpiculture, or scientific breeding, in which no man or woman will be allowed to have children if the State prohibits them, and no man or woman can refuse to have children if the State orders them. Thus will Authority achieve its acme and Monopoly be carried to its highest power."

In reading this one is reminded of Mr. Herbert Spencer's habit of assuming that whatever is not white must be black. Mr. Tucker, on the ground that "it has ever been the tendency of power to add to itself, to enlarge its sphere, to encroach beyond the limits set for it," admits no alternative to the total subjection of the individual, except the total abolition of the State. If matters really could and did come to that I am afraid the individual would have to go under in any case; for the total abolition of the State in this sense means the total abolition of the collective force of Society, to abolish which it would be necessary to abolish Society itself. There are two ways of doing this. One, the abolition of the individuals composing society, could not be carried out without an interference with their personal claims much more serious than that required, even on Mr. Tucker's shewing, by Social-Democracy. The other, the dispersion af the human race into independent hermitages over the globe at the rate of twenty-five to the square mile, would give rise to considerable inequality of condition and opportunity as between the hermits of Terra del Fuego or the Arctic regions and those of Florida or the Riviera, and would suit only few temperaments. The dispersed units would soon re-associate; and the moment they did so, good-bye to the sovereignty of the individual. If the majority believed in an angry and jealous God, then, State or no State, they would not permit an individual to offend that God and bring down his wrath upon them; they would rather stone and burn the individual in propitiation. They would not suffer the individual to go naked among them; and if he clothed himself in an unusual way which struck them as being ridiculous or scandalous, they would laugh at him; refuse him admission to their feasts; object to be seen talking with him in the streets; and perhaps lock him up as a luuatic. They would

not allow him to neglect sanitary precautions which they believed essential to their own immunity from zymotic disease. If the family were established among them as it is established among us, they would not suffer him to intermarry within certain degrees of kinship. Their demand would so rule the market that in most places he would find no commodities in the shops except those preferred by a majority of the customers; no schools except those conducted in accordance with the ideas of the majority of parents; no experienced doctors except those whose qualifications inspired confidence in a whole circle of patients. This is not "the coming slavery" of Social-Democracy: it is the slavery already come. What is more, there is nothing in the most elaborately negative practical program yet put forward by Anarchism that offers the slightest mitigation of it. That in comparison with ideal irresponsible absolute liberty it is slavery, cannot be denied. But in comparison with the slavery of Robinson Crusoe, which is the most Anarchistic alternative Nature, our taskmistress, allows us, it is pardonably described as "freedom." Robinson Crusoe, in fact, is always willing to exchange his unlimited rights and puny powers for the curtailed rights and relatively immense powers of the "slave" of majorities. For if the individual chooses, as in most cases he will, to believe and worship as his fellows do, he finds temples built and services organized at a cost to himself which he hardly feels. The clothes, the food, the furniture which he is most likely to prefer are ready for him in the shops; the schools in which his children can be taught what their fellow citizens expect them to know are within fifteen minutes' walk of his door; and the red lamp of the most approved pattern of doctor shines reassuringly at the corner of the street. He is free to live with the women of his family without suspicion or scandal; and if he is not free to marry them, what does that matter to him, since he does not wish to marry them? And so happy man be his dole, in spite of his slavery.

"Yet," cries some eccentric individual; "but all this is untrue of me. I want to marry my deceased wife's sister. I am prepared to prove that your authorized system of medicine is nothing but a debased survival of witchcraft. Your schools are machines for forcing spurious learning on children in order that your universities may stamp them as educated men when they have finally lost all power to think for themselves. The tall silk hats and starched linen shirts which you force me to wear, and without which I cannot successfully practise as a physician, clergyman, schoolmaster, lawyer, or merchant, are inconvenient, unsanitary, ugly, pompous, and offensive. Your temples are devoted to a God in whom I do not believe; and even if I did believe in him I should still regard your popular forms of worship as only redeemed from gross superstition by their obvious insincerity. Science teaches me that my proper food is good bread and good fruit: your boasted food supply offers me cows and pigs instead. Your care for my health consists in tapping the common sewer, with its deadly typhoid gases, into my house, besides discharging its contents into the river, which is my natural bath and fountain. Under color of protecting my person

and property you forcibly take my money to support an army of soldiers and policemen for the execution of barbarous and detestable laws; for the waging of wars which I abhor; and for the subjection of my person to those legal rights of property which compel me to sell myself for a wage to a class the maintenance of which I hold to be the greatest evil of our time. Your tyranny makes my very individuality a hindrance to me: I am outdone and outbred by the mediocre, the docile, the time-serving. Evolution under such conditions means degeneracy: therefore I demand the abolition of all these officious compulsions, and proclaim myself an Anarchist."

The proclamation is not surprising under the circumstances; but it does not mend the matter in the least, nor would it if every person were to repeat it with enthusiasm, and the whole people to fly to arms for Anarchism. The majority cannot help its tyranny even if it would. The giant Winkelmeier must have found our doorways inconvenient, just as men of five feet or less find the slope of the floor in a theatre not sufficiently steep to enable them to see over the heads of those in front. But whilst the average height of a man is 5ft. 8in. there is no redress for such grievances. Builders will accommodate doors and floors to the majority, and not to the minority. For since either the majority or the minority must be incommoded, evidently the more powerful must have its way. There may be no indisputable reason why it ought; and any clever Tory can give excellent reasons why it ought not; but the fact remains that it will, whether it ought or not. And this is what really settles the question as between democratic majorities and minorities. Where their interests conflict, the weaker side must go to the wall, because, as the evil involved is no greater than that of the stronger going to the wall,* the majority is not restrained by any scruple from compelling the weaker to give way.

In practice, this does not involve either the absolute power of majorities, or "the infallibility of the odd man." There are some matters in which the course preferred by the minority in no way obstructs that preferred by the majority. There are many more in which the obstruction is easier to bear than the cost of suppressing it. For it costs something to suppress even a minority of one. The commonest example of that minority is the lunatic with a delusion; yet it is found quite safe to entertain dozens of delusions, and be generally an extremely selfish and troublesome idiot, in spite of the power of majorities; for until you go so far that it clearly costs less to lock you up than to leave you at large, the majority will not take the trouble to set itself in action against you. Thus a minimum of individual liberty is secured, under any system, to the smallest

* The evil is decidedly *less* if the calculation proceeds by the popular method of always estimating an evil suffered by a hundred persons as a hundred times as great as the same evil suffered by only one. This, however, is absurd. A hundred starving men are not a hundred times as hungry as one starving man, any more than a hundred five-foot-eight men are each five hundred and sixty-six feet eight inches high. But they are a hundred times as strong a political force. Though the evil may not be cumulative, the power to resist it is.

minority. It is true that as minorities grow, they sometimes, in forfeiting the protection of insignificance, lose more in immunity than they gain in numbers; so that probably the weakest minority is not the smallest, but rather that which is too large to be disregarded and too weak to be feared; but before and after that dangerous point is weathered, minorities wield considerable power. The notion that they are ciphers because the majority could vanquish them in a trial of strength leaves out of account the damage they could inflict on the victors during the struggle. Ordinarily an unarmed man weighing thirteen stone can beat one weighing only eleven; but there are very few emergencies in which it is worth his while to do it, because if the weaker man resists to the best of his ability (which is always possible) the victor will be considerably worse off after the fight than before it. In 1861 the Northern and Southern States of America fought, as prize-fighters say, "to a finish"; and the North carried its point, yet at such a heavy cost to itself that the Southern States have by no means been reduced to ciphers; for the victorious majority have ever since felt that it would be better to give way on any but the most vital issues than to provoke such another struggle. But it is not often that a peremptory question arises between a majority and minority of a whole nation. In most matters only a fragment of the nation has any interest one way or the other; and the same man who is in a majority on one question is in a minority on another, and so learns by experience that minorities have "rights" which must be attended to. Minorities, too, as in the case of the Irish Party in the English Parliament, occasionally hold the balance of power between majorities which recognize their rights and majorities which deny them. Further, it is possible by decentralization to limit the power of the majority of the whole nation to questions upon which a divided policy is impracticable. For example, it is not only possible, but democratically expedient, to federate the municipalities of England in such a manner that Leicester might make vaccination penal whilst every other town in the island made it compulsory. Even at present, vaccination is not in fact compulsory in Leicester, though it is so in law. Theoretically, Leicester has been reduced to a cipher by the rest of England. Practically, Leicester counts twelve to the dozen as much as ever in purely local affairs.

In short, then, Democracy does not give majorities absolute power, nor does it enable them to reduce minorities to ciphers. Such limited power of coercing minorities as majorities must possess, is not given to them by Democracy any more than it can be taken away from them by Anarchism. A couple of men are stronger than one: that is all. There are only two ways of neutralizing this natural fact. One is to convince men of the immorality of abusing the majority power, and then to make them moral enough to refrain from doing it on that account. The other is to realize Lytton's fancy of *vril* by inventing a means by which each individual will be able to destroy all his fellows with a flash of thought, so that the majority may have as much reason to fear the individual as he to fear the majority. No method of doing either is to be found in Indivi-

dualist or Communist Anarchism: consequently these systems, as far as the evils of majority tyranny are concerned, are no better than the Social-Democratic program of adult suffrage with maintenance of representatives and payment of polling expenses from public funds —faulty devices enough, no doubt, but capable of accomplishing all that is humanly possible at present to make the State representative of the nation; to make the administration trustworthy; and to secure the utmost power to each individual and consequently to minorities. What better can we have whilst collective action is inevitable? Indeed, in the mouths of the really able Anarchists, Anarchism means simply the utmost attainable thoroughness of Democracy. Kropotkine, for example, speaks of free development from the simple to the composite by "the free union of free groups"; and his illustrations are "the societies for study, for commerce, for pleasure and recreation" which have sprung up to meet the varied requirements of the individual of our age. But in every one of these societies there is government by a council elected annually by a majority of voters; so that Kropotkine is not at all afraid of the democratic machinery and the majority power. Mr. Tucker speaks of "voluntary association," but gives no illustrations, and indeed avows that "Anarchists are simply unterrified Jeffersonian Democrats." He says, indeed, that "if the individual has a right to govern himself, all external government is tyranny"; but if governing oneself means doing what one pleases without regard to the interests of neighbors, then the individual has flatly no such right. If he has no such right, the interference of his neighbors to make him behave socially, though it is "external government," is not tyranny; and even if it were they would not refrain from it on that account. On the other hand, if governing oneself means compelling oneself to act with a due regard to the interests of the neighbors, then it is a right which men are proved incapable of exercising without external government. Either way, the phrase comes to nothing; for it would be easy to show by a little play upon it, either that altruism is really external government or that democratic State authority is really self-government.

Mr. Tucker's adjective, "voluntary," as applied to associations for defence or the management of affairs, must not be taken as implying that there is any very wide choice open in these matters. Such association is really compulsory, since if it be foregone affairs will remain unmanaged and communities defenceless. Nature makes short work of our aspirations towards utter impunity. She leaves communities in no wise "free" to choose whether they will labor and govern themselves. It is either that or starvation and chaos. Her tasks are inexorably set: her penalties are inevitable: her payment is strictly "payment by results." All the individual can do is to shift and dodge his share of the task on to the shoulders of others, or filch some of their "natural wage" to add to his own. If they are fools enough to suffer it, that is their own affair as far as Nature is concerned. But it is the aim of Social-Democracy to relieve these fools by throwing on all an equal share in the inevitable labor im-

posed by the eternal tyranny of Nature, and so secure to every individual no less than his equal quota of the nation's product in return for no more than his equal quota of the nation's labor. These are the best terms humanity can make with its tyrant. In the eighteenth century it was easy for the philosophers and for Adam Smith to think of this rule of Nature as being "natural liberty" in contrast to the odious and stupid oppression of castes, priests, and kings—the detested "dominion of man over man." But we, in detecting the unsoundness of Adam Smith's private property and *laisser-faire* recipe for natural liberty, begin to see that though there is political liberty, there is no natural liberty, but only natural law remorselessly enforced. And so we shake our heads when we see LIBERTY on the title-page of Mr. Tucker's paper, just as we laugh when we see THE COMING SLAVERY on Mr. Herbert Spencer's "Man and the State."

We can now begin to join the threads of our discussion. We have seen that private appropriation of land in any form, whether limited by Individualist Anarchism to occupying owners or not, means the unjust distribution of a vast fund of social wealth called rent, which can by no means be claimed as due to the labor of any particular individual or class of individuals. We have seen that Communist Anarchism, though it partly—and only partly—avoids the rent difficulty, is, in the condition of morals developed under existing Unsocialism, impracticable. We have seen that the delegation of individual powers by voting; the creation of authoritative public bodies; the supremacy of the majority in the last resort; and the establishment and even endowment, either directly and officially or indirectly and unconsciously, of conventional forms of practice in religion, medicine, education, food, clothing, and criminal law, are, whether they be evils or not, inherent in society itself, and must be submitted to with the help of such protection against their abuse as democratic institutions more than any others afford. When Democracy fails, there is no antidote for intolerance save the spread of better sense. No form of Anarchism yet suggested provides any escape. Like bad weather in winter, intolerance does much mischief; but as, when we have done our best in the way of overcoats, umbrellas, and good fires, we have to put up with the winter; so, when we have done our best in the way of Democracy, decentralization, and the like, we must put up with the State.

The Anarchist Spirit.

I suppose I must not leave the subject without a word as to the value of what I will call the Anarchist spirit as an element in progress. But before I do so, let me disclaim all intention of embarrassing our Anarchist friends who are present by any sympathy which I may express with that spirit. On the Continent the discussion between Anarchism and Social-Democracy is frequently threshed out with the help of walking-sticks, chair-legs, and even revolvers. In England this does not happen, because the majority of an English audience always declines to take an extreme position,

and, out of an idle curiosity to hear both sides, will, on sufficient provocation, precipitately eject theorists who make a disturbance, without troubling itself to discriminate as to the justice of their views. When I had the privilege some time ago of debating publicly with Mr. G. W. Foote on the Eight Hours question, a French newspaper which dealt with the occasion at great length devoted a whole article to an expression of envious astonishment at the fact that Mr. Foote and I abstained from vilifying and finally assaulting one another, and that our partisans followed our shining example and did not even attempt to prevent each other's champions from being heard. Still, if we do not permit ourselves to merge Socialism, Anarchism, and all the other isms into rowdyism, we sometimes debate our differences, even in this eminently respectable Fabian Society, with considerable spirit. Now far be it from me to disarm the Anarchist debater by paying him compliments. On the contrary, if we have here any of those gentlemen who make it their business to denounce Social-Democrats as misleaders of the people and trimmers; who declaim against all national and municipal projects, and clamor for the abolition of Parliaments and County Councils; who call for a desperate resistance to rent, taxes, representative government and organised collective action of every sort: then I invite them to regard me as their inveterate opponent—as one who regards such doctrine, however sincerely it may be put forward, as at best an encouragement to the workers to neglect doing what is possible under pretext of waiting for the impossible, and at worst as furnishing the reactionary newspapers in England, and the police agents on the Continent, with evidence as to the alleged follies and perils of Socialism. But at the same time, it must be understood that I do not stand here to defend the State as we know it. Bakounine's comprehensive aspiration to destroy all States and Established Churches, with their religious, political, judicial, financial, criminal, academic, economic and social laws and institutions, seems to me perfectly justifiable and intelligible from the point of view of the ordinary "educated man," who believes that institutions make men instead of men making institutions. I fully admit and vehemently urge that the State at present is simply a huge machine for robbing and slave-driving the poor by brute force. You may, if you are a stupid or comfortably-off person, think that the policeman at the corner is the guardian of law and order—that the gaol, with those instruments of torture, the treadmill, plank bed, solitary cell, cat o' nine tails, and gallows, is a place to make people cease to do evil and learn to do well. But the primary function of the policeman, and that for which his other functions are only blinds, is to see that you do not lie down to sleep in this country without paying an idler for the privilege; that you do not taste bread until you have paid the idler's toll in the price of it; that you do not resist the starving blackleg who is dragging you down to his level for the idler's profit by offering to do your work for a starvation wage. Attempt any of these things, and you will be haled off and tortured in the name of law and order, honesty, social equilibrium, safety of pro-

perty and person, public duty, Christianity, morality, and what not, as a vagrant, a thief, and a rioter. Your soldier, ostensibly a heroic and patriotic defender of his country, is really an unfortunate man driven by destitution to offer himself as food for powder for the sake of regular rations, shelter and clothing; and he must, on pain of being arbitrarily imprisoned, punished with petty penances like a naughty child, pack-drilled, flogged or shot, all in the blessed name of "discipline," do anything he is ordered to, from standing in his red coat in the hall of an opera house as a mere ornament, to flogging his comrade or committing murder. And *his* primary function is to come to the rescue of the policeman when the latter is overpowered. Members of Parliament whose sole qualifications for election were £1000 loose cash, an "independent" income, and a vulgar strain of ambition; parsons quoting scripture for the purposes of the squire; lawyers selling their services to the highest bidder at the bar, and maintaining the supremacy of the moneyed class on the bench; juries of employers masquerading as the peers of proletarians in the dock; University professors elaborating the process known as the education of a gentleman; artists striving to tickle the fancy or flatter the vanity of the aristocrat or plutocrat; workmen doing their work as badly and slowly as they dare so as to make the most of their job; employers starving and overworking their hands and adulterating their goods as much as *they* dare: these are the actual living material of those imposing abstractions known as the State, the Church, the Law, the Constitution, Education, the Fine Arts, and Industry. Every institution, as Bakounine saw, religious, political, financial, judicial, and so on, is corrupted by the fact that the men in it either belong to the propertied class themselves or must sell themselves to it in order to live. All the purchasing power that is left to buy men's souls with after their bodies are fed is in the hands of the rich; and everywhere, from the Parliament which wields the irresistible coercive forces of the bludgeon, bayonet, machine gun, dynamite shell, prison and scaffold, down to the pettiest centre of shabby-genteel social pretension, the rich pay the piper and call the tune. Naturally, they use their power to steal more money to continue paying the piper; and thus all society becomes a huge conspiracy and hypocrisy. The ordinary man is insensible to the fraud just as he is insensible to the taste of water, which, being constantly in contact with his mucous membrane, seems to have no taste at all. The villainous moral conditions on which our social system is based are necessarily in constant contact with our moral mucous membrane, and so we lose our sense of their omnipresent meanness and dishonor. The insensibility, however, is not quite complete; for there is a period in life which is called the age of disillusion, which means the age at which a man discovers that his generous and honest impulses are incompatible with success in business; that the institutions he has reverenced are shams; and that he must join the conspiracy or go to the wall, even though he feels that the conspiracy is fundamentally ruinous to himself and his fellow-conspirators. The secret of writers like Ruskin, Morris and Kropotkine

is that they see the whole imposture through and through, in spite of its familiarity, and of the illusions created by its temporal power, its riches, its splendor, its prestige, its intense respectability, its unremitting piety, and its high moral pretension. But Kropotkine, as I have shewn, is really an advocate of free Democracy; and I venture to suggest that he describes himself as an Anarchist rather from the point of view of the Russian recoiling from a despotism compared to which Democracy seems to be no government at all, than from the point of view of the American or Englishman who is free enough already to begin grumbling over Democracy as "the tyranny of the majority" and "the coming slavery." I suggest this with the more confidence because William Morris's views are largely identical with those of Kropotkine: yet Morris, after patient and intimate observation of Anarchism as a working propaganda in England, has definitely dissociated himself from it, and has shewn, by his sketch of the communist folk-mote in his *News from Nowhere*, how sanely alive he is to the impossibility of any development of the voluntary element in social action sufficient to enable individuals or minorities to take public action without first obtaining the consent of the majority.

On the whole, then, I do not regard the extreme hostility to existing institutions which inspires Communist Anarchism as being a whit more dangerous to Social-Democracy than the same spirit as it inspires the peculiar Toryism of Ruskin. Much more definitely opposed to us is the survival of that intense jealousy of the authority of the government over the individual which was the mainspring of the progress of the eighteenth century. Only those who forget the lessons of history the moment they have served their immediate turn will feel otherwise than reassured by the continued vitality of that jealousy among us. But this consideration does not remove the economic objections which I have advanced as to the practical program of Individualist Anarchism. And even apart from these objections, the Social-Democrat is compelled, by contact with hard facts, to turn his back decisively on useless denunciation of the State. It is eaay to say, Abolish the State; but the State will sell you up, lock you up, blow you up, knock you down, bludgeon, shoot, stab, hang—in short, abolish you, if you lift a hand against it. Fortunately, there is, as we have seen, a fine impartiality about the policeman and the soldier, who are the cutting edge of the State power. They take their wages and obey their orders without asking questions. If those orders are to demolish the homestead of every peasant who refuses to take the bread out of his children's mouths in order that his landlord may have money to spend as an idle gentleman in London, the soldier obeys. But if his orders were to help the police to pitch his lordship into Holloway Gaol until he had paid an Income Tax of twenty shillings on every pound of his unearned income, the soldier would do that with equal devotion to duty, and perhaps with a certain private zest that might be lacking in the other case. Now these orders come ultimately from the State—meaning, in this country, the House of Commons. A House

of Commons consisting of 660 gentlemen and 10 workmen will order the soldier to take money from the people for the landlords. A House of Commons consisting of 660 workmen and 10 gentlemen will probably, unless the 660 are fools, order the soldier to take money from the landlords for the people. With this hint I leave the matter, in the full conviction that the State, in spite of the Anarchists, will continue to be used against the people by the classes until it used by the people against the classes with equal ability and equal resolution.

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The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the reorganisation of Society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land, with equitable consideration of established expectations, and due provision as to the tenure of the home and the homestead; for the transfer to the community, by constitutional methods, of all such industries as can be conducted socially; and for the establishment, as the governing consideration in the regulation of production, distribution and service, of the common good instead of private profit.

The Society is a constituent of the Labour Party and of the International Socialist Congress; but it takes part freely in all constitutional movements, social, economic and political, which can be guided towards its own objects. Its direct business is (*a*) the propaganda of Socialism in its application to current problems; (*b*) investigation and discovery in social, industrial, political and economic relations; (*c*) the working out of Socialist principles in legislation and administrative reconstruction; (*d*) the publication of the results of its investigations and their practical lessons.

The Society, believing in equal citizenship of men and women in the fullest sense, is open to persons irrespective of sex, race or creed, who commit themselves to its aims and purposes as stated above, and undertake to promote its work.

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Fabian Tract No. 51.

SOCIALISM: TRUE AND FALSE.

BY

SIDNEY WEBB.

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Socialism: True and False.

I do not know whether many of those here present are aware that we celebrate to-night what may be regarded as the tenth anniversary of the foundation of this Society. It was on the 4th of January, 1884, that the little group which had been for some months discussing the Regeneration of the World and a Fellowship of the New Life, formally adopted the title of the Fabian Society — thereby indicating, as I take it, an underlying suspicion that the Devil of Individualism was not to be driven out by any short and sharp encounter, but that it behoved all true believers to watch and wait and diligently equip themselves for a warfare which must necessarily be harrassing and protracted. But though we took the title of the Fabian Society in January, 1884, it was two or three years before we had quite found out what our instinctive choice of a title really portended. In 1884 the Fabian Society, like the other Socialist organizations, had its enthusiastic young members—aye, and old ones, too—who placed all their hopes on a sudden tumultuous uprising of a united proletariat, before whose mighty onrush, kings, landlords and capitalists would go down like ninepins, leaving society quietly to re-sort itself into Utopia. The date for this Social Revolution was sometimes actually fixed for 1889, the centenary of the opening of the French Revolution. I remember myself that one of our friends, in his zeal that the rural districts might not be forgotten, printed and circulated a proposal that a few Socialist missionaries should buy a gipsy caravan and live in it "until the Revolution," an event evidently to be expected before the ensuing winter!†

It was against all thinking and teaching of this catastrophic kind that the Society gradually came to set its face—not, as I believe, because we were any less in earnest in our warfare against existing evils, or less extreme in our remedies, but because we were sadly and sorrowfully driven to the conclusion that no sudden or simultaneous transformation of society from an Individualist to a Collectivist basis was possible, or even thinkable.‡

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* A Lecture delivered to the Fabian Society, 21st January, 1894, by Sidney Webb.

† Out of enthusiasm of this sort has grown the extremely practical rural propaganda by means of travelling vans, now carried on by various societies. See the interesting annual reports of the "Red Van" campaigns of the English Land Restoration League for 1892 and 1893 (8 Duke Street, Adelphi, London).

‡ The process of education amid which the Fabian Society settled down to this view is described in Fabian Tract No. 41, *The Fabian Society: What it has done and how it has done it*," by G. Bernard Shaw.

On the other hand we had but little sympathy with schemes for the regeneration of mankind by the establishment of local Utopias, whether in Cumberland or in Chili. To turn our back on the Unearned Increment and the Machine Industry seemed a poor way of conquering them. We had no faith in the recuperative qualities of spade husbandry or in any devices for dodging the Law of Rent. In short, we repudiated the common assumption that Socialism was necessarily bound up with Insurrectionism on the one hand or Utopianism on the other, and we set to work to discover for ourselves and to teach to others how practically to transform England into a Social Democratic Commonwealth.

Well, we have I hope, all learnt a great deal since 1884, but everything that has happened during these ten years has strengthened our faith in the fundamental principles of our association. If I might speak in the name of our members, I should say that we are more than ever convinced of the utter impossibility of what may be called Catastrophic Socialism, and all its attendant heresies. Nor have we seen reason to alter our distrust of separate Socialist communities, in whatever specious new form the old idea may clothe itself. For ten years we have held on our course, turning neither to Insurrectionism on the one hand nor to Utopianism on the other.

If now I briefly recal to your mind some instances of the progress of Collectivist ideas during these years, I trust that no one will imagine that I am attempting to claim that progress as the work of the Fabian Society, or indeed of any society whatever. Nothing is more futile than to endeavor to ascribe the exact cause and origin of a general intellectual movement, of which we are, indeed, ourselves a product. The seeds of the Socialist harvest of the last few years were sown by the great thinkers and teachers of the last two generations; and it would be idle to attempt to measure the exact influence of any one of them in the transformation of ideas amid which we are now living.

I take as a starting point, not 1884, but the year 1880, which as I conceive, approximately marks the turning of thought.

Fourteen years ago we may almost say that an unsystematic and empirical Individualism reigned supreme. Not in one political party alone, or in one class of society, but in all alike, we find the assumption that the functions of government ought to be reduced to the barest minimum; that free competition, leading as it was supposed to the survival of the fittest, was the only sure foundation of a prosperous State; and that the incessant private "war which leads each man to strive to place himself on another's shoulders and to remain there,"* was, on the whole, a benevolent dispensation of Providence, and part of the "Laws of Nature," not impiously to be interfered with.

The Liberal Party, at that time almost exclusively dominated by the manufacturers and the Whig families, was living on the remnants of the political reputation of the Manchester School. A vague belief

* Sir Henry Maine, "Popular Government."

in the saving grace of non-intervention abroad and *laisser faire* at home, was vitalised only by a practical programme of the extension of household franchise to the counties. To the rising desire for social reform it presented no more hopeful solution than the economic negations of Nassau Senior and Fawcett. The object of all social reforms, authorised or unauthorised, was to enable the artisan to become a small capitalist, and the laborer a small landowner. "Three acres and a cow" in the country had its analogue in schemes of leasehold enfranchisement in the towns. As an alternative to the existing order of squires and captains of industry, we had offered to us a millennium of peasant proprietors and small masters. It is needless to enlarge upon the self-complacency with which both Liberal and Conservative capitalists delighted in reminding the working-men of all the future possibilities of self-advancement, when land should be "free," food cheap, and industrial competition unrestricted. The epics of this faith have been written by that unconscious corrupter of youth, Mr. Samuel Smiles, and are still fresh in the memories of most of us.

In 1880, Mr. Gladstone came into power on a wave of popular indignation against atrocities in Bulgaria, which dispensed with the necessity for any programme of social reforms in England. The political Radicals, swept along by the same wave, were too busy denouncing international aggression to be effective even on fiscal reform and political democracy, beyond which they had practically no vision. The Conservatives, less traditionally bound to Administrative Nihilism, had just consolidated the Factory Acts, but their leaders had been so far perverted as deliberately to leave the whole range of sweated trades outside the effective scope of the law and to give up all attempts to shorten the hours of labor. Even the working-men had been permeated by the same policy. The Trade Union leaders could think of only four trivial amendments to propose to the Factory Bill of 1878. The Trade Union Congress of those years asked for practically nothing but an Employers' Liability Bill. In 1879 there were a great many more unemployed than there have ever been since, but no responsible authority thought of anything but charity or poor relief for them. Free Education, Extension of the Factory Acts, Limitation of the Hours of Labor, Expansion of Municipal Activity, though all proposed long before, seem, in 1880, scarcely to have entered the heads of any of those who were leading either the Conservative, the Liberal, the Radical, or the Trade Union forces. But more striking even than this barrenness of programme was the total absence of any systematic view of politics as a whole. In this respect the most advanced statesmen of fourteen years ago stood in marked contrast with the Philosophic Radicals of the first half of the century. I will quote the significant comment of a shrewd critic of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet:

"James Mill and his school had two characteristics which have not always marked energetic types of Liberalism, and perhaps do not mark them in our own day. The advanced Liberals of his time were systematic, and they were constructive. They surveyed society and

institutions as a whole; they connected their advocacy of political and legal changes with theories of human nature; they considered the great art of government in connection with the character of man, his proper education, his potential capacities. They could explain in the large dialect of a definite scheme what were their aims and whither they were going. . . . . Is there any such approach to a body of systematic political thought in our own day? We cannot say that there is."*

Now, in estimating the progress of Collectivism between 1880 and 1894, I do not propose to make any parade of the membership and influence of the various Socialist societies, which seem to me to be, at the present time, far greater than at any previous period. Nor will I recite a long list of bills which have been passed during the last fourteen years, and claim these as more or less triumphs of Collectivism. It would be easy to argue that the multiplication of municipal gasworks is an unconscious adoption of the principle of Socialism, just as the freeing of schools and the building of gratuitous libraries is of that of Communism. But what we Socialists are aiming at is not to secure this or that reform, still less to put this or that party into power, but to convert the great mass of the English people to our own views. We are trying to satisfy the ordinary man, not merely that most of the existing arrangements of society are fundamentally defective—for on that point the great majority have always been most painfully convinced—but also that the main principle of reform must be the substitution of Collective Ownership and Control for Individual Private Property in the means of production. In short, the Socialist task is to contribute to this generation the "body of systematic political thought," of which Mr. John Morley was in 1882 deploring the lack. Though we cannot count among our ranks any men of the calibre of Bentham and James Mill, though we have neither the wealth nor the position of the Philosophic Radicals of the first part of the century, yet I take it that the work set before us is analogous to theirs. The Socialists are the Benthamites of this generation. And if I had to sum up the effect upon the public mind of the Socialist propaganda of the past fourteen years, I could find no better description than that given of the work of the Benthamites.

"They produced," says a very competent observer, "a much more serious effect on public opinion than superficial inquirers perceived, or interested ones would acknowledge. The important practical effect was not made evident by converting and bringing over large numbers of political partisans from one banner or class to another, or by making them renounce one appellation and adopt another; but it was shown by affecting the conclusions of all classes, and inducing them, while they retained their old distinctive names, to reason after a new fashion, and according to principles wholly different from those to which they had been previously accustomed."†

* Mr. John Morley, in a review of Bain's "Life of James Mill," *Fortnightly Review* vol. xxxi., p. 503 (April, 1882).

† J. A. Roebuck.

It is, of course, especially in the economic and industrial field that we find this reasoning "after a new fashion, and according to principles wholly different from those to which they had been previously accustomed." It has become more and more plain that the facts of industrial life are "dead against" the realization of the individualist ideal of each man becoming his own master. The Industrial Revolution, with its aggregation of production into ever larger enterprises, has rendered it practically impossible for five-sixths of the population to be anything but hired servants, dependent on the owners of land and capital for leave to earn a living. At the same time the spread of economic knowledge has made it clear that even the most virtuous artizan cannot dodge the law of rent; and he is therefore left face to face with the grim fact of a colossal tribute levied by ownership upon industry without any obligation on the part of the receivers to render social service in return. It is especially the growing understanding of this Ricardian law of rent which has revolutionized London politics, and has caused the hostile indifference with which the artizan in other centres is coming to regard both the great political parties. The outcome of this new ferment is the formation of an incipient Collectivist body of opinion among the great bulk of the younger men, the rising London party, and the new-born Labor Movement.

The political effect of this change of opinion is seen in the gradual transformation of party programmes, especially on the Land question. In the Liberal party the new Collectivist section is in direct antagonism to the "old gang." Its aim is not the subdivision of property, whether capital or land, but the control and administration of it by the representatives of the community. It has no desire to see the Duke of Bedford replaced by five hundred little Dukes of Bedford under the guise of enfranchised leaseholders, but prefers to assert the claim of the whole community to the land, and especially to that "unearned increment" of value which the whole community creates. It has no vain dream of converting the agricultural laborer into a freeholder, farming his own land, but looks to the creation of parish councils empowered to acquire land for communal ownership, and to build cottages for the laborers to rent. The path to its town Utopia is that of Mr. Chamberlain's early career, though not of his political programme—unlimited municipalization of local public services and a wide extension of corporate activity. London in particular has caught up the old Birmingham cry of "High rates and a healthy city," but with a significant difference. Our modern economists tells us that the first source of public revenue for a rising city is the growing rental value of its site, which at present falls into private hands. Hence the new demand for the gradual municipalization by taxation of urban land values—a demand still so little understood by most of our statesmen that they fondly imagine it to have something to do with a division of rates between houseowner and occupier. It is coming to be remembered, in short, that Bentham himself, the great father of Political Radicalism, urged that taxation need not be limited to the supply of funds for the bare

administrative expenses of the State, but that, wisely handled, it also supplied a means of gradually securing the great end of equality of opportunity to every citizen.

The typical young politician, who twenty years ago was a convinced Individualist quoting Mr. Herbert Spencer, is nowadays an empirical Collectivist of a practical kind. His face is turned away from the Individualist ideal of his fathers towards a period of ever-increasing collective action. Happily, however, he is no Utopian, and realizes that it is impossible all at once to take over the administration of the land and capital of the community. Where direct public administration is still impracticable, the public interest can only be secured by collective regulation of the conditions of labor, in order to prevent the Standard of Life of the workers from being degraded by private greed. And hence it is that the extremely valuable mantle shared by Robert Owen and Lord Shaftesbury, and despised by the older Liberals, is now the joint heritage of the Labor party and the Collectivist Radicals; Eight Hours Bills, practicable and impracticable, are the order of the day, and drastic proposals for the annihilation of "Sweating" excite the undisguised horror of the older members of both Liberal and Conservative parties. And since all this regulation and supervision of private enterprises is burdensome and expensive, the presumption of the younger politicians is distinctly against individual profit-making where it is possible to dispense with it. The best Government is no longer "that which governs least," but "that which can safely and advantageously administer most."*

All this is encouraging progress for so short a period as fourteen years. But it amounts, of course, to no more than the preliminary steps in the conversion of England. Public opinion, in fact, is in "a fine state to begin on." Adhesion to Socialism is no longer a disqualification for a candidate. Politicians lend a willing ear to Socialist proposals. Now is the time to bring to bear a body of systematic and constructive political thought such as that with which the Philosophic Radicals won their great triumphs. The greatest need of the English Socialist Party at this moment is men and women of brains who will deliberately set themselves, by serious study, to work out the detailed application of Collectivist principles to the actual problems of modern life. We need to do a great deal more hard thinking in almost every department of our Socialist programme. I am appalled when I realise how little attention we have yet been able to pay to what I may call the Unsettled Questions of Democratic Administration.

To take, for instance, the pressing problem of the Unemployed. In my humble judgment no plan has yet been devised by which the fluctuations of work could be entirely prevented, or safe and profitable employment found for those rendered idle by no fault of their own. It is easy enough to demand that something should be done;

* A more detailed account of this change of thought will be found in *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, and in the writer's *Socialism in England*.

and I entirely agree with agitating the subject; but something mo than agitation is required. It is of no use urging remedies whic can be demonstrably proved to be worse for the patient than th disease itself. I fear that if we were given full power to-morrow deal with the unemployed all over England we should find oursel hard put to it how to solve the problem.* Or to turn to anot field, in which practically nothing has yet been done. Have we a clear and decided view as to the relation between central and lo authorities? How far do we wish to increase the power of t national administration at the expense of local governing bodies to what extent, that is, will our Social-Democracy be consistent wi local Home Rule? The Glasgow Town Council, for instance, is this moment quarrelling with the Postmaster-General as to wheth the telephone shall fall within the sphere of municipal or of nation Socialism. It is evident that some departments of public admin stration can be best managed from one central office. It is, I sup pose, equally evident that others must be administered locally, unde some kind of central control. But which subjects should be loca and which should be central—upon what principle the divisior should be made, and in what form and to what extent there should be a central control—these are problems to which, as far as I know no solution has been found and very little serious thought been given.

I do not suggest that we Socialists are more ignorant than other people: on the contrary, the two puzzles that I have chosen are at present puzzles to the whole world. But the whole world is not equally interested with ourselves in getting a solution of them. Those who believe that nothing ought to be done for the unemployed are not likely to succeed in finding anything; and we can hardly expect those who object to any extension of Democracy to help us to solve the problems which it presents. It is we who must discover the answers to our own conundrums; and I do most seriously suggest that there is no more valuable field of work for any group of Socialists, no more fruitful service to the Socialist cause, than for them earnestly and persistently to study, in the light of the ascertained facts, some one of the many social problems to which we have to apply our Socialist faith. Depend upon it, the first step to getting what we want is a very clear and precise knowledge of what it is that we want.

But this want of precision in our thinking may easily do worse than merely delay our progress; there is, as it seems to me, a good deal of danger of its leading us positively astray from the Socialist goal. The circumstances of modern life are so complicated, the problems to be dealt with are so difficult, the need for prompt action is often so great that we may easily be led to take up schemes of reform which promise some immediate improvement on the present

* The student beginning this subject should, as the first step, master the Blue Book of the Labor Department, *Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed*, published October, 1893, price 1s. 9d. (C—7182).

ite of things, but which are not really in the line of advance wards a genuine Collectivism.

Here I venture on dangerous ground. But if we are to clear up ideas, and apply our Socialist principles to the practical problems life, we must definitely make up our mind between contrary als. If our aim is the transformation of England into a Social-mocracy, we must frankly accept the changes brought about by Industrial Revolution, the factory system, the massing of popu-on in great cities, the elaborate differentiation and complication modern civilization, the subordination of the worker to the citizen, d of the individual to the community. We must rid ourselves olutely of those schemes and projects of byegone Socialisms which ve now passed out of date, as well as from the specious devices of dividualism in a new dress. All these I class together as Spurious llectivism, making, in my view, not for social progress, but for action.

Utopia-founding.

And first let us deal with the ideas of those amiable enthusiasts ho are still bent on the establishment of ideal communities. carcely a year passes without some new project for the formation of perfect Socialist colony in Paraguay or Peru, Mexico or Matabele-and, where all the evils of landlordism and the machine industry are to be avoided. The authors of such schemes are often chided for their unbounded belief in human nature. To me, on the contrary, they seem to be throwing up the sponge in despair. Their disgust with the world of competition and Individualism, their impatience with the slow and gradual methods of Democratic progress, come, really not from too much but from too little faith in humanity. "I see very little hope for the workers as a class," writes one of them, "even if they get all they want—our best plan for the present is to form for ourselves a little backwater outside the force of the main current, so that we ourselves may not be entirely swept away—a little space free from the mists and miasma of competition, so that we, at least, may breathe the fresh air of freedom and brotherhood."*

Now I do not for a moment wish to discourage any young Socialist who feels a burning desire to shake the dust of civilization off his feet. Nevertheless, the aim of the modern Socialist movement, I take it, is not to enable this or that comparatively free person to lead an ideal life, but to loosen the fetters of the millions who toil in our factories and mines, and who cannot possibly be moved to Freeland or Topolobampo. For the last two generations we have had social prophets, who, seeing the impossibility of at once converting the whole country, founded here and there small companies of the faithful, who immediately attempted to put into practice whatever complete ideal they professed. The gradual adoption of this ideal by the whole people was expected from the steady expansion of these isolated communities. But in no single case has this expectation been ful-

* Letter in *Brotherhood*, January, 1894.

filled. Most of these isolated colonies outside the world have fai Some few, under more favorable circumstances, have grown pr perous. But whether they become rich or remain poor, they app to me equally disastrous to the real progress of Socialism inside t world as we know it.

Wise prophets nowadays do not found a partial communi which adopts the whole faith; they cause rather the partial ado tion of their faith by the whole community. Incomplete reform effected in the world of ordinary citizens, instead of complete refor outside of it. Genuine Socialism grows by vertical instead of hor zontal expansion; we must make ever more Socialistic the inst tutions amid which we live, instead of expecting them to be suddenl superseded by any new set imported from elsewhere. By thi method progress may be slow, but failure is impossible. No natio having once nationalized or municipalized any industry has eve retraced its steps or reversed its action.

Sometimes, however, the Utopia-founder comes in more danger- ous guise. He propounds his scheme, not entirely as a Socialist colony, but as a means of providing for the unemployed. Here is one of the latest of these proposals, put forward by a comrade whom we all respect for sincerity and boundless energy:

"The Easiest Way to Socialism.

"In the present crisis, with the unemployed clamoring for immediate relief and every humane heart in the country backing their plea, the most suitable and hopeful governmental way of ushering in a Socialistic State is to found for them a partial and optional Co-operative Commonwealth. This is now, probably, in the present state of public opinion, the most convenient and easy end to begin at; better even than any general scheme of land nationalization, or the nationalization of anything else. Let the nation acquire immediately, with public money or public credit, just enough of the 6,000,000 untilled or half-tilled acres of the country to set those to work productively who ask for employment; let these, under proper guidance, make some sort of rough dwellings for themselves and their families and one another, grow food, and supply mutually each other's pressing needs; as far as possible, let each man and woman be put to the kind of productive work they have been respectively accustomed to; and let those who have no skill be trained into usefulness; let the workers' wages be a draft on the store they help to fill by their labor; let there not be any loss of vote or any slightest stigma of pauperism connected with this public organization of industry; and let its internal management be as democratic as may be found consistent with the preservation of order and efficiency. Such an organization—a little optional co-operative commonwealth, free to every citizen—would become, in all probability, the nucleus of the coming Socialistic State. The standard of comfort in it at first would not be very high; but, freer from the burden of landlordism and capitalism than the rest of the country, it would be bound to rise rapidly and steadily, and would attract permanently a larger and ever larger proportion of the nation and more and more skilled workers, until well-nigh all the industry and commerce of the country were absorbed into it."*

Could there be a more enticing mirage? Solve the problem of the Unemployed and establish a Social-Democratic Republic at one stroke! What a contrast to such pettifogging work as slowly and with infinite difficulty building up a Municipal Works Department under the London County Council; fighting to recover, inch by

* Editorial in *Brotherhood*, December, 1893.

h, the control of the Thames, the docks and the water supply; zling out the means of so perfecting the Mines and Railways gulation Acts, the Factory and Public Health and Licensing des, that the degradation of the Standard of Life and the manu- ture of fresh unemployed may be arrested; discovering how recover for the use of the whole community an ever larger are of the rent and interest going into idle pockets; organizing, ucating, and disciplining the workers into Trade Unions; pain- lly elaborating a network of schools and classes which shall day day open out to the poorest child in the remotest corner of the alm more of the real treasures of civilization. Why not drop l this and concentrate our efforts on the simple expedient of ersuading a Parliament of landlords and capitalists to vote the ecessary sixty or a hundred and sixty millions sterling, to buy nd stock 6,000,000 acres of land on which our out-of-works may e "freer from the burden of landlordism and capitalism than he rest of the country"? I do not wish to-night to discuss the roblem of the Unemployed. It is, I think, probable that, as regards ne class of the Unemployed, a term of servitude in an educational abor colony on a small scale, managed in a proper way, would be he best (though an expensive) means of restoring them to the ranks f productive citizens. But to imagine that any such colony could be self-supporting, that the land which no capitalist will now till with expert farm laborers at ten shillings a week, would yield Trade Union rates of wages to a mixed crowd of unemployed townsmen; that such a heterogeneous collection of waifs and strays, without a common acquaintanceship, a common faith, or a common tradition, could be safely trusted for a single day to manage the nation's land and capital; finally, to suppose that such a fortuitous agglomeration of undisciplined human atoms offers "the most suitable and hopeful way of ushering in a Socialist State"—all this argues such a complete misconception of the actual facts of industrial and social life, such an entire misunderstanding of the process by which a Democratic society passes from one stage of its development to another, that I feel warranted in quoting it as an extreme instance of Utopia-founding.

What we Socialists are after is not any clearing out from our midst of those unfortunates who form the reserve army of Labor, even if this were possible, but the organization of public services in such a way that no such reserve army shall exist. We do not, for instance, want to set unemployed dockers or gasworkers to dig, but so to administer the docks and gasworks that there shall be no such constant fringe of casual labor. To the solution of this problem Utopia-founding, or any other scheme of "organizing the unemployed," helps just nothing at all.

Trade Sectionalism.

A more insidious form of Spurious Collectivism is that which makes, consciously or unconsciously, the trade and not the community the unit of administration, and which is expressed in the cry

of the land for the laborer, the mine for the miner,—I do not know whether we may add the school for the school-teacher and the sewer for the sewerman.

This Trade Sectionalism is of very old date. It was one of the earliest forms taken by the Socialist movement in this country. Under the system proposed by Robert Owen in 1833 the instruments of production were to become the property, not of the whole community, but of the particular set of workers who used them. The Trade Unions were to be transformed into "National Companies" to carry on all the manufactures. The Agricultural Union was to take possession of the land, the Miners' Union of the mines, the textile unions of the factories; each trade being carried on by its particular Trade Union, centralised in one "Grand Lodge."

Of all Owen's attempts to reduce his Socialism to practice, this was certainly the very worst. His schemes of factory legislation have raised the standard of life of millions of workers all over the world. For his short-lived communities there was at best the excuse that within their own area the competitive conflict between independent owners was eliminated. But in "the Trades Union" as he conceived it, the mere combination of all the workmen in a trade as co-operative producers would no more have eliminated commercial competition than a combination of all the employers in it into a joint stock company. His Grand Lodges would have been simply the head offices of huge companies owning the entire means of production in their industry, and subject to no control by the community as a whole. They would therefore have been in a position at any moment to close their ranks and admit fresh generations of workers only as employees at competitive wages, instead of as shareholders, thus creating at one stroke a new capitalist class and a new proletariat. Further, improvident shareholders would soon have begun to sell or pawn their shares in order to spend their capital, finally dropping with their children into the new proletariat; whilst the enterprising and capable shareholders were trafficking in their shares to buy into other and momentarily more profitable trades. Thus there would have been not only a capitalist class and a proletariat, but a speculative stock market. Finally there would have come a competitive struggle between the companies to supplant one another in the various departments of industry. Thus the shipwrights, making wooden ships, would have found the boilermakers competing for their business by making iron ships, and would have had either to succumb or to transform their wooden ship capital into iron ship capital and enter into competition with the boilermakers as commercial rivals in the same trade. Moreover the whole effect of economic rent was entirely overlooked. The fact that the expenditure of labor required to bring articles of the same desirability to market varies enormously accordingly to natural variations in fertility of soil, distance to be traversed, proximity to good highways, waterways or ports, accessibility of water power or steam fuel, and a hundred other circumstances, including the organising ability and executive dexterity of the producer, was left

out of account. Owen assumed that the labor of the miner and that of the agricultural laborer would spontaneously exchange equitably at par of hours and minutes when the miners had received a monopoly of the bowels of the country, and the agricultural laborers of its skin. He did not even foresee that the Miners' Union might be inclined to close its ranks against recruits from the farm laborers, or that the Agricultural Union might refuse to cede sites for the Builders' Union to work upon. In short, the difficult economic problem of the equitable sharing of the advantages of superior sites and opportunities never so much as occurred to the enthusiastic adherents of William Thompson's theory, afterwards to be elaborated by Karl Marx, that all exchange values could be measured in terms of "Labor Time" alone.*

Now, I do not suggest that we are in danger of any complete revival of Owen's Trade Sectionalism. But I often hear Socialists drop into proposals which tend in that direction. The impatience manifested when it is pointed out that Trade Unions will continue to be necessary in a Social-Democratic State; the reluctance which many Socialists exhibit to regarding Board Schools or Woolwich Arsenal as essentially Socialistic institutions; the proposals occasionally made that the operatives in each trade should elect the managers of it or fix their own hours of labor — all these seem to me to be survivals of Owen's principles, diametrically opposed to modern Socialism. But let me take an actual example from France—a land where all parties are supposed to be more strictly logical in their thinking than those of our compromising island. The other day, Monsieur Goblet, with, as I understand, the concurrence and support of the whole of the Socialist members of the Assembly, proposed, as a Socialist measure, that the present coalowners should, under certain circumstances, be expropriated, and the mines transferred—not to the community as a whole, or to any town or district—but to the men actually working in each mine, who were to divide among themselves the profits hitherto enjoyed by the individual lessees of the mines. I have read a good many notices of this proposal, but I have nowhere seen it pointed out that, so far from being Socialist in character, it is really in direct opposition to Socialist principles. We do not desire to see the mines, and the profits from the mines, transferred to the miners, but to the community as a whole. How far the management should be national and how far local is an unsettled problem of Democratic administration. But to hand over the nation's coal to one particular set of the workers is, in my view, no more a Socialist proposal than the late Sir George Elliot's recent scheme for transferring it to a capitalist syndicate. What we as Socialists look for is, not the assumption by any trade of the management of that trade, but the extension of the public organisation of industry, whether under the Central Government, the County, the Town, or the Parish Council, in the interest of the community as a whole.

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* The Owenite Trade Unionism of 1833-4—the "New Unionism" of its time—will be found described in *The History of Trade Unionism*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

Joint Stock Individualism.

If we reject Owen's Trade Sectionalism as a spurious form of Collectivism certain to develop into Joint Stock Individualism on a large scale, what are we to say to schemes which frankly begin and end with Joint Stock Individualism on a small scale? The zealous and devoted men who made the Christian Socialist Movement of 1848-54, and who got their ideals from Louis Blanc and the Paris Socialists of 1848, sought to replace the capitalist *entrepreneur*, not by the official of the community, but by little groups of independent workmen jointly owning the instruments of their trade, and co-operating in a "self-governing workshop." This dream of co-operative production by Associations of Producers still lingers vaguely about the Trade Union world, and periodically captures the imagination of enthusiastic reformers. It is still nominally recognised by the main body of co-operators as one of the ideals of their movement, and it enjoys the very vigorous advocacy of an association of its own. But alike in the Trade Union and the Co-operative worlds, the Association of Producers, necessarily sectional in principle and working for its own gain, is being rapidly superseded by the contrary ideal of an Association of Consumers, carrying on industry, not for the profit of the worker, but with the direct object of supplying the wants of the community in the best way.*

I should have thought there would have been no doubt as to the side that we Socialists should take in this controversy. It may be all very well for a little group of thrifty artizans to club together and set up in business for themselves in a small way. If their venture is prosperous they may find it more agreeable to work under each other's eye, than under a foreman. Co-operative production of this sort is at best only a partnership of jobbing craftsmen, with all the limitations and disadvantages of the small industry. From beginning to end it is diametrically opposed to the Socialist ideal. The associated craftsmen produce entirely with a view to their own profit. The community obtains no more control over their industry than over that of an individual employer. They openly compete for business with private firms and other associations of producers. The self-governing workshop belongs in fact, not to Socialism but to Joint Stock Individualism. Moreover, in the great majority of existing cases the so-called associations of producers have a darker side. There are capitalist partners who are not workers, and wage-workers who are not partners. In order to increase the gains of the members, their numbers are strictly limited, new hands are taken on at wages often below Trade Union rates, or worse still, work is given out to be done at home on the sweating system. The self-governing workshop becomes, in short, a little partnership of small masters, with all the attendant evils of that decaying form of industrial organization. The co-operative production of the self-governing workshop appears to me, therefore, Spurious Collectivism of a bad type.

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* See *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*, by Beatrice Potter.

On the other hand the co-operative production of the store and the two great co-operative wholesale societies is a genuine step in advance along our own lines. Unfortunately the distinction between the co-operation of associations of consumers, and that of associations of producers is often misunderstood. We have Socialists and Trade Unionists denouncing the great co-operative organizations of the North of England, with their million of members, and the forty millions sterling of annual trade which they have rescued from the profit-maker—denouncing, too, not their incidental shortcomings, but the very principle of their association; and upholding, on the contrary, what is I presume, supposed to be the more Socialist principle of profit-sharing or even of the self-governing workshop. The great boot-factory which the million of co-operators have built at Leicester for the supply of their own boots, is attacked on the ground that the profits of the bootmaking are not given to the bootmakers there employed, but are carried to the credit of the whole co-operative community of which the bootmakers can and do form part. The working-men of Rochdale or Leeds, who have joined together to organize on a co-operative basis the supply of their own wants, are reproached for not handing over some or all of the annual surplus of receipts over expenditure (for I will not call it profit) to the shop-assistants employed in their service. For the life of me I cannot see that this is a Socialist criticism. The whole of our creed is, that industry should be carried on, not for the profit of those engaged in it, whether masters or men, but for the benefit of the community. We recognise no special right in the miners, as such, to enjoy the mineral wealth on which they work. The Leicester boot operatives can put in no special claim to the profits of the Leicester boot factory, nor the shopmen in a Co-operative Store to the surplus of its year's trading. It is not for the miners, bootmakers, or shop-assistants, as such, that we Socialists claim the control and the profits of industry, but for the citizens. And it is just because the million co-operators do not, as a rule, share profits with their employees as employees, but only among consumers as consumers; because the control of their industry is vested not in the managers or operatives but exclusively in the members with one man one vote; and because they desire nothing more ardently than to be allowed in this way to make the whole community co-partners with themselves and participants in their dividend, that their organization appears to me to be thoroughly Collectivist in principle.

Industrial Anarchism.

I suspect, however, that there is something more than confusion of thought in the preference frequently shown by Socialists for the self-governing workshop run by the workers in it, over the Co-operative Factory or Municipal Works Department managed by the representatives of the community. In our capitalist system of to-day there is so much "nigger-driving," so many opportunities for petty tyranny, so frequently a bullying foreman, that I do not wonder when working-men look with longing upon an ideal which promises

to make them their own masters, if only in a small way. With this feeling everyone must sympathize. It is just because the conditions of the industrial servitude of the great mass of the people are so unsatisfactory, that we strive to make them citizens and workers of a Socialist State. But the desire of each man to become his own master is part of the old Adam of Individualism. The time has gone by for carrying on industry by independent producers, such as survive in the cobbler and the knife-grinder, or even by little associations of such producers, like the self-governing workshop in its best form.

Socialists who hanker after these delights have forgotten their Karl Marx. The steam-engine, the factory and the mine have come to stay; and our only choice is between their management by individual owners or their management by the community. As miner mechanic, or mill operative, the worker is and must be the servant of the community. From that service Socialism offers no escape. All it can promise is to make the worker, in his capacity of citizen, jointly the proprietor of the nation's industry and the elector of the head officers who administer it. As citizens and electors, the workers we may presume, will see that the hours of labor are as short, the conditions of work as favorable, and the allowance for maintenance as liberal, as the total productivity of the nation's industry will afford. Organized in their Trade Unions, moreover, the workers in each department of the nation's service will know how to make their voice heard by their fellow-citizens against any accidental oppression of a particular trade.

And here I must mention a common misunderstanding of a Socialist phrase, the Abolition of the Wage System. Some of our Anarchist friends persist in quoting this as if it implied the entire abolition of the service of one man under the direction of another. To listen to their interpretation one would imagine that they suppose us to contemplate a reversion to the mythical time when every man worked as an independent producer, and enjoyed the whole product of his individual labor. I need hardly say that Socialism involves nothing of the sort. We propose neither to abandon the London and North Western Railway, nor to allow the engine-drivers and guards to run the trains at their own sweet will, and collect what they can from the venturesome passengers.

By the abolition of the wage-system we mean the abolition of the system now generally prevailing in the capitalist industry, by which the worker receives a wage not determined with any reference to his quota of the national product, nor with any regard for the amount necessary to maintain him and his family in efficient citizenship, but fixed solely by the competitive struggle. This competitive wage we Socialists seek to replace by an allowance for maintenance deliberately settled according to the needs of the occupation and the means at the nation's command. We already see official salaries regulated, not according to the state of the labor market, but by consideration of the cost of living. This principle we seek to extend to the whole industrial world. Instead of converting every man into an independent producer, working when he likes and as he likes, we aim at

enrolling every able-bodied person directly in the service of the community, for such duties and under such kind of organization, local or national, as may be suitable to his capacity and social function. In fact, so far are we from seeking to abolish the wage-system *so understood*, that we wish to bring under it all those who now escape from it—the employers, and those who live on rent or interest, and so make it universal. If a man wants freedom to work or not to work just as he likes, he had better emigrate to Robinson Crusoe's island, or else become a millionaire. To suppose that the industrial affairs of a complicated industrial state can be run without strict subordination and discipline, without obedience to orders, and without definite allowances for maintenance, is to dream, not of Socialism but of Anarchism.*

Peasant Proprietorship.

Is it to the influence of this same yearning for industrial anarchism that we are to attribute the persistence among us of such a spurious form of Collectivism as Peasant Proprietorship? I do not mean Peasant Proprietorship in its crudest form. I suppose that no Socialist desires to see the land of the country divided among small peasant freeholders, though this is still the ideal professed by many statesmen of "advanced" views. We are, I hope, all thoroughly convinced that economic rent in all its forms should enrich, not any individual, but the community at large. But it is not difficult to trace, in some of those who are keen advocates of Land Nationalization, survivals of economic Individualism. We see our esteemed friend, Michael Davitt, lending his influence, not to secure the land of Ireland for the people of Ireland, but to tighten the grip which half-a-million individual Irishmen have on their particular holdings. Many Scotch comrades, too, seem eager to "destroy landlordism" by converting the crofter into a freeholder. Even the Land Nationalization Society cherishes some project of allowing each Englishman, once in his life, to choose for himself a piece of what it professedly desires to obtain for all in common. This seems to me about as reasonable as to propose that each Englishman should be allowed, once in his life, to choose for himself one ship out of the Royal Navy, or that each Londoner should have the right, on his twenty-first birthday, to appropriate for his own use one particular corner of the London parks. The same spurious Collectivism runs through all forms of Leasehold Enfranchisement—a thoroughly reactionary movement which, I am glad to think, is nearly dead.† The agitation for Small Ownings has perhaps more vitality in it; but it is rapidly changing into an agitation for Small Holdings, owned and let by the Parish Council or some other Collectivist organization. But there are more insidious forms of this Peasant Proprietorship fallacy. What are we to say to comrades who demand that the County Council shall supply artizans' dwellings "to be let at the

* See *The Impossibilities of Anarchism*, by G. Bernard Shaw (Fabian Tract 45).

† See *The Truth about Leasehold Enfranchisement* (Fabian Tract No. 22).

cost of construction and maintenance only"? At present we allow the landlords of London to put into their own pockets sixteen millions a year of annual ground rental of the bare site. If we were to cover London with artisans' dwellings "let at the cost of construction and maintenance only," we should simply be handing over these sixteen millions of rental value, towards which the labor of all England contributes, to the particular tenants of our new dwellings. How, moreover, if all buildings are to be let at equal rents, are we to equalize the advantages of a flat overlooking Hyde Park and a similar flat out at Holloway? Since we cannot all live on the best sites, those who do must contribute, for the common benefit, the equivalent of the extra advantage they are enjoying. That is to say, a Socialist State or municipality will charge the full economic rent for the use of its land and dwellings, and apply that rent to the common purposes of the community. To follow any other course would be to fall into the Peasant Proprietorship fallacy.

Now I fully agree with those who urge greater unity of action and charity of conduct in the Socialist Movement. But we cannot rise above mere denunciation of existing evils, and get that "body of systematic political thought" which is at present our greatest need, unless we clear up our own ideas. To do this we must, in all friendliness, criticise any proposal that appears to belong to the Spurious Collectivism which at present confuses the issue. I hope we may learn scrupulously to abstain from personal abuse or denunciation. I trust we shall avoid imputing motives. But if we are to make any intellectual progress at all, we must have a great deal more frank discussion of the details of the Socialist programme. The movement gains nothing by a complacent toleration of Spurious Collectivism. I do not urge the universal adoption by all Socialists of a rigid practical programme complete in all its details. But our one hope of successful propaganda lies in the possession of exact knowledge and very clear ideas of what it is we want to teach. To mix up, under the common designation of Socialism, proposals which tend to Anarchism with those which tend to Collectivism, to accept Democracy and yet to dally with the idea of catastrophic Social Revolution, to confound Utopianism with modern State Socialism, to waver between a trade or workshop sectionalism and ownership by the community—all this argues a confusion of thought which is the worst possible equipment for a successful teacher. If we are to have anything like the success of the early Philosophic Radicals, we must be able, like them, to "explain in the large dialect of a definite scheme" "what are our aims and whither we are going."

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PARISH & DISTRICT COUNCILS:

WHAT THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY CAN DO.

R.R.j. 104

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PARISH AND DISTRICT COUNCILS:

What they are and what they can do.

The public affairs of every Parish, Town and Poor Law Union in England and Wales are managed by Meetings and popularly elected Councils or Boards. Almost all adult men and most women over the age of thirty are electors for these bodies, and are therefore responsible for their doings; and every man and woman and child in the kingdom is to a greater or less degree affected by the manner in which they do their work. This tract does not deal with London nor with County and Town Councils. It treats of the following local governing bodies created or affected by the Local Government Act of 1894, namely:

1. Parish Councils with Parish Meetings in the larger Parishes.
2. Parish Meetings without Parish Councils in the smaller Parishes.
3. Urban District Councils in smaller towns and thickly populated districts.
4. Rural District Councils, which have control in all places where there are no Town Councils or Urban District Councils.
5. Boards of Guardians, which cover the whole of England and Wales.*

The powers and duties of these bodies, and the rules governing their election and proceedings, are far from simple, and many people do not fully understand them. This tract is intended to explain them as clearly as possible to working men and women. If any part of the tract is not clear to any reader, or any point is omitted on which he wants information, he can write to the Secretary of the Fabian Society, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1, who will endeavour to send him a full and clear answer free of charge.

PART I. METHODS OF ELECTION.

Who are the Electors.

One set of rules decides who can take part in the election of all these bodies, that is to say, who can attend the Parish Meeting, and who may vote for Parish, Urban, and Rural District Councillors and Guardians. The persons who are entitled to vote in these elections are called "Local Government Electors"; and they can vote at all

* This tract does not deal with the Poor Law, but only with the manner of electing Boards of Guardians, and such of their duties as are not connected with the Relief of the Poor.

of them, and no one else can vote at any of them, or has the right to attend and take part in the Parish Meeting. A Local Government Elector is any person, man or woman, who is on the list of the Local Government Electors. It makes no difference whether or not a person pays rates, or whether or not he has received poor relief. Those on the register can vote, and those not on it cannot. A person can be registered as an elector in every parish for which he is qualified; and he can vote at the Parish Meeting and for the Parish Councillors in every such parish. But he can vote only in one ward of any one parish or urban district for Parish Councillors or Urban District Councillors; and only in one parish of any one union for Rural District Councillors and Guardians. In other words, he can vote only once in the election for any one Council.

How to become an Elector.

A man is entitled to be registered as a Local Government elector if he is of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity and is on the last day of the qualifying period occupying, and has during the whole of the qualifying period occupied, any land or premises within the area as owner or tenant. He is also entitled to be registered if he inhabits any dwelling house by virtue of any office, service or employment, providing the dwelling house is not also inhabited by his employer. A tenant includes a person who occupies *unfurnished* rooms as a lodger. The qualifying period mentioned above is a period of six months ending either on the fifteenth day of December, or the fifteenth day of June.

A woman is entitled to be registered as an elector (*a*) whenever she would be entitled to be registered if she were a man; or (*b*) where she is over thirty years of age, and is the wife of a man who is entitled to be on the register in respect of premises in which they both reside.

Who can be Candidates.

Any person who is an elector for any of these bodies may be a candidate for it, subject to the statutory disqualifications referred to in the next paragraph. Owners of property within the area by freehold, leasehold, copyhold, or any other tenure are qualified to be candidates. And any person, man or woman, married or single, who has resided within the parish or district for twelve months before the date of nomination, may be a candidate. The rules as to residence are as follows:—For Urban District Councils it must be within the Urban District. For Guardians and Rural Districts it must be within the Union of which the Rural District forms the whole or a part.* For Parish Councils it must be in the parish or within three miles of its boundary. Residence cannot be exactly defined; this, however, is certain, that any person who has had a bedroom which he generally uses, and always can use, for a year before the date of election, is a resident in that place.†

* Any person qualified to be elected a Councillor of a Borough is also qualified to be elected a Guardian for any parish within that borough.

† See the Local Government Act, 1897, sec, 1.

Who cannot be Candidates.

No one may be elected a Councillor who is under twenty-one, or who is not a British subject, or who has, within the last year, before or after his election, received poor law relief, or who has within the last five years, before or after his election, been made bankrupt or imprisoned with hard labour for any crime (mere imprisonment as alternative to a fine or for non-payment of rates, or of contribution to the Poor Law Guardians, does not disqualify), or who is concerned in any contract with the Council, or who holds any paid office under it. A person who has received for himself or his family surgical assistance or medicine at the expense of the poor rate, is *not* disqualified for being an Urban District or Borough Councillor, but cannot be elected a Guardian. A person holding a paid office from the Guardians—for example, an Assistant Overseer—is disqualified from being a Poor Law Guardian anywhere in England and Wales; and since Rural District Councillors are *ex-officio* Guardians of the Poor, it follows that a paid officer of the Guardians cannot serve on a Rural District Council. But this does not render him incapable of being a member of an Urban District Council or of a Parish Council or of a Borough Council and *vice versa*. Furthermore, a paid officer of the District Council can be elected a Parish Councillor, and *vice versa*.

Moreover, a contract for letting or selling land does not disqualify. Therefore, persons who lease cottages or allotments to, or rent them from, a Council, are not disqualified from being members of that Council. The receipt of a Housing Subsidy disqualifies, but *not* the acceptance of a loan under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act.

How Candidates can conduct Elections.

There is no limit to the expenses which candidates at these elections may incur for election addresses, meetings, etc., but all such expenses will have to be paid by themselves. Only the official expenses of the election will be paid out of the rates.

In Urban Districts, at elections of Councillors or Guardians, no meetings must on any account be held in public-houses, or clubs with licences to sell intoxicants, or even in places where refreshments of any sort are sold. A candidate for whom or by whom a meeting is held in such premises can be unseated for illegal practices.

But this rule does not apply to Rural Districts. In elections of Parish or Rural District Councillors, public meetings may be held in any place whatever; but rooms in licensed premises or places where refreshments are sold must not be hired or used as Committee Rooms.

No money must be spent on hiring carriages or bands, or for flags, ribbons, torches, etc. Every bill printed must bear the name and address of the printer and publisher.

Polling Agents.

For Parish Council Elections one-third or more of the candidates, but no less number, may appoint one joint polling agent to look

after their interests in the polling booth and to prevent fraud. For District Council and Guardians Elections, each candidate, if there are only two, or one-third of them or more if there are more than two, may appoint one agent. He may be paid or unpaid. A candidate may be appointed polling agent. Every polling agent must be appointed in writing, and the appointment must be sent to the returning officer two clear days before the poll.

No person may go into the polling place except the Presiding Officer and his clerks, policemen on duty, polling agents, and persons about to vote.

The Use of School Rooms by Candidates.

In Rural Districts, candidates for District or Parish Councils have the right to use for election meetings any schoolroom which receives a Government grant, or any suitable room maintained out of the rates. But it has been held that the Parish Council or Meeting alone can demand the use of schoolrooms for this purpose. The Parish Meeting in every parish should therefore appoint a small permanent committee with instructions to obtain the use of the schoolroom for any candidate who desires it. It is desirable as a rule to give a week's notice, and meetings can only be held at times which will not interfere with the ordinary use of the school. The persons making use of the rooms must pay the cost of lighting, etc. This right does not belong to Urban Districts unless they have obtained from the Ministry of Health the powers of a Parish Council. It appears to be seldom exercised.

Elections at the Parish Meeting.

Parish Councillors are nominated at the Parish Meeting on printed forms supplied by the clerk. Written forms are equally good if correctly made out. Each nomination must by signed by two Parish Electors. The law specially provides that no mistake in spelling or other error of that sort shall make a nomination invalid, provided it is quite clear who is the person nominated, and who nominates him. If the chairman decides that a nomination paper is valid, no one can afterwards object to it. If he wrongly decides that a nomination is invalid, it would be possible, though very expensive, to reverse his decision by an election petition. The nominations must be handed to the chairman, who must read them over in alphabetical order. A person nominated may withdraw at the meeting *before* the voting takes place, but not after it, unless a poll is demanded. Before the voting, any elector can ask questions of the candidates, and all candidates, whether electors or only residents, have a right to be present and to reply to the questions asked, and it is the duty of the chairman to allow time for this to be done. At the meeting the candidates are voted for by show of hands. Candidates, if electors, can vote for themselves, and practically electors can vote for as many candidates as they like; since, although the law says they must not vote for more than the number of Councillors to be elected, it gives the chairman no power to refuse any elector's vote.

Five electors, or one-third of those present if less than 13 are present, or one elector with the consent of the chairman, can demand a poll. A candidate has no right to demand it, except as an elector. Candidates can withdraw after a poll is demanded by a formal letter to the Returning Officer, up to six days before the poll. But the nominators of a candidate cannot withdraw him.

Elections by Ballot.

All polls for Parish and District Councillors and Guardians are conducted under nearly the same rules. They are by secret ballot ; each elector can give one vote and no more to as many candidates as there are vacancies.

Casual Vacancies.

Vacancies may be caused by a Councillor or Guardian dying, becoming disqualified through receipt of poor relief, bankruptcy, crime, etc. (see page 5), or by failing to attend meetings for six months consecutively (unless prevented by illness or some other reason approved by the Council), or by resignation. A person who ceases to be qualified by ceasing to be a resident or an elector, can remain a Councillor until his term of office expires.

PART II. DESCRIPTION.

The Parish Meeting where there is no Council.

In parishes of less than 300 inhabitants the governing body is usually the Parish Meeting. It must assemble at least twice a year. At the annual meeting, to be held between 1st March and 1st April, inclusive, it must appoint a chairman and two or more overseers, who together form the official body. Other meetings may be called at any time by the chairman or by any six electors. Documents must be signed by the chairman and two parochial electors at the meeting. If the chairman be absent another may be elected, who will, during that meeting, possess all the powers of a chairman. All Parish Meetings in parishes with or without a Council must be held not earlier than six o'clock in the evening. This rule applies to Parish Meetings only, and not to meetings of any Council.

The Parish Meeting where there is a Council.

This must meet at least once a year, between the 1st of March and the 1st of April, inclusive, and in 1922 and every third year thereafter its business will be to receive nominations for the Parish Council, and to elect it unless a poll is demanded.

The chairman of the Parish Council has the right to preside unless he be a candidate for the Council: If nominated as Councillor he must, unless he declines to stand, at once ask the meeting to choose another chairman. In that case, or if the chairman of the Council is absent, the meeting may elect as chairman any parish elector.

The Parish Meeting has many other important duties. It must

consider the accounts of every Parish Charity. It can refuse to pass them, and can appeal to the Charity Commissioners if they are not satisfactory. It must be consulted if the Council propose to spend more than a 3d. rate. No right of way can be stopped without its consent. It has to decide whether the village shall have a recreation ground and free library, lights in the street, or a new burial ground. It can appoint committees, and it can pass resolutions on any subject that concerns the parish or any part of it.

It is the Parliament of the village, which has the right to assemble at any time and to discuss and demand redress of any grievances which the villagers have. It can instruct the Parish Council (that is its Executive Committee) to take any action which it thinks needful; but it should be added that the Parish Council is not bound to obey its instructions, except in matters specified in some Act of Parliament. Whatever the Parish Council can do, however, the Parish Meeting can discuss.

It can be summoned by demand of any six parochial electors, or any two Parish Councillors, or by the chairman. The demand must be written, printed, or otherwise manifolded, and must be signed by the persons demanding the meeting. It must specify the time, place, and object of the meeting, and must be posted on the church door and in other conspicuous places in the parish. Seven clear days' notice must generally be given. Large parishes may be divided into wards, and small ones be united into groups ; but each ward or each small parish has its own Parish Meeting and elects its own Councillors to sit on the common Parish Council. A ward has not a separate meeting for any purpose except electing Councillors.

The Parish Council.

This Council is elected at or after the Annual Parish Meeting in March or April, 1922, in every third year thereafter, and holds office for three years. Its first duty is to elect a chairman, who may be one of the members or any other person qualified to be a Parish Councillor for the parish. The chairman in all cases has a second or casting vote. It must also appoint a clerk. If there is a vestry clerk (appointed by the Act of 1850) he remains clerk. Otherwise, the Council may appoint one of its own members without pay. Failing this, the assistant overseer, if there is one, must be paid clerk. Failing either of these, any other person may be appointed, with or without pay. But the Council cannot have two paid officers. The same person must be assistant overseer and paid clerk, except in parishes where there was a vestry clerk and an assistant overseer before 1895. The Council may also appoint as treasurer, without pay, a Councillor or any other person. A Councillor can resign by sending a letter of resignation to the chairman, and there is no fine for so doing. Vacancies in the Council are filled by the Council itself co-opting a new member. Meetings of the Council are open to the public unless a special resolution to the contrary is passed by the Council.

Other Regulations for all Rural Parishes.

ROOMS.—If there is a room belonging to the parish which can be had free of charge, the meetings are held there. But if not, then a room in an elementary school which receives public money, or in a police station or workhouse or other building maintained out of the rates, may be used free of charge, provided that the ordinary employment of the room is not interfered with. If none of these be available a room may be hired. The Parish Meeting or Council may only assemble in a room in a public house when no other room can be obtained free of charge or at a reasonable cost.

These regulations apply to all Parish Meetings, to meetings of the Parish Councils, and to meetings held to consider about allotments. They do not apply to Urban Districts.

POLLS.—A poll may be demanded on any matter on which a vote has been taken at a Parish Meeting, and the demand may be made at any time before the conclusion of the meeting. Five electors, or one-third of the electors present (whichever number is the lesser), or one elector with the consent of the chairman, can demand a poll in the cases just named and for (1) the election of Councillors; (2) appointment of chairman or of a committee, or various matters connected with a committee; (3) appointment of overseer, and appointment or otherwise of assistant overseer; (4) appointment of trustees, or beneficiaries of a charity; (5) adoption of free libraries, baths and washhouses, and other Acts; (6) place and time of Parish Meeting; (7) the incurring of any expense; (8) applications or complaints to County or District Council; (9) and several other matters.

The Urban District Council.

In small towns and densely populated districts, such as the suburbs of large towns, the local governing authority is usually an Urban District Council. It has powers and duties very similar to those exercised by the Town Council in large towns, except that it does not control the police. In an Urban District there are no Parish Meetings or Councils. The Rural District Council has no control over it, and its Guardians are separately elected. Urban Districts are usually divided into wards, each of which elects a certain number of members. The members sit for three years, one-third retiring each year; but the County Council may make an order that all the Councillors retire together every third year, if the Urban District Council, by a two-thirds majority of the members voting, applies for it. A chairman (who may be a woman) must be appointed, and may be elected from outside the Council. A vice-chairman, who must be a Councillor, may also be appointed. The chairman has a second or casting vote, and is a J.P. by virtue of his office. Full details about these Councils will be found in Fabian Tract 189, "Urban District Councils," by C. M. Lloyd, price 2d.

A Councillor can resign by sending a letter to the clerk, but he must pay the fine determined upon by the bye-law of the Council, or failing such a bye-law, the sum of £25. A casual

vacancy is filled by a fresh election, unless it occurs within six months of a new election coming in ordinary course, in which case it is not filled.

The Rural District Council.

In all parts of England and Wales outside London, except Boroughs and Urban Districts, there are Rural District Councils. That is to say, wherever there are Parish Councils or Parish Meetings, there are also Rural District Councils. Each of the parishes in any Poor Law Union, except the parishes in towns or urban districts, sends one or more members to its Rural District Council. If there is a contest, the election must be by ballot, and with this election the Parish Meeting has nothing to do. The Councillors sit for three years, and one-third of them retire every year. But the County Council can make an order, if the Rural District Council apply for it, that all the Councillors shall retire together once every three years, and in the great majority of cases this has been done. In these cases the elections usually occur in 1922 and every third year thereafter. The rules as to chairman, vice-chairman, retirement of Councillors, and casual vacancies are exactly the same as for Urban District Councils.

The Board of Guardians.

Boards of Guardians are elected all over England and Wales. In Rural Districts the Rural District Councillors are also Guardians, and, in Unions where there is no Borough or Urban District, the Rural District Council and the Guardians consist of the same persons sitting for different purposes and under different rules. In Unions which contain Urban Districts or Boroughs, the Board of Guardians consists of the Rural District Councillors elected in the Rural Districts, together with Guardians specially elected in the parishes which are in the Boroughs or Urban Districts.

The rule as to period of office is exactly the same as for Rural District Councillors.

The Board may elect a chairman or vice-chairman, or both, and not more than two other persons from outside their own body. But every person so co-opted must be qualified to be a Guardian in the Union. The chairman has a second or casting vote. Casual vacancies are filled in the same manner as in Urban District Councils.

PART III. POWERS.

Powers of the Parish Meeting where there is no Parish Council.

In parishes where there is no Council, the Parish Meeting possesses very nearly all the powers, duties, and rights of a Parish Council, and it can obtain all of them by application to the County Council.

If the parish has at least one hundred inhabitants, it may apply to the County Council for a Parish Council, and the application must be granted. A parish with less than one hundred inhabitants

may also apply, but in this case the County Council is not obliged to grant the application.

It may also apply to be grouped with other parishes and so obtain a Parish Council.

The following are most of the powers and duties which the Meeting of a parish without a Council does not possess, but which it may gain by obtaining either a Parish Council or the powers of a Parish Council :—

(1) Power to acquire land, by purchase or gift, for a recreation ground, for a parish hall, for allotments, or any other purpose.

(2) The powers and duties of overseers and churchwardens in respect of rating appeals, and in respect of providing parish books, chest, etc,, and a fire-engine and fire-escape.

(3) Power to appoint additional trustees to certain charities, except where there is at present only one trustee.

With these exceptions, the whole of the following paragraphs, dealing with Parish Councils, apply also to parishes which have only a Parish Meeting.

Powers of Parish Councils.

Allotments.

It is the business of the Parish Council to find allotments for those who require them. It may purchase or hire land by a voluntary agreement with the landlord or, if he refuses to come to reasonable terms, the Council can ask the County Council to apply to the Board of Agriculture for an order compelling him to accept the terms, which are to be settled by an arbitrator appointed by the Board ; and this arbitrator must not add to the price because of the compulsion. If the County Council will not move, the Parish can appeal to the Board direct. If the land is only to be leased, then the lease must be for not less than fourteen or for more than thirty-five years ; but this term can be renewed at the will of the Council. Having acquired the land, the Council can adapt it for use by draining, fencing, road making, erecting buildings (including a dwelling house on any allotment of not less than one acre), and let it out to any parishioner, or to a group of persons working as a co-operative colony, or to an association for the promotion of allotments. The rent must be fixed so as to be sufficient to repay all the money that the Council has spent on the land, so that no charge shall ultimately fall on the rates ; but a Council may levy a rate or raise a loan to meet the expenses in the first instance. For purchase of land a loan may be obtained from the Government, repayable in 60 years. So long as it repays the expenses, the Council can let as cheaply and on as favourable terms as it pleases. And the tenant in every case can remove any fruit trees or bushes, for which he has no claim to compensation on giving up the tenancy. Allotments must not exceed five acres. Rights of common, or land for common pasture, can be acquired for the use of allotment holders.

If a Council neglect to consider these matters, any six registered electors or resident ratepayers can request (in writing) the Council to discuss the need of the neighbourhood. Although these petitioners cannot force the Council to return a favourable answer to a request for land, this petition is a useful step to take, as it forces the Council to state its intentions.

If the Council refuse to provide allotments, the County Council can take over all the allotment powers of the Parish Council, and charge all the expenses on the defaulting Council.

Housing.

These powers have been considerably extended and modified by the Housing Acts of 1923 and 1924. For an account of the Powers and Duties of Local Authorities under the new Acts see :

"The Ministry of Health to Local Authorities on the Housing Act of 1924," Circular 520. H.M. Stationary Office. Price 2d.

Reiss, R. L. "The New Housing Handbook." P. S. King and Son, Ltd. Price 4/6 net, cloth.

Aldridge, H. R. "Guide to the Administration of the Housing Acts, 1923 and 1924." Published by the National Housing and Town Planning Council, 41, Russell Square, W.C.1. Price 8/6.

Charities.

The Parish Council has no control over ecclesiastical charities (which include charities given for sermons or for the benefit of the parson), or buildings used by one religious body, or erected mainly by or at the cost of the members of any particular religious denomination ; except that in cases where the overseers used to be trustees, the Council now appoints trustees in their place.

In non-ecclesiastical charities the Parish Council appoints trustees, who hold office for four years, half of them retiring every two years.

The names of the people who receive doles from the charities must be published every year as the Parish Council think fit, and all accounts of charities must be laid before the Parish Meeting every year.

The Parish Council may undertake the management of a charity when the trustees transfer it to them of their own free will, and the Charity Commissioners approve.

Any new scheme effecting a charity must be presented to the Parish Council or to the Parish Meeting where there is no Council, and they may oppose its being carried out.

But none of the provisions with regard to the appointment of trustees apply to any charities founded since 1854, unless the giver is alive and consents.

No trustee of a charity, his wife, or children may receive any benefit from the charity.

Education.

The Parish Council and, where there is no Council, the Parish Meeting, has the right to appoint one of the managers to every

public elementary school in their area. In places where there is more than one minor local authority, *i.e.*, a Parish and Rural District Council, the managers are to be appointed jointly by the two bodies concerned. They can arrange with their County Council for continuation classes in technical education in the schools, such as gardening (every school should have its garden), bee keeping, woodwork, cookery, laundry work, in all cases for both boys and girls. They can direct their manager to get the School Managers to appoint a Care Committee for looking after the medical treatment and well being of the children, A Report on the Schools, prepared by the Parish Manager, should be presented once a year to the Council and by them to the Annual Parish Meeting.

Meals for School Children.

By the Education Act, 1921 (Ss. 82—84) the Education Authority (the County, or in some cases the Urban District Council) can (1) authorise any committee on whch it is represented to provide meals for school children, and may pay for buildings, furniture, apparatus, service, etc., but not for food ; where children are underfed the Education Authority may pay for the food out of the rates. In many parishes there is a great need for hot meals at mid-day for for children coming from a distance, and the parents willingly pay the necessary pence. Parish Councils or voluntary Committees are the proper bodies to organise such " School Canteen Committees," under the Act, if the County Council consents. The Parish Council delegate to the Managing Committee of the Parish School should be instructed by the Council to move in this matter.

Recreation Ground.

Every village in England ought to possess a recreation ground for games of all kinds. But owing to the enclosure of village greens or the fact that it is nobody's business to get them in good condition and keep them so, a great many villages are without any convenient playground. The Parish Council is able to supply the want. It has power to buy, compulsorily if necessary, or to hire land for a recreation ground and to make regulations for its use; and if it is proposed to purchase the land the money may be raised by loan.

Fire and Water.

Protection against fire is the business of the Council. It can provide a fire engine, fire escape and hose, and organise a fire brigade ; it can make arrangements with neighbouring authorities to have the use of their appliances.

An unwholesome or insufficient water supply is a very common grievance in villages. It is the duty of the District Council to organise any new supply on a large scale. But the Parish Council may dig wells, put up windmills to pump the water, lay pipes to bring water from a stream up to the houses, and, in fact, make use of

any source or water within the parish in whatever way appears best, provided that it interferes with no one's rights, or that the matter can be arranged by agreement.

Note.—It has also power to put right any ill-smelling pond or ditch, and to call the attention of the District Council to any unhealthy cottage or other sanitary defect in the parish. If the District Council does not take action, the County Council may be appealed to, and may undertake the work.

Roads and Footpaths.

Similarly, if the District Council does not repair the highways. the Parish Council may ask the County Council to do it instead, The Parish Council may also take steps to prevent any stopping of a right of way or enclosure of common or roadside waste ; but when legal proceedings are necessary the District Council must undertake them. The Parish Council has power to buy by agreement any new right of way that would be of advantage to the people. It may also repair footpaths, except those at the side of the roads, and, if the Parish Meeting consents, it may lay out new walks and put seats along them. But it cannot, except by consent of the landowner, change the permanent condition of a path : for example, by laying down gravel where there has been none before.

A good plan for preserving footpaths is for the Council to mark all the rights of way on an Ordnance map, give notice to all landowners concerned that the map has been prepared, and, after any disputes have been settled, sign it and preserve it as a parish record.

The Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society, 7 Buckingham Palace Gardens, London, S.W.1, will always give advice and help in any dispute about right of way.

The Village Hall.

In every parish which can by any means afford it, there should be a hall with a library and reading room, which should be at once the centre of the village life and interest, a place for all kinds of meetings, and a generally useful means of education. A museum, art gallery, and science and art school may be added. The Parish Meeting must consent to raise the money for such a building, but the Parish Council will have to erect and manage it. The cost will be paid out of the poor-rate, but the Council will have power to borrow for capital outlay. For the library, reading-room, etc., a special vote must be taken and a special rate made under the Public Libraries Act.

Other Powers.

It the same manner the village may be lighted by oil, gas or electricity. Part of a river may be made convenient for a swimming-bath, or a building may be erected for that purpose which could be used in winter as a gymnasium. The Acts for these purposes must be adopted by the Parish Meeting. Fabian Tract No. 137, "Parish Councils and Village Life" (1d.), gives particulars of what has been done by the Parish Councils of many villages.

Expenses.

The expenses of the Parish Council are paid out of the poor-rate but a separate heading must be made to show how much of the rate is for these expenses. The Parish Council may not spend beyond the amount of a threepenny rate without the consent of the Parish Meeting, and even with its consent the limit is sixpence in the £. But the cost of lighting the roads, maintaining a library or baths, and one or two other things are not included in this limit. For important undertakings the Parish Council may borrow money with the consent of the Parish Meeting, the County Council, and the Ministry of Health, but not any sum exceeding half the rataeble value of the parish. The cost of Parish Meetings and elections to the Parish Council must be paid out of the threepenny rate.

The Parochial Committee.

The Parish Council may ask the Rural District Council to appoint a "Parochial Committee," and to make the Parish Council that Committee, with, perhaps, the addition of the district councillor for that district. Then the Parish Council (besides all its own powers) may exercise within its own parish nearly all the powers that the Rural District Council possesses, if they are delegated to the Parochial Committee. The expenses for sewage and water supply will be kept separate, and will be charged on the parish in the poor-rate; but for other matters they will be shared over the whole district, just as if there had been no Parochial Committee, unless the ministry of Health confers powers specially for one parish. Thus the Croydon Rural District Council (Surrey) every year appointed the Parochial Committees for five of its parishes, consisting in each case of the members of the Parish Council, together with the Rural District Councillors elected by the parish. These Parochial Committees, meeting in the parishes themselves, practically carried on the government, giving their orders direct to the rural district officials, and making formal reports to the Rural District Council, which were usually confirmed.

Powers of the Rural District Council.

Many of these powers have been referred to in the paragraphs dealing with Parish Councils, especially those connected with right of way, commons and wayside wastes, and water supply. The chief concerns of the Council are:

1. The Management of Highways.

The Council has the control of all the roads and bridges in the district (except the main roads, which the County Council manages), and it has the power to make new ones. It appoints the surveyor and employs the labourers to keep the roads in repair.

2. The Care of Public Health.

This includes an enormous variety of matters of ever-increasing importance. It is the duty of the Council to undertake :

(*a*) The drainage of every village and hamlet in the district when necessary.

(*b*) Scavenging and removal of dust and refuse wherever required.

(*c*) Provision of a proper supply of good water.

(*d*) Supervision of cellar-dwellings and inspection of lodging-houses.

(*e*) The periodical inspection of all houses.

(*f*) Provision and enforcement of building bye-laws.

(*g*) The closing of all dwellings unfit for human habitation, and compelling the owners of all insanitary cottages and houses to put and keep them in proper repair.

(*h*) Inspection of shops of butchers and others, to prevent the sale of diseased and unwholesome meat and food, and of adulterated milk, food or drugs.

(*i*) Inspection and licensing of dairies.

(*j*) The notification of infectious diseases.

(*k*) Disinfection of houses when required.

(*l*) The provision of hospitals and cemeteries.

(*m*) The regulation of canal boats.

The Council will also have the duty of licensing gang-masters, pawnbrokers, game-dealers and knackers' yards, and controlling the sale of petroleum. It has power to take over the control of commons, and to manage them, but the consent of the lord of the manor and the commoners must first be obtained.

To carry out these and other duties, the Council must employ a medical officer and a sufficient staff of sanitary inspectors.

The Council, by a vote, or ratepayers rated to one-tenth of the rateable value of the district, can apply to the Ministry of Health for the additional powers possessed by Urban Sanitary Authorities, which will enable it to deal with offensive trades, streets, new buildings, lighting, public pleasure grounds, cabs, and slaughter-houses.

3. Housing.

These powers have been considerably extended and modified by the Housing Acts of 1923 and 1924. For an account of the Powers and Duties of Local Authorities under the new Acts see :

"The Ministry of Health to Local Authorities on the Housing Act of 1924." Circular 520. H. M. Stationery Office. Price 2d.

Reiss ... "The New Housing Handbook." P. S. King & Son, Ltd. Price 4/6 net, cloth.

Aldridge ... "Guide to Administration of the Housing Acts, 1923 and 1924." Published by the National Housing and Town Planning Council, 41, Russell Square, W.C.1. Price 8/6.

Powers of the Urban District Councils.

These Councils have (1) all the rights and duties of the Rural District Council except those which are exercised by a Rural District Council in connection with the Parish Council of its district. As there are no Parish Councils in an Urban District, these powers and duties cannot exist.

It is the Sanitary Authority, and therefore exercises all the duties connected with the management of highways, and the care of the Public Health set out above, and further, as an Urban Authority, it already has those powers, enumerated above, which a Rural District Council can obtain by application to the Ministry of Health. It has nearly all the powers and duties of a Town Council, except the regulation of the police. In an Urban District these powers and duties are usually more important and urgent than in a Rural District, because the population is denser, and often consists almost exclusively of the working class, living in long dismal streets of small houses.

The Council has the powers, under the Allotments and Small Holdings Act, 1908, which are possessed by Parish Councils for buying or hiring land for allotments. It can obtain, by application to the Ministry of Health, all the other powers of a Parish Council, in particular those relating to charities, to the use of rooms, and to appointment of overseers and assistant overseers. It becomes the authority for all the adoptive Acts, as, for instance, those for providing Baths and Washhouses. It may also become a Library Authority under the Public Libraries Act, 1892, unless forestalled by the County Council, which, under the Act of 1919, may now declare itself the Library Authority for any district within its area which has not already adopted the powers permitted by the Act of 1892. It has the power to build artisans' dwellings and cottages with an acre of garden wherever there is a demand for them. It has the right to appoint a manager of every public elementary school in its area, and if its population exceeds 20,000, it becomes the Education Authority, and has large powers and duties.

It can obtain powers, by private Acts of Parliament and otherwise, to erect, or buy and to manage gas works, electric light works, water works, tramways, markets and parks.

An Urban District Council has duties and powers in relation to Housing and Town Planning similar to those of a Rural District Council. (See preceding section.)

For fuller particulars see Fabian Tract No. 189, "Urban District Councils."

Powers of the Board of Guardians.

By far the most important duties and powers of the Board of Guardians are the administration of the Poor Laws and the control of Poor Law relief. This is too large a question to be dealt with in this tract, and the Guardians are likely soon to be abolished.

The powers and duties of Guardians which are not directly connected with the relief of the poor can alone be touched upon here. They are as follows.

(1) To determine the total sum required from each parish for relief of the poor of the Union, to hear and determine appeals against any assessment made by any overseer, and generally to be the Rating Authority.

(2) To register births and deaths.

(3) To register and inspect "baby farms" under the Children Act.

(4) To administer the Vaccination Acts.

(5) To appoint overseers where the Parish Authority fails to appoint them for three weeks after April 15th in each year.

(6) To act upon any special powers or duties imposed on them by any Act of Parliament.

NOTE.—Women as well as men are referred to in most places in this tract where the words he, his, him only are used.

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FABIAN TRACT No. 68.

THE Tenant's Sanitary Catechism

FOR PLACES OUTSIDE LONDON.

THE attention of householders and lodgers is directed to the powers given to local authorities and to the Local Government Board by the Acts mentioned below. Occupiers finding that their houses are not in the sanitary condition prescribed by those Acts, should fill in the answers to the questions printed below in the spaces provided for them, and should then send this paper, either signed by themselves OR NOT, to the Sanitary Inspector for the district, who will be obliged when he receives it to enquire into the matter.

Any person employed in an insanitary workshop may use this form to describe it, and in such cases the form should be sent either to the Sanitary Inspector of the district or to the Factory Inspector, Home Office, Whitehall, S.W., who will cause enquiry to be made.

This leaflet will also be found useful for anyone who is enquiring into the sanitary conditions of any district outside the County of London.

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
1. Name of town or village.	
2. Name of local sanitary authority.	
3. Name of street and number of house.	
4. Name of occupier or occupiers.	
5. Name and address of reputed owner.	
6. Has the house a water closet or an earth closet or privy for the sole use of its inmates?	
7. If not, how many (*a*) houses and (*b*) persons use the same closet?	
8. If a water closet, is it properly flushed with water from a cistern separate from that used for drinking purposes?	
9. Is any of the rooms fitted with a proper sink? Is the sink in sound condition and trapped?	
10. Is there a properly constructed dust bin or sanitary pail for the sole use of the inmates?	

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
11. Is it regularly emptied?	
12. Is the water supply abundant? Is it constant or intermittent? If from a well is it so situated and constructed as to be free from contamination? Are the cisterns, if any, regularly cleaned and in an accessible place for inspection? Are taps conveniently placed?	
13. Are the floors throughout in a proper state of repair?	
14. Is the roof sound and watertight?	
15. Are the ceilings and walls clean and in repair and free from cracks?	
16. Is any part of the house damp?	
17. Is the back yard properly drained and paved?	
18. Has the house through ventilation or is it a back-to-back house?	
19. If underground rooms are used for sleeping in (*a*) what height are they from floor to ceiling, (*b*) what distance are they below the surface of the street, and (*c*) how are they lighted, ventilated and drained?	
20. How many rooms are there in the house?	
21. Is the house or are any of the rooms so overcrowded as to be dangerous or injurious to the health of the inmates?	
22. Is *any* part of the house in such a condition as to be a nuisance or to be dangerous or injurious to the health of its inmates?	
23. What is the space, back and front, between the house and the nearest buildings?	
24. Are there any works near the house which cause bad smells or noises at night? Are there any factory chimneys which persistently pour smoke upon this dwelling?	
25. What rent do you pay?	
26. Was the house in proper condition when you became the tenant?	

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
27. What is the size of the garden, if any?	
28. Is the supply of good cottages in your district equal to the demand? (Answers to 27 and 28 will indicate how urgent is the need of further enquiry with a view to forcing the local authority to use its powers to acquire land for small holdings and allotments and for building cottages.)	

Signature .....

Address .....

Date .....

NOTES.

The following quotations and notes may be found useful.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACT, 1875.

Section 36. If a house within the district of a local sanitary authority appears to such authority . . . to be without sufficient water closet, earth closet, or privy, and an ashpit furnished with proper doors and coverings, the local authority shall by written notice require the owner or occupier of the house . . . to provide a sufficient water closet, etc. . . . Provided that where a water closet, earth closet, or privy has been and is used in common by the inmates of two or more houses, or if, in the opinion of the local authority, . . . may be so used, they need not require the same to be provided for each house.

(N.B. But the local authority should insist on each house having its own closet.)

Section 40 says that every local authority shall see that all drains, water closets, etc., within their districts are constructed and kept so as not to be a nuisance or injurious to health.

Section 41 gives the local authority power to charge the owner of a house the cost of putting the drains thereof in order.

Section 46. Where on the certificate of the medical officer of health or of any two medical practitioners it appears to any local authority that any house or part thereof is in such a filthy or unwholesome condition that the health of any person is affected or endangered thereby, or that the whitewashing, cleansing, or purifying of any house, etc., would tend to prevent or check infectious disease, the local authority shall give notice in writing to the owner of such house, etc., to whitewash, cleanse, or purify the same. . . .

Section 62 empowers the local authority to require houses to be supplied with water.

Section 90 gives the Local Government Board power to allow a local authority to make byelaws as to houses let in lodgings.

Section 91 defines a nuisance liable to be dealt with summarily under the Act as:

(1) Any premises in such a state as to be a nuisance or injurious to health;
(2) Any pool, ditch, gutter, watercourse, privy, urinal, cesspool, drain, or ashpit so foul or in such a state as to be a nuisance or injurious to health;
(3) Any animal so kept as to be a nuisance, etc.;
(4) Any accumulation or deposit which is a nuisance, etc.;
(5) Any house or part of a house so overcrowded as to be dangerous or injurious to the health of the inmates, whether or not members of the same family;*

* Overcrowding is defined in the Model Byelaws as being more than one adult to three hundred cubic feet of air space. Two children equal one adult.

(8) Any chimney (not being the chimney of a private dwelling house) sending forth black smoke in such quantity as to be a nuisance.

Section 109 provides that on a second conviction within three months for overcrowding, the local authority may apply to a court of summary jurisdiction for a closing order for such time as the court may think necessary.

Section 157 gives power to urban local authorities to make various building bye-laws to secure sanitary dwellings and to close buildings or parts of buildings in which the drainage, sanitary conveniences, etc., make them unfit for human habitation.

Section 114 says that if any house is rendered unfit for human habitation through offensive effluvia arising from any factory adjoining, any ten inhabitants in an urban district may complain to the local authority, who shall enquire into and abate it. A heavy fine may be imposed.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890.

Section 31. Any four householders in or near a street may complain in writing of the condition of any house or houses in that street, and the medical officer of health will then be compelled to inspect and report on their condition to the local authority.

Section 38 gives power to the local authority to order the removal of any building which, though not in itself unfit for human habitation, causes an obstruction to other buildings by stopping ventilation, impeding light, or preventing necessary improvements to such other buildings from being carried out.

HOUSING, TOWN PLANNING, ETC., ACT, 1909.

Sections 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 give extended powers to local authorities for keeping houses in repair and closing or demolishing insanitary dwellings. The duty of making from time to time a house to house inspection is placed upon the local authority. The local authority having served an order upon any landlord for necessary repairs, etc., may in the event of their not being carried out within the time specified in the order, do the work itself and recover the cost from the landlord. Further, the landlord of a house in a borough or urban district with a population of fifty thousand or more at a rent not exceeding twenty-six pounds, or in any other district at a rent not exceeding eight pounds, is bound to make it "in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation" before letting it, and afterwards to keep it so; and damages may be recovered from him if he neglects to do so and the tenant suffers thereby. Further, the local authority may in such cases put the house in proper condition and charge the landlord with the cost. The local authority under this Act make orders with regard to the closing and demolition of houses unfit for human habitation instead of applying to a magistrate for such orders. Any owner may appeal to the Local Government Board. The local authority may pay to any occupier of property against which a closing order is made a reasonable sum to cover the cost of removal, and this sum may be recovered from the owner.

Section 10 provides that if the local authority refuses to take steps to deal with insanitary property, any four inhabitant householders in the district (whether in the same parish or not) may appeal to the Local Government Board, who may thereupon order a public enquiry, and as a result of such enquiry may make an order directing the local authority to take the necessary steps. In the case of a rural sanitary authority, an appeal to the Local Government Board may also be made by the county council, parish council, or parish meeting, or by four inhabitant householders.

Section 17 (7) provides that an underground room used as a sleeping place shall be deemed unfit for human habitation if it is more than three feet below the surface of the street and not on the average seven feet from floor to ceiling, and if, further, it does not comply with the regulations made by the local authority for proper ventilation, drainage, etc. Such regulations must be made by the local authority when required to do so by the Local Government Board, and must be approved by the Local Government Board. Underground rooms not complying with these regulations are not necessarily closed for other purposes than use as sleeping places.

Section 43 prohibits from the time of the passing of this Act the building of back to back houses.

The Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909, and the Small Holdings Act, 1908, have greatly increased the powers of local authorities, both rural and urban, to acquire land and build houses. Information as to these powers will be found in other leaflets and pamphlets.

Any Act of Parliament may be obtained for a few pence from P. S. King & Son, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

For List of Fabian Tracts and other Publications apply to the Fabian Society.

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THE DIFFICULTIES OF INDIVIDUALISM.

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THE DIFFICULTIES OF INDIVIDUALISM.*

Of all the intellectual difficulties of Individualism, the greatest, perhaps, is that which is presented by the constant flux of things. Whatever may be the advantages and conveniences of the present state of society, we are, at any rate, all of us, now sure of one thing —that it cannot last.

The Constant Evolution of Society.

We have learnt to think of social institutions and economic relations as being as much the subjects of constant change and evolution as any biological organism. The main outlines of social organization, based upon the exact sphere of private ownership in England to-day, did not "come down from the Mount."

The very last century has seen an almost complete upsetting of every economic and industrial relation in the country, and it is irrational to assume that the existing social order, thus new-created, is destined inevitably to endure in its main features unchanged and unchangeable. History did not stop with the last great convulsion of the Industrial Revolution, and Time did not then suddenly cease to be the Great Innovator. Nor do the Socialists offer us a statical heaven to be substituted for an equally statical world here present. English students of the last generation were accustomed to think of Socialism as a mere Utopia, spun from the humanity-intoxicated brains of various Frenchmen of the beginning of this century. Down to the present generation every aspirant after social reform, whether Socialist or Individualist, naturally embodied his ideas in a detailed plan of a new social order, from which all contemporary evils were eliminated. Bellamy is but a belated Cabet, Babœuf, or Campanella. But modern Socialists have learnt the lesson of evolution better than their opponents, and it cannot be too often repeated that Socialism, to Socialists, is not a Utopia which they have invented, but a principle of social organization which they assert to have been discovered by the patient investigators into sociology whose labors have distinguished the present century. That principle, whether true or false, has, during a whole generation, met with an ever-increasing, though often unconscious, acceptance by political administrators.

* Reprinted, with minor changes, from the *Economic Journal* for June 1891.

Thus, it is the constant flux of things which underlies all the "difficulties" of Individualism. Whatever we may think of the existing social order, one thing is certain—namely, that it will undergo modification in the future as certainly and steadily as in the past. Those modifications will be partly the result of forces not consciously initiated or directed by human will. Partly, however, the modifications will be the results, either intended or unintended, of deliberate attempts to readjust the social environment to suit man's real or fancied needs. It is therefore not a question of *whether* the existing social order shall be changed, but of *how* this inevitable change shall be made.

"Social Problems."

In the present phase of acute social compunction, the maladjustments which occasion these modifications appear to us in the guise of "social problems." But whether or not they are the subjects of conscious thought or conscious action, their influence is perpetually at work, silently or obtrusively modifying the distribution of social pressure, and altering the weft of that social tissue of which our life is made. The characteristic feature of our own age is not this constant evolution itself—for that, of course, is of all time—but our increasing consciousness of it. Instead of unconscious factors we become deliberate agents, either to aid or resist the developments coming to our notice. Human selection accordingly becomes the main form of natural selection, and functional adaptation replaces the struggle for existence as the main factor in social progress. Man becomes the midwife of the great womb of Time, and necessarily undertakes the responsibility for the new economic relations which he brings into existence.

Hence the growing value of correct principles of social action, of valid ideals for social aspiration. Hence, therefore, the importance, for weal or for woe, of the change in social ideals and principles which marks off the present generation of Socialists from the surviving economists and statesmen brought up in the "Manchester school." We may, of course, prefer not to accept the watchwords or shibboleths of either party; we may carefully guard ourselves against "the falsehood of extremes"; we may believe that we can really steer a middle course. This comforting reflection of the practical man is, however, an unphilosophical delusion. As each difficulty of the present day comes up for solution, our action or inaction must, for all our caution, necessarily incline to one side or the other. We may help to modify the social organism either in the direction of a more general Collectivism or in that of a more perfect Individualism; it will be hard, even by doing nothing, to leave the balance just as it was. It becomes, accordingly, of vital importance to examine not only our practical policy but also our ideals and principles of action, even if we do not intend to follow these out to their logical conclusion.

Individualism and Collectivism.

It is not easy, at the present day, to be quite fair to the opinions of the little knot of noble-minded enthusiasts who broke for us the chains of the oligarchic tyranny of the eighteenth century. Their work was essentially destructive, and this is not the place in which to estimate how ably they carried on their statical analysis, or how completely they misunderstood the social results of the industrial revolution which was falsifying all their predictions almost before they were uttered. But we may, perhaps, not unfairly sum up as follows the principles which guided them in dealing with the difficulties of social life: that the best government is that which governs least; that the utmost possible scope should be allowed to untrammelled individual enterprise; that open competition and complete freedom from legal restrictions furnish the best guarantees of a healthy industrial community; that the desired end of "equality of opportunity" can be ultimately reached by allowing to each person the complete ownership of any riches he may become possessed of; and that the best possible social state will result from each individual pursuing his own interest in the way he thinks best.

Fifty years' further social experience have destroyed the faith of the world in the validity of these principles as the basis of even a decent social order, and Mr. John Morley himself has told us* that "the answer of modern statesmanship is that unfettered individual competition is not a principle to which the regulation of industry may be intrusted."

"It is indeed certain," sums up Dr. Ingram, at the end of his comprehensive survey of all the economic tendencies, "that industrial society will not permanently remain without a systematic organization. The mere conflict of private interests will never produce a well-ordered commonwealth of labor."†

Modern Socialism is, accordingly, not a faith in an artificial Utopia, but a rapidly-spreading conviction, as yet only partly conscious of itself, that social health and consequently human happiness is something apart from and above the separate interests of individuals, requiring to be consciously pursued as an end in itself; that the lesson of evolution in social development is the substitution of consciously regulated co-ordination among the units of each organism for their internecine competition;‡ that the production and distribution of wealth, like any other public function, cannot safely be intrusted to the unfettered freedom of individuals, but needs to be organized and controlled for the benefit of the whole community; that this can be imperfectly done by means of legislative restriction and taxation, but is eventually more advantageously accomplished through the collective enterprise of the appropriate administrative

* *Life of Cobden*, vol. i., ch. xiii., pp. 298, 303.

† Article "Political Economy," in *Ency. Britt.*, ninth edition, vol. xix., 1886, p. 382; republished as *History of Political Economy*.

‡ See Professor Huxley's pregnant declaration to this effect in the *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888. Compare D. G. Ritchie's *Darwinism and Politics*.

unit in each case ; and that the best government is accordingly that which can safely and successfully administer most.

The New Pressure for Social Reform.

But although the principles of Individualism have long been tacitly abandoned by our public men, they have remained, until quite recently, enshrined in the imagination of the middle class citizen and the journalist. Their rapid supersession in these days, by principles essentially Socialist, is due to the prominence now given to "social problems," and to the failure of Individualism to offer any practicable solution of these. The problems are not in themselves new ; they are not even more acute or pressing than of yore ; but the present generation is less disposed than its predecessors to acquiesce in their insolubility. This increasing social compunction in the presence of industrial disease and social misery is the inevitable result of the advent of political democracy. The power to initiate reforms is now rapidly passing into the hands of those who themselves directly suffer from the evils to be removed ; and it is therefore not to be wondered at that social re-organization is a subject of much more vital interest to the proletarian politicians of to-day than it can ever have been to the University professors or Whig proprietors of the past.

Now the main "difficulties" of the existing social order, with which Individualist principles fail to deal, are those immediately connected with the administration of industry and the distribution of wealth. To summarize these difficulties before examining them, we may say that the Socialist asserts that the system of private property in the means of production permits and even promotes an extreme inequality in the distribution of the annual product of the united labors of the community. This distribution results in excess in the hands of a small class, balanced by positive privation at the other end of the social scale. An inevitable corollary of this unequal distribution is wrong production, both of commodities and of human beings ; the preparation of senseless luxuries whilst there is need for more bread, and the breeding of degenerate hordes of a demoralized "residuum" unfit for social life. This evil inequality and disastrous malproduction are enabled to continue through the individual ownership of the instruments of industry, one inevitable accompaniment of which is the continuance, in the commercial world, of that personal rule which is rapidly being expelled from political administration. The increasing integration of the Great Industry is, indeed, creating —except in so far as it is counteracted by the adoption of Socialist principles—a kind of new feudalism, based upon tenure, not of land, but of capital employed in the world-commerce, a financial autocracy against which the democracy sullenly revolts. In the interests of this oligarchy, the real interests of each community tend to be ignored, to the detriment of its capacity to hold its own in the race struggle—that competition between communities rather than between individuals in a community which is perhaps now becoming the main field of natural selection.

In examining each of these difficulties in greater detail, it will be fair to consider, not only how far they can be solved by the existing order and in what way they are actually being dealt with by the application of Socialist principles, but also what hope might, on the other hand, be found in the greatest possible development of Individualism. For to-day it is the Individualist who is offering us, as a solution of social difficulties, an untried and nebulous Utopia; whilst the Socialist occupies the superior position of calling only for the conscious and explicit adoption and extension of principles of social organization to which the stern logic of facts has already driven the practical man. History and experiment have indeed changed sides, and rank now among the allies of the practical Socialist reformer. Factory Acts and municipal gas-works we know, but the voice of Mr. Auberon Herbert, advocating "voluntary taxation," is as the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

Inequality of Income.

Inequality in wealth distribution is, of course, no new thing, and it is unnecessary to contend that the inequality of the present age is more flagrant than that of its predecessors. The extreme depth of poverty of those who actually die of starvation is, indeed, obviously no less than before; and when 30 per cent. of the five million inhabitants of London are found to be inadequately supplied with the bare necessaries of life, and probably a fourth of the entire community become paupers at 65, it would profit us little to enquire whether this percentage is greater or less than that during the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the wealth production of the community advances by leaps and bounds, being now far greater than ever it was, and greater than that of any other country of the Old World. The riches of a comparatively small number of the owners of our land and capital are colossal and increasing.

Nor is there any doubt or dispute as to the causes of this inequality. The supersession of the Small by the Great Industry has given the main fruits of invention and the new power over Nature to a comparatively small proprietary class, upon whom the mass of the people are dependent for leave to earn their living. When it suits any person having the use of land and capital to employ the worker, this is only done on condition that two important deductions, rent and interest, can be made from his product, for the benefit of two, in this capacity, absolutely unproductive classes—those exercising the bare ownership of land and capital. The reward of labor being thus reduced, on an average, by about one-third, the remaining eightpence out of the shilling is then shared between the various classes who *have* co-operated in the production—including the inventor, the managing employer, and the mere wage-worker—but shared in the competitive struggle in such a way that at least fourpence goes to a favored set of educated workers, numbering less than one-fifth of the whole, leaving four-fifths to divide less than fourpence out of the shilling between them. The consequence is the social condition we see around us. A fortunate few, owing to

their legal power over the instruments of wealth-production, command the services of thousands of industrial slaves whose faces they have never seen, without rendering any service to them or to society in exchange. A larger body of persons contribute some labor, but are able, from their cultivated ability or special education, to choose occupations for which the competition wage is still high, owing to the small number of possible competitors. These two classes together number only one-fifth of the whole. On the other hand is the great mass of the people, the weekly wage-earners, four out of five of the whole population, toiling perpetually for less than a third of the aggregate product of labor, at an annual wage averaging at most £40 per adult, hurried into unnecessarily early graves by the severity of their lives, and dying, as regards at least one-third of them, destitute or actually in receipt of poor-law relief.

Few can doubt the fundamental causes of this inequality of condition. The abstraction from the total of over one-third of the product necessarily makes a serious inroad in that which the "niggardliness of Nature" allows us, and the distribution of the remaining two-thirds is, of course, itself fatally affected by the secondary results of the division into "two nations" which the private appropriation of rent and interest creates.

Can we Dodge the Law of Rent?

Individualists may tell us of the good things that the worker could get for himself by thrift and sobriety, prudence and saving, but no economist will for a moment suggest that any conceivable advance in these virtues would remove the fundamental inequality arising from the phenomenon of rent. The mere worker, *quâ* worker, is necessarily working, as far as its own remuneration is concerned, on the very worst land in economic use, with the very minimum advantage of industrial capital. Every development towards a freer Individualism must, indeed, inevitably emphasize the power of the owner of the superior instruments of wealth-production to obtain for himself all the advantages of their superiority. Individualists may prefer to blink this fact, and to leave it to be implied that, somehow or other, the virtuous artizan can dodge the law of rent. But against this complacent delusion of the philanthropist political economy emphatically protests. So long as the instruments of production are in unrestrained private ownership, so long must the tribute of the workers to the drones continue: so long will the toilers' reward inevitably be reduced by their exactions. No tinkering with the land laws can abolish or even diminish economic rent, however much it may result in the redistribution of this tribute. The *whole* equivalent of every source of fertility or advantage of all land over and above the worst in economic use is under free competition necessarily abstracted from the mere worker on it. So long as Lady Matheson can "own" the island of Lewis, and (as she says) do what she likes with her own—so long as the Earls of Derby can appropriate at their ease the unearned increment of Bootle or Bury —it is the very emphatic teaching of political economy that the

earth may be the Lord's, but the fulness thereof must inevitably be the landlord's.

There is an interesting episode in English history among James I.'s disputes with the Corporation of London, then the protector of popular liberties. James, in his wrath, threatened to remove the Court to Oxford. "Provided only your Majesty leave us the Thames," cleverly replied the Lord Mayor. But economic dominion is more subtle than kingcraft—our landlords steal from us even the Thames. No Londoner who is not a landlord could, under completely free Individualism, obtain one farthing's worth of economic benefit from the existence of London's ocean highway; the whole equivalent of its industrial advantage would necessarily go to swell the compulsory tribute of London's annual rental.

It has often been vaguely hoped that this iron law was true only of land, and that, in some unexplained way, the worker did get the advantage of other forms of industrial capital. But further economic analysis shows, as Whately long ago hinted, that rent is a genus of which land rent is only one species. The worker in the factory is now seen to work no shorter hours or gain no higher wages merely because the product of his labor is multiplied a hundred-fold by machinery which he does not own.

Whatever may be the effect of invention on the wages of one generation as compared with the last, it has now become more than doubtful to economists whether the worker can count on getting any more of the product of the machine, in a state of "complete personal liberty," than his colleague contemporaneously laboring at the very margin of cultivation with the very minimum of capital. The artizan producing boots by the hundred in the modern machine works of Southwark or Northampton gets no higher wages than the surviving hand cobbler in the by-street. The whole differential advantage of all but the worst industrial capital, like the whole differential advantage of all but the worst land, necessarily goes to him who legally owns it. The mere worker can have none of them. "The remuneration of labor, as such," wrote Cairnes in 1874,* "skilled or unskilled, can never rise much above its present level."

The "Population Question."

Neither can we say that it is the increase of population which effects this result. During the present century, indeed, in spite of an unparalleled increase in numbers, the wealth annually produced in England *per head* has nearly doubled.† If population became stationary to-morrow, and complete personal liberty prevailed, with any amount of temperance, prudence, and sympathy, the present rent and interest would not be affected; our numbers determine,

* *Some Leading Principles*, p. 348.

† Hence the remarkable suppression of "Malthusianism" in all recent economic literature, notably the handbooks of Symes, Cannan, Ely, and Gonner; and its significantly narrow subordination in Prof. Marshall's *Principles of Economics*. The birth-rate of Great Britain is now apparently lower than it has ever been during the whole of the past century, and it seems tending steadily downwards.

indeed, how bad the margin of cultivation will be, and this is of serious import enough; but, increase or no increase, the private ownership of land and capital necessarily involves the complete exclusion of the mere worker, as such, from all the economic advantages of the fertile soil on which he is born, and of the buildings, machinery, and railways he finds around him.

The "Wickedness" of Making any Change.

Few Individualists, however, now attempt to deny the economic conclusion that the private ownership of land and capital necessarily involves a serious *permanent* inequality in the distribution of the annual product of the community; and that this inequality bears no relation to the relative industry or abstinence of the persons concerned. They regard it, however, as impossible to dispossess equitably those who now levy the tribute of rent and interest, and they are therefore driven silently to drop their original ideal of equality of opportuuity, and to acquiesce in the *perpetual* continuance of the inequality which they vainly deplore. It is immoral, we are told, to take any step, by taxation or otherwise, which would diminish even by a trifle the income of the present owners of the soil and their descendants for ever and ever. This cannot be done without sheer confiscation, which would be none the less confiscation because carried out gradually and under the guise of taxation.

The problem has, however, to be faced. Either we must submit for ever to hand over at least one-third of our annual product to those who do us the favor to own our country, without the obligation of rendering any service to the community, and to see this tribute augment with every advance in our industry and numbers, or else we must take steps, as considerately as may be possible, to put an end to this state of things. Nor does equity yield any such conclusive objection to the latter course. Even if the infant children of our proprietors have come into the world booted and spurred, it can scarcely be contended that whole generations of their descendants yet unborn have a vested interest to ride on the backs of whole generations of unborn workers. Few persons will believe that this globe must spin round the sun for ever charged with the colossal mortgage implied by private ownership of the ground-rents of great cities, merely because a few generations of mankind, over a small part of its area, could at first devise no better plan of appropriating its surface.

There is, indeed, much to be said in favor of the liberal treatment of the present generation of proprietors, and even of their children. But against the permanent welfare of the community the unborn have no rights; and not even a living proprietor can possess a vested interest in the existing system of taxation. The democracy may be trusted to find, in dealing with the landlord, that the resources of civilization are not exhausted. An increase in the death duties, the steady rise of local rates, the special taxation of urban ground values, the graduation and differentiation of the income-tax, the simple appropriation of the unearned increment, and the gradual acquire-

ment of land and other monopolies by public authorities, will in due course suffice to "collectivize" the bulk of the tribute of rent and interest in a way which the democracy will regard as sufficiently equitable even if it does not satisfy the conscience of the proprietary class itself. This growth of collective ownership it is, and not any vain sharing out of property, which is to achieve the practical equality of opportunity at which democracy aims.

Why Inequality is Bad.

Individualists have been driven, in their straits, to argue that inequality in wealth is in itself a good thing, and that the objection to it arises from the vain worship of a logical abstraction. But Socialists (who on this point are but taking up the old Radical position) base their indictment against inequality, not on any metaphysical grounds, but on the plain facts of its effect upon social life. The inequality of income at the present time obviously results in a flagrant "wrong production" of commodities. The unequal value of money to our paupers and our millionaires deprives the test of "effective demand" of all value as an index to social requirements, or even to the production of individual happiness. The last glass of wine at a plutocratic orgy, which may be deemed not even to satisfy any desire, is economically as urgently "demanded" as the whole day's maintenance of the dock laborer for which its cost would suffice. Whether London shall be provided with an Italian Opera, or with two Italian Operas, whilst a million of its citizens are without the means of decent life, is now determined, not with any reference to the genuine social needs of the capital of the world, or even by any comparison between the competing desires of its inhabitants, but by the chance vagaries of a few hundred wealthy families. It will be hard for the democracy to believe that the conscious public appropriation of municipalized rent would not result in a better adjustment of resources to needs, or, at any rate, in a more general satisfaction of individual desires, than this Individualist appropriation of personal tribute on the labors of others.

The Degradation of Character.

A more serious result of the inequality of income caused by the private ownership of land and capital is its evil effect on human character and the multiplication of the race. It is not easy to compute the loss to the world's progress, the degradation of the world's art and literature, caused by the demoralization of excessive wealth. Equally difficult would it be to reckon up how many potential geniuses are crushed out of existence by lack of opportunity of training and scope. But a graver evil is the positive "wrong-population" which is the result of extreme poverty and its accompanying insensibility to all but the lowest side of human life. In a condition of society in which the *average* family income is but a little over £3 per week, the deduction of rent and interest for the benefit of a small class necessarily implies a vast majority of the population below the level of decent existence. The slums at the

East End of London are the corollary of the mansions at the West End. The depression of the worker to the product of the margin of cultivation often leaves him nothing but the barest livelihood. No prudential considerations appeal to such a class. One consequence is the breeding in the slums of our great cities, and the overcrowded hovels of the rural poor, of a horde of semi-barbarians, whose unskilled labor is neither required in our present complex industrial organism, nor capable of earning a maintenance there. It was largely the recognition that it was hopeless to expect to spread a Malthusian prudence among this residuum that turned John Stuart Mill into a Socialist ; and if this solution be rejected, the slums remain to the Individualist as the problem of the Sphinx, which his civilization must solve or perish.

The Loss of Freedom.

It is less easy to secure adequate recognition of the next, and in many respects the most serious "difficulty" of Individualism—namely, its inconsistency with democratic self-government. The Industrial Revolution with its splendid conquests over Nature, opened up a new avenue of personal power for the middle class, and for every one who could force his way into the ranks either of the proprietors of the new machines, or of the captains of industry whom they necessitated. The enormous increase in personal power thus gained by a comparatively small number of persons, they and the economists not unnaturally mistook for a growth in general freedom. Nor was this opinion wholly incorrect. The industrial changes were, in a sense, themselves the result of progress in political liberty. The feudal restrictions and aristocratic tyranny of the eighteenth century gave way before the industrial spirit, and the politically free laborer came into existence. But the economic servitude of the worker did not disappear with his political bondage. With the chains of innate status there dropped off also its economic privileges, and the free laborer found himself in a community where the old common rights over the soil were being gradually but effectually extinguished. He became a landless stranger in his own country. The development of competitive production for sale in the world market, and the supremacy of the machine industry, involved moreover, in order to live, not merely access to the land, but the use, in addition, of increasingly large masses of capital—at first in agriculture, then foreign trade, then in manufacture, and finally now also in distributive industries. The mere worker became steadily less and less industrially independent as his political freedom increased. From a self-governing producing unit, he passed into a mere item in a vast industrial army over the organization and direction of which he had no control. He was free, but free only to choose to which master he would sell his labor—free only to decide from which proprietor he would beg that access to the new instruments of production without which he could not exist.

In an age of the Small Industry there was much to be said for the view that the greatest possible personal freedom was to be

obtained by the least possible collective rule. The peasant on his own farm, the blacksmith at his own forge, needed only to be let alone to be allowed to follow their own individual desires as to the manner and duration of their work. But the organization of workers into huge armies, the directing of the factory and the warehouse by skilled generals aud captains, which is the inevitable outcome of the machine industry and the world-commerce, have necessarily deprived the average workman of the direction of his own life or the management of his own work. The middle class student, over whose occupation the Juggernaut Car of the Industrial Revolution has not passed, finds it difficult to realize how sullenly the workman resents his exclusion from all share in the direction of the industrial world. This feeling is part of the real inwardness of the demand for an Eight Hours Bill.

The ordinary journalist or member of Parliament still says: "I don't consult any one except my doctor as to my hours of labor. That is a matter which each grown man must settle for himself." We never hear such a remark from a working man belonging to any trade more highly organized than chimney-sweeping. The modern artisan has learnt that he can no more fix for himself the time at which he shall begin and end his work than he can fix the sunrise or the tides. When the carrier drove his own cart and the weaver sat at his own loom they began and left off work at the hours that each preferred. Now the railway worker or the power-loom weaver knows that he must work the same hours as his mates.

It was this industrial autocracy that the Christian Socialists of 1850 sought to remedy by re-establishing the "self-governing workshop" of associated craftsmen; and a similar purpose still pervades the whole field of industrial philanthropy. Sometimes it takes the specious name of "industrial partnership"; sometimes the less pretentious form of a joint-stock company with one-pound shares. In the country it inspires the zeal for the creation of peasant proprietorships, or the restoration of "village industries," and behind it stalk those bogus middle class "reforms" known as "free land" and "leasehold enfranchisement." But it can scarcely be hidden from the eyes of any serious student of economic evolution that all these well-meant endeavors to set back the industrial clock are, as regards any widespread result, foredoomed to failure.

The growth of capital has been so vast, and is so rapidly increasing, that any hope of the great mass of the workers ever owning under any conceivable Individualist arrangements the instruments of production with which they work can only be deemed chimerical.*

* The estimated value of the wealth of the United Kingdom to-day is 10,000 millions sterling, or over £1,100 per family. The co-operative movement controls about 13 millions sterling. The total possessions of the 31 millions of the wage-earning class are less than 250 millions sterling, or not £7 capital per family. The eight millions of the population who do not belong to the wage-ear ning class own all the rest; the death duty returns show, indeed, that one-half of the entire total is in the hands of about 25,000 families. For references to the authorities for these and other statistics quoted, see Fabian Tract No. 5, *Facts for Socialists*.

Hence it is that irresponsible personal authority over the actions of others—expelled from the throne, the castle, and the altar—still reigns, almost unchecked, in the factory and the mine. The "captains of industry," like the kings of yore, are indeed honestly unable to imagine how the business of the world can ever go on without the continuance of their existing rights and powers. And truly, upon any possible development of Individualistic principles, it is not easy to see how the worker can ever escape from their "beneficent" rule.

The Growth of Collective Action.

But representative government has taught the people how to gain collectively that power which they could never again individually possess. The present century has accordingly witnessed a growing demand for the legal regulation of the conditions of industry which represents a marked advance on previous conceptions of the sphere of legislation. It has also seen a progress in the public management of industrial undertakings which represents an equal advance in the field of government administration. Such an extension of collective action is, it may safely be asserted, an inevitable result of political democracy. When the Commons of England had secured the right to vote supplies, it must have seemed an unwarrantable extension that they should claim also to redress grievances. When they passed from legislation to the exercise of control over the executive, the constitutional jurists were aghast at the presumption. The attempt of Parliament to seize the command of the military forces led to a civil war. Its control over foreign policy is scarcely two hundred years old. Every one of these developments of the collective authority of the nation over the conditions of its own life was denounced as an illegitimate usurpation foredoomed to failure. Every one of them is still being resisted in countries less advanced in political development. In England, where all these rights are admitted, each of them inconsistent with the "complete personal liberty" of the minority, the Individualists of to-day deny the competence of the people to regulate, through their representative committees, national or local, the conditions under which they work and live. Although the tyranny which keeps the tramcar conductor away from his home for seventeen hours a day is not the tyranny of king or priest or noble, he feels that it is tyranny all the same, and seeks to curb it in the way his fathers took.

The captains of war have been reduced to the position of salaried officers acting for public ends under public control; and the art of war has not decayed. In a similar way the captains of industry are gradually being deposed from their independent commands, and turned into salaried servants of the public. Nearly all the railways of the world, outside of America and the United Kingdom, are managed in this way. The Belgian Government works its own line of passenger steamers. The Paris Municipal Council opens public bakeries. The Glasgow Town Council runs its own common lodging houses, Plymouth its own tramways. Everywhere, schools, water

works, gas-works, dwellings for the people, and many other forms of capital, are passing from individual into collective control. And there is no contrary movement. No community which has once "municipalized" any public service ever retraces its steps or reverses its action.

Such is the answer that is actually being given to this difficulty of Individualism. Everywhere the workman is coming to understand that it is practically hopeless for him, either individually or co-operatively, to own the constantly growing mass of capital by the use of which he lives. Either we must, under what is called "complete personal freedom," acquiesce in the personal rule of the capitalist, tempered only by enlightened self-interest and the "gift of sympathy," or we must substitute for it, as we did for the royal authority, the collective rule of the whole community. The decision is scarcely doubtful. And hence we have on all sides, what to the Individualist is the most incomprehensible of phenomena, the expansion of the sphere of government in the interests of liberty itself. Socialism is, indeed, nothing but the extension of democratic self-government from the political to the industrial world, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that it is an inevitable outcome of the joint effects of the economic and political revolutions of the past century.

Competition.

Individualists often take refuge in a faith that the extension of the proprietary class, and the competition of its members, will always furnish an adequate safeguard against the tyranny of any one of them. But the monopoly of which the democracy is here impatient is not that of any single individual, but that of the class itself. What the workers are objecting to is, not the rise of any industrial Buonaparte financially domineering the whole earth—though American experience makes even this less improbable than it once was—but the creation of a new feudal system of industry, the domination of the mass of ordinary workers by a hierarchy of property owners, who compete, it is true, among themselves, but who are nevertheless able, as a class, to preserve a very real control over the lives of those who depend upon their own daily labor.

Moreover, competition, where it still exists, is in itself one of the Individualist's difficulties, resulting, under a system of unequal incomes, not merely in the production, as we have seen, of the wrong commodities, but also of their production in the wrong way and for the wrong ends. The whole range of the present competitvie Individualism manifestly tends, indeed, to the glorification, not of honest personal service, but of the pursuit of personal gain—not the production of wealth, but the obtaining of riches. The inevitable outcome is the apotheosis, not of social service, but of successful financial speculation, which is already the special bane of the American civilization. With it comes inevitably a demoralization of personal character, a coarsening of moral fibre, and a hideous lack of taste.

The Lesson of Evolution.

This, indeed, is the lesson which economics brings to ethics. The "fittest to survive" is not necessarily the best, but much more probably he who takes the fullest possible advantage of the conditions of the struggle, heedless of the result to his rivals. Indeed, the social consequences of complete personal liberty in the struggle for existence have been so appalling that the principle has had necessarily to be abandoned. It is now generally admitted to be a primary duty of government to prescribe the plane on which it will allow the struggle for existence to be fought out, and so to determine which kind of fitness shall survive. We have long ruled out of the conflict the appeal to brute force, thereby depriving the stronger man of his natural advantage over his weaker brother. We stop as fast as we can every development of fraud and chicanery, and so limit the natural right of the cunning to overreach their neighbors. We prohibit the weapon of deceptive labels and trade marks. In spite of John Bright's protest, we rule that adulteration is not a permissible form of competition. We forbid slavery: with Mill's consent, we even refuse to enforce a lifelong contract of service. We condemn long hours of labor for women and children, and now even for adult men, and insanitary conditions of labor for all workers.

The whole history of social progress is, indeed, one long series of definitions and limitations of the conditions of the struggle, in order to raise the quality of the fittest who survive. This service can be performed only by the government. No individual competitor can lay down the rules of the combat. No individual can safely choose the higher plane so long as his opponent is at liberty to fight on the lower. In the face of this experience, the Individualist proposal to rely on complete personal liberty and free competition is not calculated to gain much acceptance. A social system devised to encourage "the art of establishing the maximum inequality over our neighbors"—as Ruskin puts it—appears destined to be replaced, wherever this is possible, by one based on salaried public service, with the stimulus of duty and esteem, instead of that of fortune-making.

The Struggle for Existence between Nations.

But perhaps the most serious difficulty presented by the present concentration of energy upon personal gain is its effect upon the position of the community in the race struggle. The lesson of evolution seems to be that interracial competition is really more momentous in its consequences than the struggle between individuals. It is of comparatively little importance, in the long run, that individuals should develop to the utmost, if the life of the community in which they live is not thereby served. Two generations ago it would have been assumed, as a matter of course, that the most efficient life for each community was to be secured by each individual in it being left complete personal freedom. But that

crude vision has long since been demolished. Fifty years' social experience have convinced every statesman that, although there is no common sensorium, a society is something more than the sum of its members; that a social organism has a life and health distinguishable from those of its individual atoms. Hence it is that we have had Lord Shaftesbury warning us that without Factory Acts we should lose our textile trade; Matthew Arnold, that without national education we were steering straight into national decay; and finally even Professor Huxley taking up the parable that, unless we see to the training of our residuum, France and Germany and the United States will take our place in the world's workshop. This "difficulty" of Individualism can be met, indeed, like the rest, only by the application of what are essentially Socialist principles.

Argument and Class Bias.

These "difficulties" will appeal more strongly to some persons than to others. The evils of inequality of wealth will come home more forcibly to the three millions of the submerged tenth in want of the bare necessaries of life than they will to the small class provided with every luxury at the cost of the rest. The ethical objection to any diminution in the incomes of those who own our land will vary in strength according, in the main, to our economic or political prepossessions. The indiscriminate multiplication of the unfit, like the drunkenness of the masses, will appear as a cause or an effect of social inequality according to our actual information about the poor, and our disposition towards them. The luxury of the rich may strike us as a sign either of national wealth or of national maladjustment of resources to needs. The autocratic administration of industry will appear either as the beneficent direction of the appropriate captains of industry, or as the tyranny of a proprietary class over those who have no alternative but to become its wage-slaves. The struggle of the slaves among themselves, of the proprietors among themselves, and of each class with the other, may be to us "the beneficent private war which makes one man strive to climb on the shoulders of another, and remain there;"* or it may loom to us, out of the blood and tears and misery of the strife, as a horrible remnant of the barbarism from which man has half risen since

> "We dined, as a rule, on each other:
> What matter? the toughest survived."

That survival from an obsolescent form of the struggle for existence may seem the best guarantee for the continuance of the community and the race; or it may, on the other hand, appear a suicidal internecine conflict, as fatal as that between the belly and the members. All through the tale two views are possible, and we shall take the one or the other according to our knowledge and temperament.

* Sir Henry Maine, *Popular Government*, pp. 49, 50.

This power of prepossession and unconscious bias constitutes, indeed, the special difficulty of the Individualists of to-day. Aristotle found it easy to convince himself and his friends that slavery was absolutely necessary to civilization. The Liberty and Property Defence League has the more difficult task of convincing, not the proprietary class, but our modern slaves, who are electors and into whose control the executive power of the community is more and more falling. And in this task the Individualists receive ever less and less help from the chief executive officers of the nation. Those who have forced directly upon their notice the larger aspects of the problem, those who are directly responsible for the collective interests of the community, can now hardly avoid, whether they like it or not, taking the Socialist view. Each Minister of State protests against Socialism in the abstract, but every decision that he gives in his own department leans more and more away from the Individualist side.

Socialism and Liberty.

Some persons may object that this gradual expansion of the collective administration of the nation's life cannot fairly be styled a Socialistic development, and that the name ought to be refused to everything but a complete system of society on a Communist basis. But whatever Socialism may have meant in the past its real significance now is the steady expansion of representative self-government into the industrial sphere. This industrial democracy it is, and not any ingenious Utopia, with which Individualists, if they desire to make any effectual resistance to the substitution of collective for individual will, must attempt to deal. Most political students are, indeed, now prepared to agree with the Socialist that our restrictive laws and municipal Socialism, so far as these have yet gone, do, as a matter of fact, secure a greater well-being and general freedom than that system of complete personal liberty, of which the "sins of legislators" have deprived us. The sacred name of liberty is invoked, by both parties, and the question at issue is merely one of method. As each "difficulty" of the present social order presents itself for solution, the Socialist points to the experience of all advanced industrial countries, and urges that personal freedom can be obtained by the great mass of the people only by their substituting democratic self-government in the industrial world for that personal power which the Industrial Revolution has placed in the hands of the proprietary class. His opponents regard individual liberty as inconsistent with collective control, and accordingly resist any extension of this "higher freedom" of collective life. Their main difficulty is the advance of democracy, ever more and more claiming to extend itself into the field of industry. To all objections, fears, doubts, and difficulties, as to the practicability of doing in the industrial what has already been done in the political world, the democratic answer is "*solvitur ambulando;*" only that is done at any time which is proved to be then and there practicable; only such advance is made as the progress in the sense of public duty permits. But that progress is both our hope

and our real aim; the development of individual character is the Socialist's "odd trick" for the sake of which he seeks to win all others.

Industrial democracy must therefore necessarily be gradual in its development; and cannot for long ages be absolutely complete. The time may never arrive, even as regards material things, when individual is entirely merged in collective ownership or control, but it is matter of common observation that every attempt to grapple with the "difficulties" of our existing civilization brings us nearer to that goal.

BASIS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the reorganisation of Society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land, with equitable consideration of established expectations, and due provision as to the tenure of the home and the homestead; for the transfer to the community, by constitutional methods, of all such industries as can be conducted socially; and for the establishment, as the governing consideration in the regulation of production, distribution and service, of the common good instead of private profit.

The Society is a constituent of the Labour Party and of the International Socialist Congress; but it takes part freely in all constitutional movements, social, economic and political, which can be guided towards its own objects. Its direct business is (*a*) the propaganda of Socialism in its application to current problems; (*b*) investigation and discovery in social, industrial, political and economic relations; (*c*) the working out of Socialist principles in legislation and administrative reconstruction; (*d*) the publication of the results of its investigations and their practical lessons.

The Society, believing in equal citizenship of men and women in the fullest sense, is open to persons irrespective of sex, race or creed, who commit themselves to its aims and purposes as stated above, and undertake to promote its work.

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N TRACT No. 71.

HE LONDON

s Sanitary Catechism.

attention of householders and lodgers is directed to the powers given to local authorities and to the Local Government Board by the Acts mentioned below. Occupiers finding that their houses are not in the sanitary condition prescribed by those Acts, should fill in the answers to the questions printed below in the spaces provided for them and should then send this paper, either signed by themselves OR NOT, to the Sanitary Inspector for the district, who will be obliged when he receives it to enquire into the matter.

Any person employed in an insanitary workshop may use this form to describe it, and in such cases the form should be sent either to the Sanitary Inspector of the district or to the Factory Inspector, Home Office, Whitehall, S.W., who will cause enquiry to be made.

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
1. Name of borough and ward or parish.	
2. Name of street and number of house.	
3. Name of occupier or occupiers.	
4. Name and address of the reputed owner.	
5. Has the house a water closet for the sole use of its inmates?	
6. If not, how many (*a*) persons, (*b*) houses use the same closet?	
7. If a water closet, is it properly flushed with water from a cistern separated from that used for drinking water?	
8. Is any of the rooms fitted with a proper sink? Is the sink in sound condition and trapped?	
9. Is there a properly constructed dustbin or sanitary pail for the sole use of the inmates? Is it regularly emptied?	
10. Is the water supply abundant? Is it constant or intermittent? Are the cisterns regularly cleaned and in an accessible place for inspection?	

11. Are the taps conveniently placed? If a tenement house, is there one on each floor?

12. If the house is a tenement house, is there (*a*) suitable cooking accommodation for each family, (*b*) a suitable pantry or other storage accommodation for food on each floor?

[N.B.—(*a*) can only be demanded if the house was built or first used as a tenement house after August, 1908, and (*b*) if it was built or first used as a tenement house after August, 1909. London County Council (General Powers) Acts, 1908 and 1909.]

13. Are the ceilings, walls, and floors throughout in a proper state of repair?

14. Is the roof sound and watertight?

15. Are there bugs or other vermin in any part of the house?

16. Is any part of the house damp?

17. Is the back yard properly drained and paved?

18. If underground rooms are used for sleeping in, (*a*) what height are they from floor to ceiling, (*b*) what distance are they below the surface of the street, and (*c*) how are they lighted, ventilated and drained?

19. How many rooms are there in the house?

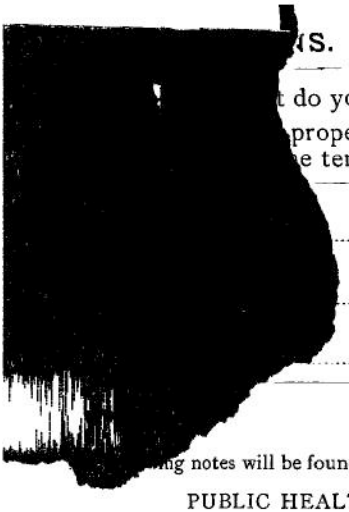
20. Is [illegible] house or are any of the rooms [illegible] wded as to be danger- ous [illegible] he health of the

[illegible] ouse in such [illegible] ce or to be [illegible] e health of

[illegible] back and [illegible] the near-

[illegible] gh ventila- [illegible] house?

[illegible] s near which [illegible] ses at night? [illegible] himneys which [illegible] oke upon the



...S. ANSWERS.

...t do you pay?
...proper condi-
...e tenant?

NOTES.

...ng notes will be found useful.

PUBLIC HEALTH (LONDON) ACT, 1891.

Section 2 defines nuisances which may be dealt with summarily. These include "premises in such a state as to be a nuisance or injurious or dangerous to health;" pools, ditches, gutters, watercourses, cisterns, water closets, privies, urinals, cesspools, drains, dungpits, or ashpits so foul as to be a nuisance or injurious, etc.; any accumulation or deposit similarly a nuisance or injurious, etc.; and "any house or part of a house so overcrowded as to be injurious or dangerous to the health of the inmates, whether or not members of the same family." Overcrowding is defined in the Model Byelaws as being more than one adult to three hundred cubic feet of air space, two children being equal to one adult.

Section 3 directs the local authority on ascertaining the existence of any nuisance to take immediate steps to mitigate it, and the procedure under this Act has since been simplified by the Housing and Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909. See below.

Section 7 permits the closing for a given period, to be decided on in each case, of any house for persistent overcrowding, *i.e.*, two convictions within three months.

Section 16 directs the local authority to make byelaws to prevent nuisances arising (1) from offensive matter flowing from any manufactory, slaughter yard, etc.; (2) from keeping animals in unsuitable places; (3) from the yards of dwelling houses or open spaces connected therewith not being properly paved.

Sections 21 and 23 deal with bad smells, noises at night, and black smoke coming from factories and works. Where such nuisances can be proved, they must be abated, but it must be noted that the persistent pouring of black smoke is difficult to prove.

Section 30 requires the local authority to make provision for the due and regular removal of house refuse, and in default a fine not exceeding twenty pounds may be imposed. No one employed in this work may accept fees or gratuities from the occupier of any house or his servant.

Section 37 deals with the provision of ashpits and water closets, etc. Each house newly built or rebuilt must be provided with a proper and sufficient water closet, and in any house already built, the local authority may require such provision to be made. But where a water closet before the passing of this Act had been used by the occupants of two or more houses, it may, if the local authority thinks it sufficient, continue to be so used, and the local authority need not require a water closet to be provided for each house.

(N.B. But all local authorities should so require.)

Sections 39 and 50 require local authorities to make byelaws as to the proper supply of water for water closets and for securing cleanliness and freedom from pollution of cisterns, tanks, etc., used for storing of water used or likely to be used for drinking or domestic purposes or for manufacturing drink.

Section 94 requires local authorities to make and enforce such byelaws as are requisite for dealing with houses let in lodgings or occupied by members of more than one family (1) for registering and inspecting them; (2) for fixing the number of per-

sons who may occupy them and the separation
drainage and promoting cleanliness and ventilatio
washing at stated times; and (5) for taking precaution

This does not apply to common lodging houses, w
Acts.

THE HOUSING OF THE WORKING

Section 31 provides that if four or more ho
written complaint of any house or houses in that s
shall inspect and report to the local authority the

Section 38 gives power to the local authority
which though not in itself unfit for human habit
buildings by stopping ventilation, impeding ligh
ments to such other buildings from being carried

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL

Section 78 requires that a supply of water shall be pr
tenement house unless it can be shown that such a supply is no

THE HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING, ETC., ACT,

Under the provisions of this Act, sections 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, extended powers are given to the local authorities for keeping houses in repair and closing or demolishing insanitary dwellings. The duty of making from time to time a house to house inspection is laid upon the local authority. The local authority having served an order upon any landlord for necessary repairs, may in the event of their not being carried out within the time specified, do the work itself and recover the cost from the landlord. Further the landlord of a house in London rented at £40 a year or under is bound to make it "in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation" before letting it and afterwards to keep it so, and damages may be recovered against him if he neglects to do so and the tenant suffers thereby. The local authority also may put it into proper condition and charge the landlord with the cost. The procedure with regard to closing orders and orders for demolition has been altered so that the local authority may now make such orders instead of a magistrate, and the owner can appeal against them only to the Local Government Board. Further, the local authority may pay to any occupier of property against which a closing order is made a reasonable sum for the cost of removal, and this sum may be recovered by the local authority from the owner.

By section 10 provision is made whereby if the local authority refuse to take steps to deal with any insanitary property, any four inhabitant householders in the district may appeal to the Local Government Board, who may order a public enquiry to be held and as a result of such enquiry may make an order directing the local authority to take the necessary steps.

Section 17 (7) provides that an underground room used as a sleeping place shall be deemed unfit for human habitation if it is more than three feet below the surface of the street and not on the average seven feet from floor to ceiling, and if further it does not comply with the regulations made by the local authority for proper ventilation, drainage, etc. The local authority must make such regulations when required to do so by the Local Government Board, or in default the Local Government Board will make them. Such regulations must be made by the local authority with the consent of the Local Government Board when required by the Local Government Board to do so. If the local authority does not make the regulations or if the Local Government Board does not approve them, the Local Government Board may make them itself, and they will have the same force as though made by the local authority. Underground rooms not complying with these regulations are not necessarily closed for other purposes than use as sleeping places.

Section 43 prohibits the building at any time after the passing of this Act of back to back houses.

Any Act of Parliament may be obtained for a few pence from P. S. King & Son, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

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THE MORAL ASPECTS OF SOCIALISM.

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The Moral Aspects of Socialism.*

Socialism and Character.

Modern Socialism, or Collectivism, is often regarded as a typical expression of the neglect, or even the denial, of the principle that in social reform character is "the condition of conditions." At first sight, it seems true that character has not been put in the foreground of Socialist discussion: its emphasis appears to be laid almost exclusively on machinery, on a reconstruction of the material conditions and organization of life. But machinery is a means to an end, as much to a Socialist as to anyone else; and the end, at any rate as conceived by the Socialist, is the development of human power and capacity of life. The quarrel with Socialists cannot be, then, that they mistake the means for the end, but either that they take a low or narrow view of human nature, or that the means they suggest will lower rather than raise the scale of human life.

The Evolution in Modern Socialism.

It is important that we should realize the nature of the development which has been at work in the conception of Socialism. If Socialism repeats itself, it repeats itself with a difference. If we fairly compare the Socialism of the earlier with that of the latter part of the century, we shall find that, however much they have in common, there is a sense in which the conception of Socialism is entirely modern. Socialism would not be the vital thing it is, if it remained unaffected by the development of social and industrial experience, and the general progress of scientific thought. The context is different, and even when the language is the same, the meaning is changed.† The claim of modern Socialism to be "scientific" may be just or not, but it means by "scientific" such an economy as shall be on a line with the modern scientific treatment and conception of life. Its dominating idea is that of conscious selection in social life, or of the expression of practical economics in terms of quality of life. From the point of view of its alleged indifference to character, the aims of modern Socialism may be described as an endeavor to readjust the machinery of industry in such a way that it can at once depend upon and issue in a higher

* Reprinted (by permission) from the *International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1896, with some omissions and additions.

† To give one example. State Socialism means one thing to a German, another to an Englishman; and one thing to an Englishman of Adam Smith's time, and another to an Englishman of our own time: the State, in the latter context, means the community democratically organized for collective purposes, whether parochially, locally, or nationally.

kind of character and social type than is encouraged by the conditions of ordinary competitive enterprise. If it does, in a sense, want to make things easier, it is only for the worker, and not for the idler; and the problem with which it is concerned is not primarily a more or less of enjoyment, but a more or less of opportunity for development of character and individuality. Its criterion of economic machinery is simply—does it or does it not make for a greater amount and quality of life and character?

The older Socialism rested upon such ideas as "the right to live," "the right to work," "payment according to needs," the denial of "the rent of ability," "expropriation without compensation," "minimizing" or "materializing" of wants—all ideas of retrogressive rather than of progressive "selection." But it would not be too much to say that all these ideas are either silently ignored or expressly repudiated by modern Socialism. The "ideology" of the older Socialists has given way to a deliberately, and in some ways rigidly, scientific treatment of life. Modern Socialism recognizes the laws of social growth and development in setting itself against catastrophic impossibilism and the manufacture of mechanical Utopias; it recognizes the moral continuity of society in its consideration for vested interests; it does not base industrial organization on "the right to work" so much as on the right of the worker, not on "payment according to needs" so much as "payment according to services"; it recognizes the remuneration of ability, provided that the ability does not merely represent a monopoly of privileged and non-competitive advantage; it is aware of the utility of capital, without making the individualist's confusion between the employment of capital and the ownership of it, between the productive and proprietary classes; it is not concerned about the inequality of property, except so far as it conflicts with sound national economy; it does not desire so much to minimize as to rationalize wants, and attaches the utmost importance to the qualitative development of consumption; and, finally, not to enumerate more distinctly economic developments, it recognizes "the abiding necessity for contest, competition, and selection," as means of development, when it presses for such an organization of industry as shall make selection according to ability and character the determining factor in the remuneration of labor.

Socialism and Competition.

So far from attempting to eliminate "competition" from life, it endeavors to raise its plane, to make it a competition of character and positive social quality. The competition which takes the form not of doing one's own work as well as possible, but of preventing any one else from doing the same work—the form of competition, that is, in which the gain of one man is the loss of another—is of no social value. The only competition that can advance individual or social life is simply a corollary of co-operation; it implies the recognition of a common good and a common interest which gives to our "individual" work its meaning, its quality, and its value; and the

further recognition that a competitor is also a co-operator. If a seeker after truth regards another seeker merely as a competitor, it is a sure sign that it is not truth he cares for: and we are only too familiar with the consequences of a system of industry which does not provide for the disinterestedness of all genuine production. The competition to get as much as possible for one's self is incompatible with the competition to get a thing done as well as possible. It is this kind of socially selective rivalry that Socialism is concerned to maintain; and the two kinds of competition* belong, as Plato might have said, to two distinct "arts."

Socialism Affirms a Standard.

This is the meaning, for instance, of a "standard" as opposed to a "market" wage. The Collectivist policy of the "Union" wage for skilled, and a minimum wage for unskilled labor, is a deliberate preference of a form of competition which promotes efficiency over a form of competition which aims at (apparent) cheapness. Which is the most productive method of selection? The Individualist policy results in the degradation of labor and the increase of burdens upon the State; the Socialist policy, so far from favoring the weak, favors the strong, if weakness and strength are interpreted as relevant to social value; it is a process of conscious social selection by which the industrial residuum is naturally sifted and made manageable for some kind of restorative, disciplinary, or, it may be, "surgical" treatment. The organization of dock laborers and the extension of factory inspection to sweated industries follow the same lines. Any such form of collective interference as the freeing of education, or the weakening of protected and non-competitive privilege, is in favor of the competition which is not simply a struggle for (unqualified) individual existence, but for existence in a society which rests upon the distribution of "rights" according to character and capacity. In this way it not only favors the growth of the fittest within the group, but also of the fittest group in the world-competition of societies. The whole point of Collectivism is the recognition by society of its interest as a society in a certain type of character and quality of existence. "Can there be anything better for the interests of a State," as Plato puts it, "than that its men and women should be as good as possible?" It is just this social reference that explains the demand which Socialists make upon the organization of industry. Their whole quarrel with private competitive enterprise is that it does not give a qualitative form to the struggle for existence, and does not—or rather cannot—concern itself with the maintenance of a standard of life.

Individualism Denies a Standard.

To speak, therefore, of "the principle of Collectivism" as "lying at the root of a compulsory poor rate" (*Charity Organ. Rev.*), reveals an astonishing incapacity for grasping the distinction between the organization of industry (upon selective lines) and the distribution

* *Cf.* Plato's "Republic," Bk. I., 347-8: also, Morris and Ruskin, *passim.*

of relief—a *rôle* which Socialists would contend the individualistic system and method of industry has forced upon "the State." The Poor Law system, so far from being a concession to Socialism, is a device of Individualism, which, indeed, could not "work," unless its logical consequences were intercepted by the workhouse and the infirmary. The Poor Law ministers to a system which, in the judgment of Socialists, makes for deterioration—a system which lends itself with fatal facility to partial and discontinuous employment, starvation wages, cheap and nasty production, wasteful, useless, and characterless competition. Collectivism is nothing if not constructive, and constructive on lines of social selection; the Poor Law as it now exists serves the purpose of a waste-receiver of "private enterprise." Collectivism would not, indeed, dispense with the necessity of a poor law; so far, however, as it provided for the able-bodied idler, the workhouse would be simply a branch of the criminal department of the State.* It is no doubt true that this kind of selection is forcing itself upon the system of private commercial enterprise in the interests of economic production, and Professor Loria has based upon this fact his forecast of the gradual evolution of capitalistic industry into some form of associated labor. But "the economy" of high wages, of regular and organized labor, and of genuine production, is discounted by the "active competition" of low wages, casual labor, cheap and adulterated product. And we find, in fact, that the competition of "quality" is only made possible by the cessation of "the competition of the market."

Monopoly versus Competition.

This is the significance of modern Combinations, conceived not as a temporary speculation, but as a permanent organization of a particular industry, based upon the extinction of wasteful rivalry between competitive firms. Whatever may be the abuse of the Combination, it is clearly a higher type of industrial organization, and its abuse is the occasion of Collectivism. It certainly makes a standard of work and a standard of industrial conditions possible; and also it renders the particular industry much more amenable to public opinion and, if need be, public control. And the interest of the modern Combination is that it is not an artificial creation, but a normal development of modern business: it represents a monopoly not of privilege, but of efficiency. It has become, in fact, no longer a question between Competition and Collectivism, but between private and public monopoly, between monopolies controlled by private capitalists and monopolies controlled by the community.†

* Collectivism would provide for the "deserving" and incapable, partly by providing against them, partly by public and humane institutions, partly by the more effective use to which weakness can be put under a better organization of industry; while pensions in old age would be the logical complement of honorable public service.

† This is, doubtless, a disputable generalization, but it accords with the judgment of American economists. *Cf.* also Baker's "Monopoly and the People," or Von Halle's "Trusts in the United States."

Monopolies of local service, again, are still higher in the industrial scale, so far as they represent the organization of production by the consumers (that is, on the basis of rational and persistent wants), and are under direct public control. And the policy of "practical Collectivism" lies in exacting from such monopolies the full measure of their capacity, and making them object-lessons in co-operative industry.

Monopoly as a Result of Selection.

It is, after all, only by selection that the collective organization of industry can itself prevail, and this is an argument, if any were needed, against any catastrophic closure of the present system. Hence the significance of the demand that government and public bodies should proceed upon a more scientific method than private competitive enterprise "can well afford"—in the direction of better organization of employment, standard wages for standard work, shorter hours, and other model conditions of industry. In Glasgow, at the present moment, there is actually a competition between municipal tramways and private means of transit; and the whole (if short) history of the municipalization of tramways is full of interest and instruction. Municipal management is a higher type of industry, and represents a competition of quality. It might be objected that this argument points to a mixed system of public and private industry, and does not meet the difficulty that a monopoly once established is liable to deterioration. It does point to the means by which public will supersede private administration of certain industries: that is, by competition and proved superiority of type. But it also assumes that the inferior type must give way. Still, the standard remains; it has been to a certain extent set, and to a greater extent recognized and approved, by the community. It could only fall back with a falling back in the community itself, that is, in its standard of satisfaction, material and moral. The higher type at once makes and depends upon its "environment." It may, indeed, have become an object of local pride and civic self-consciousness; a competition may be set up between one municipality and another, and that again would be a competition of quality. Readers of "Unto This Last" will remember a suggestion of the same kind—not the least fruitful idea of the economist who has best understood the real significance of the pre-established harmony between ethics and economics. In the same way it may be said that the real evil of the "drink traffic" is that it is a private, instead of a public, enterprise.

Collectivism will, in fact, proceed by selective experiments of the kind I have indicated, granting the moral and intellectual conditions required by a higher type of administration; and where it does not take the form of social ownership, the principle may be just as effective in the form of social control—control, that is, in the direction of a higher type of industrial character. Mining, railway, and factory legislation is, from this point of view, simply the application of "standard" ideas to competitive industry.

Socialism and its Critics.

If, then, this general account of the drift of Collectivism and of its real inwardness be at all true, what becomes of the polemic against Collectivist ideals that underlies the criticism of eminent social philosophers, and of the false antithesis that is so often set up between "moral" and "economic" Socialism. All the tendencies they attack, Collectivists attack; but while "moral" Socialists are content with ascribing them generally to (abstract) moral and intellectual causes, Collectivists, rightly or wrongly, find that they are moral and intellectual causes which are logically connected with the whole principle and practice of individualistic or private competitive industry, and refuse to believe that some undefined miracle of moral agency is better than any intelligible causation. I propose to deal in detail with this kind of objection to Collectivism, mainly with a view to exhibiting in a clearer light the logical idea and consequences of that position. For I will readily admit that this task is necessary, in view of the language that has been, and to a certain extent still is, used by responsible Socialists. I admit that there is some excuse for the perversion, or rather the construction, of Collectivist philosophy on which the "moral" case against Socialism is supposed to rest. For in some cases the teaching is ambiguous, in others it is evasive, and in certain cases it is demonstrably illogical. The philosophy of Collectivism is still in the making, and reasonable Collectivists themselves are perfectly aware of the extent to which their social doctrine has still to be thought out. But if we can once disengage the root idea, we can, at any rate, say what are logical consequences and what are not; and I hope to show that neither "free meals," nor "relief works," nor "pensions without services," nor "the abolition of private property" are logical deductions from the Collectivist principle; they are, in fact, the denial of it, and could not be part of a strictly Socialist economy.

The Idea of Collectivism.

What, then, is the idea of Modern Socialism, or Collectivism? I take it, Socialism implies, first and foremost, the improvement of society by society. We may be told that this is going on every day; yes, but not with any clear consciousness of what it is about, or of an ideal. Moreover, empirical social reform does not go beyond improvements within the existing system, or consider the effects of that system as a whole. As a rule, it means the modification of the system by an idea which does not belong to it, with the result that it is either ineffective or that it hampers the working of the system itself. When a prominent statesman can say that "We are all socialists now," he has reduced the idea of socializing individualistic commerce to its logical absurdity; it only means that we are endeavouring to rearrange the handicap between laborer, capitalist, employer, and landlord, according as either becomes the predominating partner in legislation. It is impossible to get out of the

confused aims of social reformers anything like a point of view, or an idea of social progress; it is a question of *evils* rather than *ideals*. Collectivism, as I have said, implies the consciousness by society of a social ideal, of a better form of itself, and its distinction lies in its clearer consciousness of the end to be attained and its conception of the means of attaining it. The means, as we know, are the collective control or collective administration of certain industries* by the community as a whole—"by the people for the people." (The ordinary formula of the "nationalization of the means of production" is unnecessarily prophetic, and is rather a hindrance than a help to the understanding of the ideal; by itself, it does not give the point of Socialism, and belongs to the picture-book method of social philosophy, which presents us rather with a ready-made system than a principle of action to be progressively applied.) But, clearly, "control," "organization," "administration," are merely forms, the body without the soul; we want to know—organization in what direction, control to what end? And the answer in quite general and formal terms is (as already suggested) a certain kind of existence and a certain standard of life to be maintained in and through the industrial organization of social needs. Mere nationalization, or mere municipalization, of any industry is not Socialism or Collectivism; it may be only the substitution of corporate for private administration; the social idea and purpose with which Collectivism is concerned may be completely absent. The presence of the idea is recognized by the extent to which the public machinery is made the conscious and visible embodiment of an ideal type of industry, taking form in certain standard conditions of production as also certain standard requirements of consumption. It is agreed that there are certain things which society is so concerned in getting done in a certain way and after a certain type, that it cannot leave them to private enterprise. We may recall Aristotle's arguments in favor of public as against private education; the important consideration being that education involves principles affecting the kind of social type and character which a particular society is interested in maintaining. The modern industrial state is beginning to realize that it is as deeply concerned in the conditions of industry that determine for better or worse the type and character of its citizens and the standard of its social life. This recognition implies the action of the general or collective will and purpose (which is, of course, also the will and purpose of individuals), represented by the social regulation of industry in the interest of a standard of industrial character and production—a standard of life—which society as society is concerned to maintain. The Collectivist calls upon society to face the logical requirements of the situation; rightly or wrongly, he conceives that

* I am not now concerned with any further specification of these expressions, as this belongs to a more strictly economic inquiry. Mr. Hobson's "Evolution of Modern Capitalism" deals with some of the aspects. *Cf.* also Fabian Tracts generally. "The community" means parish, district, municipality, or nation, as democratically organized. I assume throughout that modern Socialism means emphatically industrial democracy, that is, the realization in the industrial sphere of the principle already realized in the sphere of politics and religion.

a requirement of this kind is incompatible with the existence and the *raison d'être* of "private competitive enterprise." He is trying to familiarize the community with the incompatibility by "example and practice," and at the same time to show that it is not with business, but with modern competitive business that the requirement is incompatible. What is good in ethics cannot be bad in economics, and *vice versâ*, is an axiom of Socialism. A standard wage, for instance, is from the point of view of modern commerce a non-competitive wage, for it is not regulated by the supply and demand of the market; but from the point of view of good business and also good ethics, it is competitive; men are selected for their efficiency, and not for their cheapness. The attempt to enforce this method of remuneration upon government and public bodies, as also to abolish the contractor,* is described and resented by the ratepayer as "Collectivist;" he is right in his description, not in his resentment. The School Board, again, adapts its scale of salaries not to the supply of the market, but to the service required. It is only an individualist who can talk of "high" wages and "high" salaries in this connection; a high wage is simply a wage that is adequate to a certain kind of work done at its best; the wage is high according as the conception of the conditions required for the highest performance of the work is high. The Socialism of the School Board is, in the last resort, nothing else than a high standard of education, and therefore of the educator and his conditions of life. It is well to put it in this way, because it is often supposed that Collectivism or Socialism is simply a policy of securing better conditions of life for the worker, which gives the impression that it is a class and not a social point of view. The starting-point of social economics is, after all, consumption, and again its qualitative, not merely its quantitive development, rather than the conditions of work and worker as such; they are, of course, really aspects of the same thing, as readers of Ruskin are in no danger of forgetting. Accordingly, we find that the economic problem is not approached by the modern Socialist primarily from the side of "distribution," except so far as it affects the character of "production" or "consumption." Anyhow, the great thing is that the point of view is qualitative; or, the regulative idea of Socialism is the maintenance of a certain standard of life, whether it is looked at from the point of view of the condition of the producer or his product. The whole point of factory legislation, again, lies in its attempt to exercise such social control over the conditions of industry as will prevent them from lowering the standard of life which society as society is interested in maintaining; it is becoming less sentimental, and more scientific in its scope; and, again, it is now called "Collectivist."

Socialism and Humanism.

From the standpoint of such an interpretation of the "idea" and the "phenomena" of Collectivism (which is, after all, sufficiently

* *Cf.* Mr. Sidney Webb's admirable vindication of the "Economic Heresies" of the London County Council.—*Contemporary Review.*

justified by the language of its opponents), the suggestion that it is theoretically careless of the type, indifferent to any standard of life, or to the claims of character, is somewhat wide of the mark. So long as Socialism remains true to its scientific conception and treatment of life, it is not likely to commit itself to means of improvement at the cost of the type. Its animating idea is neither * pity nor benevolence—at least, not as usually understood—but the freest and fullest development of human quality and power. It is characteristic of modern Socialism or Collectivism that its typical representatives are men who have been profoundly influenced by the positive and scientific conception of social life; while its popular propagandists have derived their inspiration from Ruskin, who is, in economics at least, a profound humanist. What is common to the indictment of modern industrialism, set out in "good round terms" by Ruskin, Morris, Wagner, Mr. Karl Pearson (not to mention others) on the one hand, and "Merrie England" on the other, is their sense of the frightful and quite incalculable waste and loss of quality (in producer and product) that it seems to involve. Whether this finding is just or not, Socialism is a principle which stands or falls by a qualitative conception of progress. It is bound up with ideas of qualitative selection and competition, and with the endeavour to raise in the scale the whole machinery, the whole conception and purpose, of industrial activity, so as to give the fullest scope to the needs and means of human development. Increase of human power over circumstance, increase of humanizing wants, increase of powers of social enjoyment—these are the ends of state or municipal activity, whether it take the form of model conditions of employment, and model standards of consumption, or the provision of parks and libraries and all such things as are means, not of mere, but of high existence.† And, in all these directions, it would be true to say that the State or municipality operates through character and through ideas, and that, as the organized power of community, it helps the individual not to be less but more of an individual, and because more of an individual, therefore more of a definite social person.

The Meaning of State Activity—National and International.

State activity, as thus conceived, is not the substitution of machinery for the mainspring of character, but a process of training and adaptation, or it may be of restriction and elimination—the human analogues of "natural selection" in the physical world. In this way the State, while it endeavors to give the personal struggle for existence a distinctively human and qualitative form, gains a

* Socialism without pity is empty, but a Socialism of mere pity is blind; and as I am concerned with the idea and method rather than the sentiment or psychological stimulus of Socialism, what may appear as an ultra-scientific view should not be misunderstood.

† On the "Socializing of Consumption" *cf.* Smart's "Studies in Economics"; also the writings of Mr. P. Geddes and Mr. Hobson, among others. There is certainly a sense in which "Consumption" is the beginning and end of Economics.

clearer consciousness of the meaning of its own struggle for existence in the social world as a whole. And, just as it raises the plane of competition within its own social group, so it raises it in relation to other groups in the wider social organism. The study of great social experiments in Germany, the comparison of "experiences" at International Congresses, and other movements, suggest that there may be a more valuable kind of rivalry between nations than that of mere power, mere trade, or mere territory—a rivalry of social type and efficiency, within the limits of the specific part each is most fitted to discharge in the whole. The law of national self-preservation, upon such a view, passes from a non-moral to a moral stage, for it is not a mere and exclusive, but a specific and inclusive "self." Anyhow, one effect of Collectivism would be to increase the self-consciousness of a State as organized for the attainment of a common good and a certain kind of social existence; and this consciousness is, from the Socialist's point of view, an increasingly determinate factor in social evolution, just as it is the worst effect of competitive industry that the idea of the State and the conception of a social ideal either disappears or becomes vulgarized and materialized.

The Distinction Between "State" and "Society."

It is worth while to dwell for a moment upon a distinction which is often placed to the credit of modern, as distinguished from Greek, political philosophy—the distinction between "Society" and "the State." When the political community is regarded as "Society" it is looked at as a number of individuals or classes, or professions—as an aggregate of units. When we speak of the "State," we understand a single personality, as it were, representing all these interests and endowed with force which it can exercise against any one of them. In other words, "the State" cannot be reduced to "Society" or to "Government," which is only one of its functions, but is Society organized and having force. This distinction in one way implies an advance: we can and do leave more than the Greeks to social influence, as distinguished from the action of the State, because the foundation of social morality is stronger and deeper, and because we lay more stress on individual freedom and the value of the individual. But, in another way, it implies a loss, and is apt to degenerate into the idea that the State has no moral function, and that the individual possesses separate rights which only belong to him as a member of a community. To vulgar political Economy, for instance, as to the Liberty and Property Defence League, "the State" simply means Society; and there has been a tendency on the part of Economists who start with the commercial point of view to push to the extreme the view that the best result will come from the free interaction of conflicting interests, to take this view as final and make it a "law." Modern thought and modern practice are reverting to the position of Aristotle, that the State ought to put before itself "the good of the whole," by interfering with the "natural" course of economic events in favor of collective ends. And it is Democracy that has made Collectivism

possible: the State is not some mysterious entity outside individuals, but simply represents the individuals organized for a common purpose, whether in parochial or national assembly. When, therefore, German Social-Democracy avows its aim to be the substitution of "Society" for the "State," this is simply a sign of arrested political and social development: the State is not co-extensive with the self-governing community, but represents oligarchic and centralized bureaucracy. To depreciate the stress which Collectivists lay upon "organization" is really to depreciate the value of the moral atmosphere any particular manifestation of Collectivism may generate in familiarizing the members of the community with the idea of the social reference and destiny of industry, and of the State as the expression of the nation's will and conscience.

General View of Socialism and its Justification.

Whatever else, then, Socialism may be, it certainly implies organized action for a social purpose, and this purpose may always be reduced to the conception of a certain standard of life other than mere animal existence.

I am aware that this representation of Socialism, as concerned with the maintenance of natural selection under rational human conditions, does not cover all the visible phenomena of Socialism. But the philosophic student is justified in limiting his view to the conception of Socialism as a reasoned idea of social progress; and it is its shortcomings in this respect that the "moral reformer" selects for condemnation. His criticism may, perhaps, be roughly indicated as follows: Socialism, it is suggested, aims at the substitution of machinery for character, in the sense that it fails to recognize that the individual is above all things a character and a will, and that society, as a whole, is a structure in which will and character "are the blocks with which we build"; it attaches, therefore, undue, if not exclusive, importance to material conditions and organization; and, further, it is fatal to the conditions of the formation of character, these conditions being private property competition (of character). In all these points we may discover a confusion between the "Appearance" and the "Reality" of Socialism.

Socialism and Machinery.

No doubt, at first sight, it seems to be the common idea of all Socialists that, by reconstructing the machinery of the actual material organization of life, certain evils incidental to human life, of which that organization is regarded as the stronghold, can be greatly mitigated, if not wholly removed. The theory of modern Socialism gives no countenance to this conception of the matter. It suggests neither utopias nor revolutions in human nature or modern business: it does suggest a method of business which makes rather larger demands upon human nature, but which, at the same time, and for the same reason, is "better" business. Even if that were not so, it is clear that Collectivism is, as I have said, not machinery, but machinery with a purpose; what it is concerned with is the

machinery appropriate to a certain spirit and conception of industry. It implies therefore emphatically ideas, and can only operate through "will and character." If, for instance, the machinery of public industry is not directed to keeping this idea before its employees from the highest to the lowest, then they stand in just as much a material and mechanical relation to their work as the employee of a private person or company; and, on the other hand, in proportion as the employee, through want of will or character or intelligence, fails to enter into that social purpose, his work would be as inferior in itself and in its relation to his character as it might be under any individualistic administration. As a practical corollary, the machinery of public industry must be organized in such a way that the workman can feel its interest and purpose as his interest and purpose.* The mere substitution of public for private administration is the shadow and not the substance. The forces required to work Collectivist machinery are nothing if not moral; and so we also hear the complaint that Socialists are too ideal, that they make too great a demand upon human nature and upon the social will and imagination. Of the two complaints, this is certainly the more pertinent. A conception, however, which is liable to be dismissed, now as mere mechanism, now as mere morality, may possibly be working towards a higher synthesis. May it not be the truth that Socialism is emphatically a moral idea which must have the machinery fitted to maintain and exercise such an idea—for a moral idea which is not a working idea is not moral at all—and this machinery is, formally speaking, the public control and administration of industry. Every advance in ethics must be secured by a step taken in politics or economics. Socialism implies both a superior moral idea and a superior method of business, and neither could work without the other. The superiority of the moral idea can only show itself by its works, by its business capacity, so to speak; and the superiority of a method of business lies in what it can do with and for human nature. It follows, therefore, that, just as Democracy is the most difficult form of government, Socialism is the most difficult form of industry, because, like Democracy, it requires the operation of ideas; and the test of the perfection of Socialist machinery is just its capacity to give to the routine industries of the community that spirit and temper which are the note of the freest and highest work. Apart from this atmosphere of interest and purpose, the State and municipality are distinctly inferior as employers of labor, and the history of the co-operative movement itself provides a series of object lessons in the divorce of machinery from ideas. In its complete form as the organization of production by the consumers, Socialism presupposes a responsiveness in producer and consumer, and Trades-Unions of producers would be as much a part of Socialist as of individualistic organization, as witness the National Union of

* This is the proper significance of the principle of the Co-partnership of Labor, which is apt to be too exclusively envisaged in "the self-governing workshop" or (private) profit-sharing, and is for that reason hardly given the recognition or prominence by Socialists it deserves.

Elementary Teachers. On the other hand, if it has sufficient ground-work in moral and intellectual conditions, then the material organization itself helps to create the character it presupposes, and will be educative, in proportion as the employee of the community feels his social recognition in a raised standard of life all round—shorter hours, dignity and continuity of status, direct responsibility. It cannot be said that Socialists are insensible to the amount of education—in ideas and character—that is required before any sensible advance can be made in the direction of co-operative industry. On the other hand they do not believe that grapes can grow upon thorns: they believe that things make their own morality. The idea of industry is what habit and institutions make it: it is impossible to put the social idea into institutions * which make for the artificial preservation and encouragement of an antagonistic idea—the plutocratic ideal; and it is impossible to get it out of them. It is not enough to modify the bias of the individualistic organization of society: that organization itself makes the whole idea of the organization of society on the basis of public service or labor "the baseless fabric of a vision." The moralist demands, and rightly (in theory) demands, that the working-man should realize that he exists only on the terms of recognizing and discharging a definite social function. But what is there in the economic arrangements under which he finds himself, to suggest such an idea—the idea on which Socialism rests—either to the propertied or to the propertyless man? How is a man who depends for his employment upon a mechanism he can in no wise control or count upon, and upon the ability of a particular employer to maintain himself against rivals, enabled to realize a definite position in the social structure? What he does feel, for the most part, is that he is dependent on a system in which the element of chance is incalculable, and it is just this feeling which makes for a materialistic and hand-to-mouth conception of life. Or what is there in the economic structure of society which suggests to the employer or the capitalist, that their *raison d'être* is not so much to make a fortune as to fulfil a function? In what way, in a word, does the individualistic organization† of industry make for the extension of the sense of duty which a man owes to society at large? Moral ideas must have at least a basis in the concrete relations of life. In the same way, we are told, and rightly told, that the value of property lies in its relation to the needs of personality. But how can a man who cannot count on more than ten shillings a week, or at any rate the man who depends upon casual employment or speculative trades, regard property as

* *Cf.* J. S. Mill's "Autobiography," pp. 230-234, *e.g.*, "Interest in the common good is so weak a motive in the generality, not because it can never be otherwise, but because the mind is not accustomed to dwell on it as it dwells, from morning to night, on things which tend only to personal advantage."

† The private organization of industry is often defended on the ground that it provides the morality of "faithful service." But democracy requires the substitution for private or personal services of public service, which admits of just as much personal, and certainly more social, "faithfulness"; and Socialism is bound up with democracy.

"the unity of his material life"? "A man must know what he can count on and judge what to do with,"—this is stated to be a requirement of morality (as it is certainly is of Socialism). But how is this condition realized under a system which not only lends itself to the most violent contrasts between careless ease and careworn want, between lavish indulgence and narrow penury, but makes it the (apparent) interest of the employing classes that the employed shall not have property—a situation which Trades-Unions were meant to meet. Moral ideas are, after all, relevant to a particular working organization of life. The "moral Socialist" seems to require a Socialist ethics of property and employment from an economic system which is worked upon an individualistic conception of property and employment. But the moralist who insists on the fulfilment by society of ideas for which its actual institutions and every-day life give no warrant seems to suggest that ethics are not relative, that moral conceptions are not ideas *of* life, but ideas *about* life. To this abstract moral idealism and transcendentalism, Socialism, at any rate, furnishes a needful corrective. Is there anything, the Socialist asks, in men's ordinary industrial life which suggests the "lofty and ennobling" ideas they are to have about it? And I conceive that the Socialist who criticises the economic arrangements of society from the standpoint of these ideas is the more helpful moralist of the two. He has done well if he has simply called attention to the antinomy; and, in a sense, that is the only remedy, for, unless it is felt and recognized, there is nothing from which anything better can grow up. If institutions depend on character, character depends on institutions: it is upon their necessary interaction that the Socialist insists. The greatness of Ruskin as a moralist lies in his relevance, and in his recognition of the inseparability of the moral and the material, of ethics and economics. But the practical man calls him a moral rhetorician and an insane economist.

"Moral" and "Material" Reform.

Apart from the general value of economic organization or of the consideration of it, the moral Socialist certainly tends (in theory) to minimize, if not to discount, the influence of material conditions on the betterment of life. The great thing, we are told, is to "moralize" the employer, or "moralize" the workman. The only radical cure for the sanitary atrocities of the Factory system lies, it is said, in a wider interpretation of their duty by the employers. Why is it, one may ask, that a system against which it is considered superficial, or indeed immoral, to "agitate," lends itself to this appeal from the employer's sense of interest to the employer's sense of duty? The Socialist suggests a system of industry in which self-interest does not require to be checked. And is it quite reasonable or consistent to complain, on the one hand, that Socialism does not provide the economic motive of private profit, and, on the other hand, to look for the improvement of the conditions of the laborer to the moralization or socialization of the motives of the employer? The evils which the moral Socialist admits are just those for which a radical

cure can only be found in the popular control of industry. Or, are we to say that "the morality of the working classes" depends, not upon "circumstances," but upon some mysterious gift of grace or redemption? The intimate connection between "circumstances" and drinking, the degrading effect of material uncertainty (which the doctrinaire moralist seems to regard as an unmixed moral benefit—for the working classes), are, at any rate, as normal phenomena as the powerlessness of a "degenerate" to cope with such conditions at all. A good deal more investigation is surely needed of the conditions under which "character and ideas" operate before we can so easily assume their spontaneous generation and their indefinite possibilities. Universalize the principle, and it is doubtless good for all persons that they should not be above the possibility of falling into distress by lack of wisdom and exertion; competition is in this sense a sovereign condition of life, and the Socialist regrets that more room is not made for its beneficent operation in the "moral development" of our "splendid paupers." There seems to be just a tendency on the part of the Charity Organization Society to treat the working-classes as if they had peculiar opportunities for independent life, just because their circumstances are so difficult; the eye of the moral disciplinarian should surely also be turned upon the many people who are as much pensioners of society as if they were maintained in an alms-house. The poor man's poverty (it would seem) is his moral opportunity. But this kind of beatitude for the poor would have more point if it were always their own lack of wisdom and exertion which occasions their "falling into distress." It must be admitted that the existence of an unemployed rich is as great a source of danger and deterioration to society as that of an unemployed poor, and to a great extent the one is an aggravating cause of the other. Much of the casual employment of the employed classes directly ministers to the unproductive and exclusive consumption of the rich; and one great difficulty in the way of the organization of production on the basis of rational and persistent wants, and the provision of a true industrial basis to the life of the worker, lies in the irregular, capricious, and characterless expenditure of superfluous incomes.

The Insufficiency of the Charity Organization Society.

All that our "Poor Law Reformers" have to say about the policy of "relief works," "shelters," and relaxation of the Poor Law is undeniable; but the corollary that in "refraining from action" we are helping on a better time seems hardly adequate, however graphically it can be illustrated from the history of unwise philanthropy. So long as the Charity Organization Society contents itself with the demonstration that devices of this kind only drive the evil further in, it is really helpful; but in refusing to look for any source of the evils except foolish benevolence on the one side and reckless improvidence on the other, it seems to be unduly simplifying the conditions of the problem. It is, at any rate, scarcely justified in deprecating the inquiry as to whether the absence of any rational organization of

industry may not be a part of the situation. Thinkers of this school are so much concerned for the moral independence of the worker that his actual economic dependence hardly enters into their consideration. The circumstances beyond the control of great masses of workers engaged in machine industries are much larger than those that their own action goes to make up, and here again Collectivism endeavors to bring these circumstances much more within their control. Lack of employment means, we are told, lack of character; but where, after all, does character come from? The contention of Socialists is that the absence of any permanent organization of industry, by setting a premium upon partial and discontinuous employment, is itself a contributory cause of shiftless character; and where the character is hopeless, the best way of dealing with it is such an organization as would really sift out and eliminate the industrial residuum. All permanent organization means the withdrawal of partial and inadequate employment from a certain class.*

Surely in this case system and character act and react: discourage intermittent employment, and you save the "marginal" cases from social wreckage; while it becomes possible to deal with the industrial residuum in some restorative or restrictive way. But is not this the point of Collectivism? The Fabian Society has repudiated the false economics of "relief works" with quite as much energy as the Charity Organization Society. But the real objection to relief works, as also to "Old Age Pensions," is that they have no logical connection with the system they are designed to palliate. "Continuity of employment" and "superannuation pensions" would be a logical part of a Socialist state; but the idea of "the State" as a relief society to the employees of private industry can only be satisfactory to the employer, whose irresponsibility it would effectually sanction. Under a system of individualistic industry, "State relief" and "State pensions" can only mean an allowance in aid of reckless speculation and low wages; and these devices only serve to distract reform from the true line of deliverance—the best possible organization of industry and the improvement of the conditions of labor. It is not the Socialist who contemplates the "ransom" of the capitalistic system by relief work and old age pensions.† I do not think that even the most impatient Socialist has ever suggested that out-door relief in any shape was Socialism; while the scientific Socialist has never regarded so-called wholesale "Socialistic remedies" of this kind as other than the herring across the track. Socialism means the organization not of charity, nor of relief, but of industry, and in such a way that the problem of finding work which is not apparently wanted, and of devising pensions for no apparent service, would not be "normal."

* The net result of organization at the Docks was, we are told, in the direction of confining to about 6,000 people the work which had previously been partial employment for between 12,000 and 10,000. *Cf.* also the unorganized "cab-tout," etc.

† On the other hand, Pensions—and even carefully guarded and exceptional relief schemes—might be regarded as part of a transitional policy. The Socialist who advocates Old Age Pensions is at the same time advocating a different conception and consequent method of industry, and not simply trying to save the credit of a discredited system.

Socialism and Natural Selection.

The real danger of Collectivism, indeed, is not that it would take the form of the charity that fosters a degraded class, but that it would be as ruthless as Plato in the direction of "social surgery." It may take a hard and narrow view of the "industrial organism" and the conditions of its efficiency. For the progress of civilization gives a social value to other qualities, other kinds of efficiency, than merely industrial or economic capacity. "Invalidism" may be said to develop valuable states of mind, and to strengthen the conception of human sympathy and solidarity. It is possible to apply the conception of an industrial organism in two ways: the State is an organism, and therefore it should get rid of its weak; the State is an organism, and therefore it should carry its weak with it. Perhaps, it might be said that the modern problem is not so much to get the weak out of the way, as to help them to be useful. There is no reason in the process of natural selection, as such, why every member of society, provided he be not criminal, should not be preserved and helped to live as effectively as possible. But this would depend upon the possibility of such a readjustment of the economic system that would enable all members to maintain an efficient existence under it, and, conversely, upon the condition that each person should do the work for which he is best fitted. "Weakness" and "unfitness" are, after all, relative; and in any more systematic organization of society what is now a man's weakness might become his strength. One advantage of the organization of industry would be the increased possibility of "grading" work, as also of estimating desert. The problem is no other than that of finding a distribution of work which would allow the weak to render a service proportioned to their ability in the same ratio as the service is required of the strong. The present system makes too little use of the weak and too much of the strong; instead of helping the growth of all after their kind, it fosters an overgrowth of an exclusive and imperfect kind. And, lastly, if it be said that any form of Socialism would be immoral if it denied the necessity for individual responsibility, it may also be urged that the compulsory elevation by municipal and State activity of the most degraded classes is a necessary preliminary to their further elevation by individual effort and voluntary association. But none of these considerations seem germane to private competitive enterprise, which can hardly afford to "treat life as a whole." From all these points of view, therefore, I venture to think that the question of morality is largely a question of machinery, and that the consideration of morality apart from machinery reduces ethics to the level of a merely "formal" science.

Socialism and Property.

Socialism recognizes the value of property by demanding its wider distribution. The social situation is, upon its showing (rightly or wrongly), largely created by the divorce of the worker from property and the means of production, which means that the arrangement and disposition of his life is outside his control. Private

Property may be said to have an ethical value and significance so far as it is at once a sign and expression of individual worth, and gives to individual life.some sort of unity and continuity. It follows that wages and salaries, on which society is largely, and under Collectivism would be wholly based, fulfil the principle of private property so far as they are in some degree permanent and calculable ; otherwise, there is a discontinuity in the life of the individual ; he cannot look before and after, cannot organize his life as a whole. Socialists not only accept the "idea" of individual property, but demand some opportunity for its realization.* One point of the public organization of industry is that it would admit of more permanency, stability, and continuity in the life of the worker than is provided by the precariousness of modern competition. His life, it is contended, is much more exposed than it need be to the worst of material evils—uncertainty. The "Trust" organization of industry, as also the organization of dock labor, are in this point in the line of Socialist advance; and it is well known that the civil service attracts because it not only secures the livelihood of the employed, but leaves him time for volunteer work in pursuit of his interests and duties, private and public. Or, again, we are told that the social need is to make the possession of property very responsive to the character and capacity of the owner. Could the endeavor of Socialism be better expressed? Socialism does not, like certain forms of Communism, rest upon the idea that no man should have anything of his own ; it is concerned with such an organization of industry as shall enable a man to acquire property in proportion to his character and capacity, but will cease to make the mere accumulation of private property a motive force of industry. Just to the extent that property serves the needs of individuality, Socialism would encourage its acquisition : the idea of hand-to-mouth existence or "dependence," the ideal of the slave or the child, is probably much more encouraged by the fluctuations of competitive industry than by the routine but regular and calculable vocation of the public servant.

It may be further considered that it is the object of Collectivism not merely to give a true industrial and calculable basis to the life of the worker, but to give to the possession of property character and propriety. There is a justifiable pleasure in surrounding one's self with things which really express and respond to one's own character and choice of interest, and in the feeling that they are one's own in a peculiar and intimate sense. But the number of books, pictures, and the like, which one "desires for one's own," is comparatively small, and would be much smaller, if one had within reach a museum, a library, and a picture-gallery. The property that is revolting is that which is expressive, not of character, but of money; the house, for instance, of "a successful man" made beautiful "by contract." Emerson's exhortation to put our private pictures into public galleries is perhaps extreme, and not altogether

* Throughout this discussion I am thinking of "the enjoyment of individual Property" as distinct from the employment of private Capital and the private possession of Land.

practical or reasonable. But the public provision of libraries and galleries, and of things that can be best enjoyed in common, not only enlarges the background of the citizen's life and adds to his possessions, but suggests a reasonable limit to the accumulation of property; as it would most certainly give a social direction to art, when it could minister to the needs of a nation rather than the ostentation of the few. And the same may be said of public parks, means of transit, and the like—all in the direction of levelling those inequalities of property which serve no social purpose. Whether, then, property be regarded as a "means of self-expression," or as "materials for enjoyment," the Collectivist ideal may be said to lie in the direction, not of denying, but of affirming and satisfying the need; and the Socialists criticise the distribution of property under individualistic institutions just from the point of view of its failure to satisfy a need of human nature. Mr. Bosanquet,* for instance, really expresses the Socialist's position when he says: "The real cause of complaint to-day, I take it, is not the presence, but the absence of property, together with the suggestion that its presence may be the cause of its absence." He points out, moreover, that the principle of unearned private property and the principle of Communism really meet in the common rejection of the idea of *earning*, of some quasi-competitive relation of salary to value or energy of service—in fact, of the organization of Society upon a basis of labor, which *is* the ideal of Socialism. Similarly he puts himself at the point of view of the Socialist when he says: "The true principles of State interference with acquisition—and alienation—would refer to their tendency, if any, to prevent acquisition of property on the part of other members of society," a principle which omits nothing in Collectivist requirements, and opens up a series of far-reaching considerations.†

Socialism and Competition.

I have already endeavored to show that Socialism is a method of social selection according to social worth (in the widest sense): that it desires to extend the possibilities of usefulness to as many as possible, and would measure reward by the efficiency of socially valuable work. The differences in reward would, however, be of less account in proportion as social consideration and recognition, and the collective privileges and opportunities of civilization, are extended to any kind of worker, and as the motives to personal accumulation are reduced within social limits.‡ Indeed, it is a question whether the conven-

* In "Some Aspects of the Social Problem," which originally suggested this paper.

† *Cf.* The "Land Nationalization" propaganda generally. For the sake of their economic case, as also for purposes of political propaganda, it is regrettable that modern Socialism gives more prominence, in its theory, to "Capital" than to "Land"—but *cf.* the works of Achille Loria and his school.

‡ *Cf.* Mill ("Autobiography") and Marshall ("Principles") on the "Motives to Collective Action"; also Sidney Webb's "Difficulties of Individualism" (Fabian Tract No. 69). "A social system devised to encourage 'the art of establishing the maximum inequality over our neighbors'—as Ruskin puts it—appears destined to be replaced, wherever this is possible, by one based on salaried public service, with the stimulus of duty and esteem, instead of that of fortune-making."

tional idea of reward is relevant to the system of industry contemplated by the Socialist, a system under which the freest industrial motive—the motive of work for work's and enjoyment's sake, the stimulus of self-expression—could be extended from the highest to the humblest industry. The incompatibility of pure industrial motive with our modern industrial system is, indeed, as Ruskin and Morris and Wagner have witnessed, its profoundest condemnation.

The Benefits of Commercial Competition.

It is not to be denied that competitive private enterprise may develop character and discharge social services. But the character and the services are of a partial and inferior type: partial, because a few grow out of proportion to the rest, and therefore in a narrow and anti-social direction; inferior, because the character of the economically strong is not of the highest type; if it is of a type fittest to survive in a commercial and non-social world, it is not the fittest to survive in a moral and social order. And what can one say about the quality of products and standard of consumption? Is it as such directed to evolve and elevate life? Matthew Arnold's description of an upper class materialized, a middle class vulgarized, and a lower class brutalized, is a fairly accurate description of modern commercial types.

Competition and Population.

Not only is commercial competition inferior in form, but it is directly responsible for an increase in quantity over quality of population. The idea that unchecked competition makes for the natural selection of the fittest population is singularly optimistic. It is just that part of the population which has nothing to lose that is most reckless in propagating itself. The fear of falling below the standard of comfort at one end of the social scale, and the hopelessness of ever reaching it at the other, combine to increase the quantity of population at the cost of its quality. And what is a loss to society is a gain to the sweater; he is directly interested in the lowering of the standard of life, and in the competition of cheap labor; and the sweater is a normal product of commercial competition. Collectivism deliberately aims at the maintenance and elevation of the standard of life, and at such an organization of industry as would not enable one class of the community to be interested in the overproduction of another. It treats the "population question" as a problem of quality.

Socialism and Progress.

There are, of course, many other aspects of Socialism than its adequacy to the requirements of a moral and social idea; that is, of the principle of a progressive social life. It may be thought that Socialism is essentially a movement from below, a class movement; but it is characteristic of modern Socialism that its protagonists, in this country at any rate, approach the problem from the scientific rather than the popular view; they are middle class theorists. And the future of the movement will depend upon the extent to

which it will be recognized that Socialism is not simply a working man's or an unemployed, or a poor man's question. There are, indeed, signs of a distinct rupture between the Socialism of the street and the Socialism of the chair; the last can afford to be patient, and to deprecate hasty and unscientific remedies. It may be that the two sides may drift farther and farther apart, and that scientific Socialism may come to enjoy the unpopularity of the Charity Organisation Society. All that I am, however, concerned to maintain is that there is a scientific Socialism which does not attempt to treat life as a whole, and has no less care for character than the most rigorous idealist; and I believe I am also right in thinking that this is the characteristic and dominant type of Socialism at the present day. It may not be its dominant idea in the future, but it is the idea that is wanted for the time, the idea that is revelant, and it is with relevant ideas that the social moralist is concerned.

Other Moral Aspects: Socialism and Religion.

There are, again, other moral aspects than those with which I have been concerned. I have said nothing as to the moral sentiment of Socialism, nothing as to the creation of a deeper sense of public duty. I have taken for granted the sentiment, and confined myself to its mode of action, or the more or less completely realized moral idea of Socialism, and tried to see how it works, or whether it is a working idea at all. The question of moral dynamics lies behind this, and the question of faith—as the religious sentiment—still further behind. Perhaps in an anxiety to divorce Socialism from sentimentality, we may appear to be divorcing it from sentiment. But the sentiment of Socialism must rest on a high degree of intellectual force and imagination, if it is not to be altogether vague and void. There is no cheap way, or royal road, to the Religion of Humanity, though there may be many helps to it short of a reflective philosophy. But it would be idle to deny that Socialism involves a change which would be almost a revolution in the moral and religious attitude of the majority of mankind. We may agree with Mill* that it is impossible to define with any sort of decision the coming modification of moral and religious ideas. We may further, however, agree that it will rest (as Comte said) upon the solidarity of mankind (as represented by the Idea of the State), and that "there are two things which are likely to lead men to invest this with the moral authority of a religion; first, they will become more and more impressed by the awful fact that a piece of conduct to-day may prove a curse to men and women scores and even hundreds of years after the author is dead; and second, they will more and more feel that they can only satisfy their sentiment of gratitude to seen or unseen benefactors, can only repay the untold benefits they have inherited, by diligently maintaining the traditions of service." This is the true positive spirit, and in something like it we must seek the moral dynamics of Socialism.

* John Morley's "Miscellanies": The Death of Mr. Mill," *Cf.* also the passage on Socialistic sentiment in Mill's Autobiography."

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SOCIALISM AND THE TEACHING OF CHRIST

By REV. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D.

WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

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SOCIALISM AND THE TEACHING OF CHRIST.

An Address delivered by DR. JOHN CLIFFORD *at the Annual Meeting of the Christian Socialist League, at Westbourne Park Chapel, February, 1895.*

ONE of the objections frequently brought against the application of the principles of Socialism to our industrial life is that such a process is opposed to the teaching and spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Christianity, it is said, moves in a higher realm than that of humdrum toil, and operates for far higher purposes than those of settling the disputes of capital and labor, adjusting profit and loss, organizing production and distribution, fighting a dangerous plutocracy, and mediating peace between the masses of wage-earners and a narrowing number of wage-payers. It does not "preach a gospel of material blessedness." It ministers to a mind diseased by sin, banishes remorse, and prepares for death and eternity. It is not concerned with this fleeting life; so brief that "it is like a dewdrop on its perilous way from a tree's summit"; but with the infinite development of the human spirit through the eternity, and in the home, of God. In support of this eclipse of the life of the present by the stupendous and transcendent greatness of the life of the future revealed in Christianity, the saying of Jesus is quoted. "Work not for the meat that perisheth, but for the meat which abideth unto eternal life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you: for Him the Father, even God, hath sealed."

Hence, many Christians look with misgiving on Churches that venture to study the politico-economical conditions of the life of the people around them, touch with the tips of their fingers the problems for the abolition of poverty, and seek the up-lifting of the wage-earning classes by juster and healthier modes than those of spasmodic charity and unlimited soup. They denounce ministers who hold and teach that the laws of God run everywhere, even into wages and prices, into houses of toil and the sanitary conditions of factories and drapery establishments; and generally reason that the capacity of the mind for the hospitable entertainment of ideas is so sadly limited that no preacher can be faithful to Christ's message concerning sin and redemption, and at the same time agitate for a "fair living wage," or toil for the reorganization of the industrial life of the country on bases of justice and brotherhood.

Is Socialism Christian?

Professor Flint, a man of vast learning and great ability, has said in one of the largest and least discriminating and most unsatisfactory books I have read on Socialism : " What is called Christian Socialism will always be found either to be unchristian in so far as it is socialistic or unsocialistic in so far as it is truly and fully Christian "*; and again, " so far as Socialism confines itself to proposals of an exclusively economic and political character, Christianity has no direct concern with it. A Christian may, of course, criticise and disapprove of them ; but it cannot be on Christian grounds ; it must be merely on economic and political grounds. Whether land is to be owned by few or many, by every one or only by the State ; whether industry is be entirely under the direction of government, or conducted by co-operative associations, or left to private enterprise ; whether labor is to be remunerated by wages or out of profits ; whether wealth is to be equally or unequally distributed, are not in themselves questions of moment to the Christian life, or indeed questions to which Christianity has any answer to give."† To me that is flat Paganism, and as anti-Christian as it is misleading and delusive.

A still more potent voice speaking from the pontifical chair, Leo. XIII., on what are called " socialistic aberrations," asserts their essential antagonism to the Christian Church ; and the Right Rev. Abbot Snow, O.S.B., goes as far to say : " Socialists are led to abolish religion in order to get rid of its ministers. They (the ministers) are of the governing class, and let them disappear with the rest. Thus the process of general levelling and the abolition of independent authority leads to the negation of religion and formal worship of God, and makes Socialism tend to Atheism."‡

It cannot be doubted that these citations tend to the widespread feeling on the part of many leisured and comfortably placed Christians, who have had not only the " promise of the life that now is," but, what is much more, the splendid fulfilment of the promise : that a League like our Christian Socialist League has amongst its first duties to give an account of itself before the tribunal of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

The Social Question.

II.—In doing this let me first of all fully recognize that these objecting Christians and Churches allow that the Christianity of Christ Jesus is not averse to the denunciation of the wrongs of modern society and the exposure of the miseries of our present condition. Indeed, it is eagerly maintained that Christ condemns every manifestation of *individual* selfishness, backs every earnest crusader against *personal* covetousness and greed, and justifies the strongest language we can use against the abuses of *individual*

* *Socialism.* By Professor Robert Flint ; p. 441.

† *Socialism.* By Professor Robert Flint ; p. 452-3.

‡ *The Catholic Times,* August 10, 1894.

competition. All Christians agree in these outbursts of righteous indignation, and rather enjoy seeing the vials of oratorical wrath poured out on the heads of their neighbors; and some of them are beginning to think that after all the "accumulation of gold" is not the highest virtue, and that there is something wrong in that mediæval interpretation of the words of the Master, "The poor ye have with you always," which regards the continuance of poverty as a necessary condition to the exercise of the spasmodic charity of the rich. Many Christians, if not all, at last admit that there is a social question and that they must do something for it, if it is only to talk about it and to denounce somebody or something. They see the poor separated by a great social gulf from the rich, though geographically not far from one another. They lament overcrowding and ask what is the chance for chastity and health, for decency and comfort, to say nothing of happiness under such inhuman conditions. Here in West London—in *West* London—is a house of eight rooms and a small ante-room containing not less than forty-two persons; and it is a sample of the way in which we are violating God's idea of society, and destroying the very germ of social well-being in the extinction of the decencies and wholesomeness of the home.† The awful facts borne in upon us by the gathering masses of unskilled, decrepit, and hopeless laborers, the appalling armies of the unemployed, are forcing Christian men to think and to say "Something must be done." It is not wholly a question of "plenty of room at the top" for the men of tough fibre, clear brain and iron will; but of the "strong bearing the infirmities of the weak," and of brother caring for brother. The bitter separation of class from class, the tyranny of drink, the vice of gambling, the debasement and misery of early marriages, the degradation of women, "the huddling together of thousands of workers, the prey of the sweater"—all these increasing wrongs are, it is confessed, inextricably involved in our vast egoistic industrialism; men, women, and children are caught and crushed in the revolving wheels of this competitive machinery and then flung aside to perish in the workhouse, or to overweight the earlier efforts of their offspring. So that not a few observant souls are ready to accept the strong words of Ruskin and say, "to call the confused wreck of social order and life brought about by malicious collision and competition an arrangement of Providence, is quite one of the most insolent and wicked ways in which it is possible to take the name of God in vain."*

The Sense of Spiritual Brotherhood.

III.—Some of the disciples of Christ will go further and give personal service. A real hearty, loving sympathy carries them to the homes of the poor and suffering, to feed patience, to brighten life, to uphold the afflicted, to sustain the workers in the fierce struggle with toil and want. They believe Christianity bids them

* *Time and Tide.* By John Ruskin; p. 9.
† See Fabian Tract No. 5, *Facts for Socialists*; 1d.

preach justice, love, and brotherhood. They even plan for co-operative production. They inculcate stewardship and bid men remember that they have to give account of all they have and use to their Father in heaven. To them the social organism is a reality; and the spiritual brotherhood of men more than a phrase. They have seen God in Christ Jesus, and to them the Incarnation is the revelation of their obligations to their brother man, the widening of the definition of sin so as to include transgressions of the parish and city, of the nation and of humanity. No man lives to himself. Cain is anti-Christ. There is a solidarity of man. The kingdoms of this world are to become *the* kingdom of our God and of His Christ. Law and government are not beyond His policy; and even our industrial civilization may be shaped according to His will. It is a great change; and those who have experienced that regeneration of the social consciousness in the Churches of Christ are shaping the future of labor and of the life of the world.

Where Christians Part.

IV.—But it is when we come to a *social policy*, to a *method* of industrial re-arrangement, that the question arises whether we are moving along the lines of Christ's ideas, and are providing *the best industrial body for the incarnation of His spirit.* It is at this third stage we part. Christian men are agreeing more and more—(*a*) In their antagonism to individual greed and injustice; (*b*) in personal and sympathetic devotion to the welfare of the people; the parting of the ways is (*c*) as to the real basis on which modern industry shall organize itself. It is when scientific Socialism or Collectivism says—(*a*) Our industrial life should be based not on individual but on a collective ownership of the chief elements and material instruments of production, (*b*) that production should be managed not according to the will or caprice or might of private individuals, but collectively, and (*c*) that the results of toil should be distributed to all who have a share in the toil on the principles of absolute justice, *i.e.*, on the principles of equality in value;* it is then we are charged with opposing the teaching of the Master.

Now, let there be no mistake as to what this Collectivism is. It does not advocate the absorption of the individual by the State; or the suppression of the family; or the total extinction of private property; or the direction of literature, and art, and religion by the collective wisdom of the community; it does not involve the sudden overthrow of the machinery of industrial life; but in the light of the historical development of industry it seeks to accelerate the evolution of the industrial life, so that it shall free itself from the defects and evils that now belong to it, and shall fulfil its Divine mission in the enrichment of the whole life of mankind.† It seeks to build a far better body for the soul of Christ's teaching, and the spirit of His life and death, than this fiercely competitive system, through which He

* *Socialism: its Nature, Strength and Weakness.* By Professor R. T. Ely; p. 9, *et seq.*

† See Fabian Tract No. 51, *Socialism: True and False*; 1d.

now struggles almost in vain to make His voice heard and His power felt.

The Possibility of Collectivism.

V.—I may take it for granted that our present industrial *régime* is not final. Collectivism is at least *possible*. It is often forgotten that the present commercial system is not far advanced. It has scarcely travelled through its earlier and more crude years. There is no fixed necessity for regarding the present conditions of production and distribution of wealth as their final form. The era of Individualism, of syndicates and companies, of capitalists sitting round a green table and directing the movements of hundreds of laborers with no connection with each other except that created by what Carlyle calls the "cash-nexus," may give place to one in which State-industrialism, as seen in our police arrangements, post-office, the civic ownership and control of gas, water, electric lighting, and tramways, Government employment of labor in Woolwich and Portsmouth Dockyards and Enfield factories, enforcement of education, and the payment of teachers for the children of the nation, the provision by the rates of public baths, wash-houses, parks, gardens, art galleries, museums, hospitals, and asylums, will issue in a completely equipped co-operative commonwealth. All these may be. Human nature is confessedly very intractable ; but British society may pass by certain stages from the limited Collectivism which now exists to one which covers the whole machinery of the lower part of life, and provides for that physical basis of human existence on which the spiritual structure is being slowly reared.

Mr. Robert Wallace, M.P., tells us in a recent article, "The Collectivist scheme can never be set up." He does not think "the private capitalist will allow himself to be destroyed." No doubt the said capitalist will strenuously resist his extinction, and he may be successful ; though that is not very likely, considering the massive strength and tremendous energy of the social forces now at work. But the *practicability* of Collectivism is not our question. We assume that what Mr. Hayes, in his account of the "Great Revolution of 1905" calls "the ideal of common sense," may be "applied to the business transactions of the nation," and that the "very simple organization" of Collectivism may be substituted for the existing chaos of complexity, stupidity, and inefficiency, and utterly hopeless failure to meet even the most elementary requirements of a civilized community.

What Collectivism Would Do.

Asserting, then, that there is nothing in Christianity against the change, and assuming that it is not impracticable, I now seek to prove that the Collectivist arrangement has at least four distinguishing merits, demonstrating its closer and stronger affinities with the teaching of Jesus Christ than the present method of administering the physical life of man—(1) It destroys the occasions of many of the evils of modern society ; (2) it advances, elevates, and ennobles the struggle of life ; (3) it offers a better environment for

the development of Christ's teaching concerning wealth and brotherhood, and (4) it fosters a higher ideal of human and social worth and well-being. I do not deny all ethical advantage to the individualistic system. I am aware it has developed that prodigious business capacity in a limited and distinguished few of our workers, which secured to Britain thirty years ago the commercial primacy of the globe. It has created the race of merchant princes, traders, and paragons in developing and supplying new material wants. It has found the opportunity for builders of enormous industries in coal and iron, in the production of food and clothing, of machines and news, thereby bringing the produce of the world to our doors and the news of the world to our tables. It has fed legitimate ambitions and saved men from indolence, quickened the sense of responsibility, educated, drilled, and enriched inventive and business faculty.

Not for a moment would we forget these advantages ; but we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that, as a system, it has not stirred the most unselfish desires nor fostered the most generous sympathies on any large scale. It has been egoistic, not altruistic. It is more in keeping with the gladiatorial than the Christian theory of existence. It provides for ruthless self-assertion rather than self-restraint. It does not inspire brotherly helpfulness, but the crushing of competitors and thrusting aside of rivals. Instead of co-operating in the struggle to save and enrich the lives of others, it tends to make its administrators forgetful of their claims, and renders it necessary to bring the power of legislation to the support of children in coal-mines and factories, to the protection and defence of weak women, to the limitation of hours of labor, and the imposition of sanitary conditions of toil. Could any confession be a stronger indictment of individualistic views of labor questions than John Morley's, in his *Life of Richard Cobden :* " Modern statesmanship has definitely decided that unfettered individual competition is not a principle to which the regulation of industry may be entrusted." It is a fact that pure individualism gives every advantage to the strong and renders no aid whatever in bearing the infirmities of the weak. If that is in the least bit in accordance with the mind of Christ, then I must confess that I have failed to read aright its wonderful contents.

On the other hand Collectivism, although it does not change human nature, yet it takes away *the occasion for many of the evils which now afflict society.* It reduces the temptations of life in number and in strength. It means work for every one and the elimination of the idle, and if the work should not be so exacting, responsible, and, therefore, not so educative for a few individuals, yet it will go far to answer Browning's prayer :

> O God, make no more giants,
> Elevate the race.

Hesiod teaches that " Work is the one road to excellence." " There is no shame in labor ; idleness is shame." An effortless existence is intolerable, and leads to incalculable mischief. Individualism adds to the number of the indolent year by year ; Collectivism sets everybody alike to his share of work, and gives to him his share of reward.

As it is necessary to work, so it is useless to steal. Misrepresentation is not a gain. Grasping avarice is "out of work." Equivocation lacks opportunity. Crimes against property are diminished, and become more and more rare. The degradation of woman ceases in so far as it is due to want. The problem of the "unemployed" is solved. And the possibilities of realizing a nobler type of manly life are increased a thousandfold. Surely all this is in perfect harmony with the teaching and spirit of "Him who came to seek and save that which was lost."

The Elevation of the Struggle for Life.

VI.—Another sign of the closer kinship of Collectivism to the mind of Christ is *in the elevation and nobility it gives to the struggle for life.* Collectivism does not extinguish combat, but it lifts the struggle into the worthiest spheres, reduces it to a minimum in the lower and animal departments, and so leaves man free for the finer toils of intellect and heart; free "to seek first the Kingdom of God and His justice." Benjamin Kidd says, "True Socialism has always one definite object in view, up to which all its proposals directly or indirectly lead. This is the final suspension of that personal struggle for existence which has been waged, not only from the beginning of society, but in one form or another from the beginning of life." But I think that Professor Drummond puts the matter more completely, and therefore more fairly, when he says, "War is simply the modern form of the struggle for life. As the higher qualities become more pronounced and their exercise gives more satisfaction, the struggle passes into more refined forms. One of these is the industrial struggle. Another is the moral struggle. The former of these must give place to the latter. The animal struggle for life must pass away. And under the stimulus of ideals man will continually press upwards, and find his further evolution in forms of moral, social, and spiritual antagonism."

It is a fact "as soon as the first wants are satisfied, the higher wants become imperative." Engrossed in the "things that are on the earth," man cannot seek the things that are above. Chained sixteen hours a day to the car of labor, his life is one of toil and sleep; an animal life almost of necessity. But Collectivism secures leisure for the cultivation of character; man is not so fretted and worn by the exhausting use of his bodily faculties that there is not strength as there is not opportunity for the higher labor of spirit on behalf of the life that is life indeed; but he is as fresh as he is free, and so the displacing of the animal from the throne of existence is at least rendered possible, where now it can only be accomplished, if accomplished at all, in the face of tremendous odds. Labor is thus brought into accord with the Greek idea of the state; and, like it, exists "not for the sake of life, but of a good life." Are not these results in keeping with "the mind of Christ"?

The Ideals of Labor and Brotherhood.

VII.—Again, Collectivism affords a better environment for the teachings of Jesus concerning wealth and the ideals of labor and

brotherhood. If man is, according to Drummond, only "the expression of his environment," if, indeed, he is that in any degree, then it is an unspeakable gain to bring that environment into line with the teaching of Jesus Christ.

In the Gospels, accumulated wealth appears as a grave peril to the spiritual life, a menace to the purest aims and the noblest deeds. Christ is entirely undazzled by its fascinations, and sees in it a threat against the integrity and progress of his kingdom. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth." "Man's life consists not in the abundance of the things he possesses," but in the *use* he makes of what he has—if for himself—still for himself not as an end, but as a means for promoting the well-being of the world. Jesus frowns on the hoarding of wealth. Collectivism renders that accumulation unnecessary and inconvenient. Still, Collectivism does not mean confiscation. It is not robbery. The Bishop of Derry is reported to have said that the spirit of Socialism says: "Here is a man who possesses more than we do; let it be taken from him." Whereas that of Christianity says: "Here is a man who has less than I have; let me give him something." "Socialism" is a vague term, I admit, and probably there is somewhere a "socialism" that speaks the language attributed to it by the Bishop of Derry; but that is not the speech of scientific Socialism or Collectivism. It says, "Here is the great business of industrial life; let us manage it so that all may share in the responsibility and share in the gains, and share fairly and justly as nearly as possible; not one doing all the work and another taking all the gains." It is allowed that individualism in commerce affords abundant opportunity for the use of wealth. It creates means for splendid charities. The millionaire can feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and heal the sick. He can build cathedrals, endow universities, give libraries for study and parks for recreation. And he has done it. Abundant are the witnesses to his wisdom and goodness in distributing his wealth for the welfare of the people, and large is the contribution to the progress of the world due to his thoughtful generosity. But it is some drawback to this consideration that the means for philanthropic work are placed exclusively in the hands of a few; and that the *occasions* for it are due, not only to the vices of men—drunkenness, gambling and the like, but also in a large measure to the political, industrial and social injustices of the reign of individualism. For we must ask: How are these fortunes made? Have any neighbors' landmarks been removed? Is there any grinding of the faces of the poor? Are the workers doomed to harsh and hard conditions of toil? It is notorious that our individualistic commerce is often a tyrant where it should be a servant, and an injustice where it ought to be a help. Here is a picture drawn by Frederic Harrison:—

> Ninety per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind, except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages, which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places which no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of

bad trade, sickness or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. * And below this normal state of the average workman in town and country there is found the great band of destitute outcasts—the camp followers of the army of industry—at least one-tenth of the whole proletarian population, whose normal condition is one of sickening wretchedness. If this is to be the permanent arrangement of modern society civilization must be held to bring a curse on the great majority of mankind.—(Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1886, p. 429.)

Now, though Collectivism does not profess to extinguish vice and manufacture saints, it will abolish poverty, reduce the hungry to an imperceptible quantity, and systematically care for the aged poor and for the sick. It will carry forward much of the charitable work left to the individual initiative, and, like the London County Council, provide recreation grounds, adding the charms of music for adults and gymnasia for the children.† Again, I ask, is not all that in harmony with the spirit and teaching of Him who bids us see Himself in the hungry and sick, the poor and the criminal?

VIII.—Possibly the greatest gain of Collectivism is in its stronger affinity with the high ideals of individual and social life given by Christ Jesus. Collectivism fosters a more Christian conception of industry; one in which every man is a worker, and each worker does not toil for himself exclusively, but for the necessities, comforts, and privileges he shares equally with all the members of the community. He works for what we call "the State," *i.e.*, for the whole of the people of the city and nation in whose prosperity he has a direct interest and whose business is carried on for the welfare of all his fellows, and thereby for himself; succoring the weaker members, aiding the aged and infirm and reclaiming those who are vicious and criminal, as part of the duty of a collectivist citizen.

It is to the pliant genius of Greece we owe the first effort to reconcile the claims of the State and of the individual. The Greeks were gifted with the power of delicate judgment, of combining principles apparently opposite, of harmonizing conflicting claims; they possessed a sense of measure, a flexibility, a faculty of compromise opposed to the fatal simplicity with which the Eastern politics had been stricken. Not tyranny nor anarchy satisfied the Greek, but "ordered liberty."* It is that ordered liberty which obtains in and through the collectivist arrangement of human industry, ruling out fierce competitions and methodizing the struggle for the life of others; making the work for bodily living automatic and regular and unexhausting to the last degree; and so securing leisure for the larger life of the mind and heart, of the imagination and of the spirit.

It is notorious that the ideals of individualistic labor are narrow, low-roofed, and self-centred, and men neither have time nor chance to win "their soul," the Divine portion of their life and of the life of society, the life of noble aims, tender humanities, strong faith and glowing love of God and of men.

It is a new ideal of life and labor that is most urgently needed. England's present ideal is a creation of hard individualism; and therefore is partial, hollow, unreal and disastrous. But ideals are

* Cf. Professor Butcher, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*. (52, *et seq.*)

† See Fabian Tracts Nos. 60, 61, 62, etc.

the main factors in the progress of the home, the parish, and the State. They are the forces that move individuals. Individualism fosters the caste feelings and the caste divisions of society, creates the serfdom of one class and the indolence of another; makes a large body of submissive, silent, unmanly slaves undergoing grinding toil and continuous anxiety, and a smaller company suffering from debasing indolence and continual weariness; begets hatred and ill-will on one hand, and scorn and contempt of man on the other. No! the ideal we need and must have is in the unity of English life, in the recognition that man is complete in the State, at once a member of society and of the Government—" a ruler and yet ruled "; an ideal that is the *soul* at once of Collectivism and of the revelation of the brotherhood of man in Jesus Christ our Lord, Son of God and Son of man.

Finally, I am sure that as we seek to build up our industries more and more on this basis we shall discover that we need a deep and wide-spread revival of the Spirit of Christ, a clearer insight into His ideas, so that we may suppress the passions that feed our individualistic system and sweep away the accumulated evils which have gathered round it, and at the same time to advance to perfection the Collectivist methods already operative in profit-sharing, in co-operative labor, and in Municipal and State industries. Collectivism will become an argument for a deepened spiritual life. Were we more Christian we should, as did the first Christians, seek with passionate ardor to incarnate a collective rather than an individualistic idea in society. Nothing more forcibly witnesses to the need of Christ than the failure of the Churches to cope with the evils of nineteenth-century life. It is Christ we need. Light both leads and kills. Science has just told us the swiftest and surest foe of the disease-spreading germs is the light. Christ is the light of the world. He shows us the way we should take; and He also will yet destroy the microbes of physical and moral pestilence and death in our modern industrial life, and render the animal the obedient servant instead of the tyrranical master of the human spirit.

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By JOHN WOOLMAN
(QUAKER, OF NEW JERSEY, 1720-1772).

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A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich.

By JOHN WOOLMAN.

INTRODUCTION.

"*People may have no intention to oppress, yet by entering on expensive ways of life their minds may be so entangled therein, and so engaged to support expensive customs, as to be estranged from the pure sympathizing spirit.*" ("Remarks on Sundry Subjects." First printed, London, 1773.)

John Woolman, the author of this hundred-year-old tract, lived in the New England Colonies, in the days when they still paid allegiance (and taxes) to the British Government.

He is usually known as a Quaker advocate of the cause of the slave, at a time when slave-holding was still looked on, even by most of his co-religionists, as an essential part of the normal and heaven-ordained state of society. It is, however, frequently overlooked that he perceived clearly that the question of slavery was but one phase of the Labor question: he wrote not only "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," but also "On Merchandizing," "On Trading in Superfluities," "On Schools." In his writings he enunciates, in simple religious phraseology, some of the truths which economists are only now beginning to understand: he is, as it were, the voice in the wilderness, the John the Baptist of the Gospel of Socialism.

The following essay contains the most connected account of his views on social questions. Though first printed in 1793, it was probably written about 1771, shortly before Woolman's death, and just before the publication of "The Wealth of Nations." But the ten years spent by Adam Smith at Glasgow University and Balliol College, Oxford, were passed by his American contemporary in work on his father's farm and in a small country store. So that the question naturally arises, by what authority is it that the working tailor

says these things? Woolman's answer may be found in his Journal: his writings are "openings from the Lord," his words are spoken "from an inward knowledge that they arise from the heavenly spring." "There is," says Woolman,* "a principle which is pure, placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages hath had different names; it is, however, pure and proceeds from God. It is deep and inward, confined to no forms of religion nor excluded from any, when the heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root and grows, they become brethren."

John Woolman was, he tells us in his Journal, "born in Northampton, in Burlington County, West Jersey, in the year 1720." He was one of a large family, and, his parents being Quakers, he was brought up in conscientious Puritan fashion. He received "schooling pretty well for a planter," probably at the small country school of the village. This he supplemented by work in winter evenings, and with much reading of "the Holy Scriptures and religious books." Till he was about twenty-one he lived with his parents and worked on his father's farm. Then he left home for the neighboring village of Mount Holly, New Jersey, "to tend shop and keep books," for "a man in much business as a shopkeeper and baker." Here, in a small Quaker community, he made his home, and the plain, two-storey, whitewashed house in which he lived was standing fifty years ago, still overlooking a country rich with farms and woodlands. Here, on the 18th of eighth month, 1749, he was married to "a well-inclined damsel," Sarah Ellis; and here he brought up his little family.

But it was not his lot to die in this spot where he had passed so much of his life. In 1772 he felt a "religious concern" "to visit Friends [Quakers] in the northern parts of England." Notwithstanding the wishes of his friends, he thought it right to travel "steerage," and doubtless suffered from the thirty-eight days' voyage across the Atlantic. In his journeying through England he usually went about on foot in order to avoid participating in the cruelties under which post-boys and stage-horses suffered. Five months after leaving home he fell a victim to small pox, and died at York on the 7th of tenth month, 1772.

His business career illustrates the principles he advocated. Perceiving that "a humble man with the blessing of the Lord might live on a little," he learned the trade of tailoring and settled down in Mount Holly as a tailor, with a small retail business in trimmings, linings, and cloth—in spite of the temptation to enter the lucrative calling of general storekeeper, and his "natural inclination to merchandise." But even in his tailor's shop "trade increased every year, and the way to large business" in cloths and linen appeared open; but he tells us, "I felt a stop in my mind," "believing that Truth required me to live more free from outward cumbers." Not without some regret, some natural longing after the position of ease and wealth which he might have won for his family, he laid down merchandise in 1756 and lived as a working tailor without even an apprentice. Part of the time and energy thus freed from the

* "Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," 1762.

cares of this world, he devoted to tending his garden and orchard, believing that "if the leadings of the Spirit were more faithfully attended to" . . . "more people would be engaged in the sweet employment of husbandry, and in the path of pure wisdom, labor would be an agreeable healthful employment."* He gained leisure, moreover, to write many valuable essays, and to undertake journeys through the States in the service of the slaves. It is probable that his work was an important factor in the ultimate abolition of slavery.

The whole life of Woolman was a protest against superfluities. He saw with singular clearness that "every degree of luxury hath some connection with evil." Thus it is to an excess of fatigue, to an "increase of labor beyond that which our Heavenly Father intends," that he attributes the undue use of spirituous liquors among the poor. He held "that if such as had great estates generally lived in that plainness and humility which belong to a Christian life, and laid much easier rents and interests on their lands and moneys, and thus led the way to a right use of things, so great a number of people might be employed in things useful, that labor both for men and other creatures would need to be no more than an agreeable employ, and divers branches of business, which serve chiefly to please the natural inclinations of our minds, and which at present seem necessary to circulate that wealth which some gather, might, in this way of pure wisdom, be discontinued" †—an idea which he expanded in Section IV. of his pamphlet. He carried his principles into even the smallest details of life. He did not feel easy to drink from vessels of silver at the house of a friend. He stipulated in his last illness that no medicines should be given that come "through defiled channels or oppressive hands." Believing that the dyeing of garments injured the material and led to uncleanliness, he gradually adopted a costume of "natural colored" garments; yet he suffered much from the fear of ridicule, especially as light-colored hats were coming into fashion at the time, and his motives might therefore be misunderstood! There is wonderful pathos in his simple account of these and other of his practices; and there is much practical sense in his longing that "people might come into cleanness of spirit, cleanness of person, and cleanness about their houses and garments." ‡

The following extracts constitute about one half of the pamphlet.§ Omissions are, in every case, indicated, and the cross-headings have been added by the editors.

* "Remarks on Sundry Subjects." † "Journal," eighth month, 1761.

‡ "Journal," 13th, ninth month, 1772 (the date of the last entry).

§ Published with "The Journal of John Woolman, with an Introduction by John G. Whittier." London: Headley Brothers, 14 Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C. Eleventh edition, 1896. 2s. 6d. and 3s. nett.

A WORD OF REMEMBRANCE AND CAUTION TO THE RICH.

Section I.

WEALTH desired for its own sake obstructs the increase of virtue, and large possessions in the hands of selfish men have a bad tendency, for by their means too small a number of people are employed in useful things, and some of them are necessitated to labor too hard, while others would want business to earn their bread, were not employments invented which, having no real usefulness, serve only to please the vain mind.

RESULTS OF HIGH RENTS.

Rents on lands are often so high that persons of but small substance are straitened in taking farms, and while tenants are healthy and prosperous in business, they often find occasion to labor harder than was intended by our gracious Creator. Oxen and horses are often seen at work when, through heat and too much labor, their eyes and the motions of their bodies manifest that they are oppressed. Their loads in wagons are frequently so heavy that when weary with hauling them far, their drivers find occasion in going up hills or through mire, to get them forward by whipping. Many poor people are so thronged in their business that it is difficult for them to provide shelter for their cattle against the storms. These things are common when in health, but through sickness and inability to labor, through loss of cattle, and miscarriage in business, many are so straitened that much of their increase goes to pay rent, and they have not wherewith to buy what they require.

Hence one poor woman, in providing for her family and attending the sick, does as much business as would for the time be suitable employment for two or three; and honest persons are often straitened to give their children suitable learning. The money which the wealthy receive from the poor, who do more than a proper share of business in raising it, is frequently paid to other poor people for doing business which is foreign to the true use of things.

"UNIVERSAL LOVE" AS AGAINST LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

Men who have large estates and live in the spirit of charity; who carefully inspect the circumstances of those who occupy their estates, and, regardless of the customs of the times, regulate their demands agreeably to universal love, being righteous on principle, do good to the poor without placing it to an act of bounty. Their example in avoiding superfluities tends to excite moderation in others; their uprightness in not exacting what the laws and customs would support them in tends to open the channel to moderate labor in useful affairs, and to discourage those branches of business which have not their foundation in true wisdom. . . . .

Section II.

God's Ownership.

The Creator of the earth is the owner of it. He gave us being thereon, and our nature requires nourishment from the produce of it. He is kind and merciful to his creatures; and while they live answerably to the design of their creation, they are so far entitled to convenient subsistence that we may not justly deprive them of it.

Man's Tenure.

By the agreements and contracts of our predecessors, and by our own doings, some enjoy a much greater share of this world than others; and while those possessions are faithfully improved for the good of the whole, it agrees with equity; but he who, with a view to self-exaltation, causeth some to labor immoderately, and with the profits arising therefrom employs others in the luxuries of life, acts contrary to the gracious designs of Him who is the owner of the earth; nor can any possessions, either acquired or derived from ancestors, justify such conduct. Goodness remains to be goodness, and the direction of pure wisdom is obligatory on all reasonable creatures.

No Contract Justifies Oppression.

Though the poor occupy our estates by a bargain, to which they in their poor circumstances agree, and we may ask even less than a punctual fulfilling of their agreement, yet if our views are to lay up riches, or to live in conformity to customs which have not their foundation in the truth, and our demands are such as require from them greater toil or application to business than is consistent with pure love, we invade their rights as inhabitants of a world of which a good and gracious God is the proprietor, and under whom we are tenants.

Were all superfluities and the desire of outward greatness laid aside, and the right use of things universally attended to, such a number of people might be employed in things useful as that moderate labor with the blessing of Heaven would answer all good purposes, and a sufficient number would have time to attend to the proper affairs of civil society.

Section III.

Great Estates are a Trust. . . . .

Section IV.

Our blessed Redeemer, in directing us how to conduct ourselves one towards another, appeals to our own feelings: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

How the Poor Live.

Now, when some who have never experienced hard labor themselves live in fulness on the labor of others, there is often a danger of their not having a right feeling of the laborer's condition, and of being thereby disqualified to judge candidly in their case, not know-

ng what they themselves would desire, were they to labor hard from one year to another to raise the necessaries of life and pay high rent besides. It is good for those who live in fulness to cultivate tenderness of heart, and to improve every opportunity of being acquainted with the hardships and fatigues of those who labor for their living; and thus to think seriously with themselves, Am I influenced by true charity in fixing all my demands? Have I no desire to support myself in expensive customs, because my acquaintances live in such customs?

The Golden Rule.

If a wealthy man, on serious reflection, finds a witness in his own conscience that he indulges himself in some expensive customs which might be omitted consistently with the true design of living, and which, were he to change places with those who occupy his estate, he would desire to be discontinued by them; whoever is thus awakened will necessarily find the injunction binding: "Do ye even so to them." Divine love imposeth no rigorous or unreasonable commands, but graciously points out the spirit of brotherhood and the way to happiness, in attaining which it is necessary that we relinquish all that is selfish.

Section V.

. . . . . .

"As Others See Us."

Let us reflect on the condition of a poor innocent man, on whom the rich man, from a desire after wealth and luxuries lays heavy burdens; when this laborer looks over the cause of his heavy toil and considers that it is laid on him to support that which hath no foundation in pure wisdom, we may well suppose that an uneasiness ariseth in his mind towards one who might without any inconvenience deal more favorably with him. When he considers that by his industry his fellow-creature is benefited and sees that this wealthy man is not satisfied with being supported in a plain way, but to gratify a desire of conforming to wrong customs increaseth to an extreme the labors of those who occupy his estate, we may reasonably judge that he will think himself unkindly used. When he considers that the proceedings of the wealthy are agreeable to the customs of the times, and sees no means of redress in this world, how will the sighings of this innocent person ascend to the throne of that great and good Being who created all, and who hath a constant care over his creatures! He who toils year after year to furnish others with wealth and superfluities, until by overmuch labor he is wearied and oppressed, understands the meaning of that language, "Ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

Many at this day who know not the heart of a stranger indulge themselves in ways of life which occasion more labor than Infinite Goodness intends for man, and yet compassionate the distresses of such as come directly under their observation; were these to change

circumstances awhile with their laborers, were they to pass regularly through the means of knowing the heart of a stranger and come to a feeling knowledge of the straits and hardships which many poor innocent people pass through in obscure life; were these who now fare sumptuously every day to act the other part of the scene until seven times had passed over them and return again to their former states,

THE GOLDEN RULE ONCE MORE.

I believe many of them would embrace a less expensive life, and would lighten the heavy burdens of some who now labor out of their sight, and who pass through straits with which they are but little acquainted. To see their fellow creatures under difficulties to which they are in no degree accessory tends to awaken tenderness in the minds of all reasonable people; but if we consider the condition of those who are depressed in answering our demands, who labor for us out of our sight while we pass our time in fulness, and consider also that much less than we demand would supply us with things really useful, what heart will not relent, or what reasonable man can refrain from mitigating that grief of which he himself is the cause, when he may do so without inconvenience?

Section VI.

TOO MUCH LABOR A CAUSE OF THE CRAVING FOR STRONG DRINK.

. . . . . .

Section VII.

ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH FOR OUR CHILDREN.

If by our wealth we make our children great, without a full persuasion that we could not bestow it better, and thus give them power to deal hardly with others more virtuous than they, it can after death give us no more satisfaction than if by this treasure we had raised others above our own, and had given them power to oppress them. . . . . .

Section VIII.

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CHRIST'S TEACHING.

The greater part of the necessaries of life are so far perishable that each generation hath occasion to labor for them; and when we look towards a succeeding age with a mind influenced by universal love, instead of endeavouring to exempt some from those cares which necessarily relate to this life, and to give them power to oppress others, we desire that they may all be the Lord's children and live in that humility and order becoming his family. Our hearts, being thus opened and enlarged, will feel content with a state of things as foreign to luxury and grandeur as that which our Redeemer laid down as a pattern. . . . .

For, as he lived in perfect plainness and simplicity, the greatest in his family cannot by virtue of his station claim a right to live in

worldly grandeur without contradicting him who said, "It is enough for the disciple to be as his Master." . . . . .

THE TYRANNY OF SELFISHNESS,

Tyranny as applied to a man riseth up and soon has an end; but if we consider the numerous oppressions in many states, and the calamities occasioned by contending nations in various countries and ages of the world, and remember that selfishness hath been the original cause of them all; if we consider that those who are unredeemed from this selfish spirit not only afflict others but are afflicted themselves, and have no real quietness in this life nor in futurity, but, according to the sayings of Christ, have their portion "where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched";

CAUSING UNREST:

if we consider the havoc that is made in this age, and how numbers of people are hurried on, striving to collect treasure to please that mind which wanders from perfect resignedness, and in that wisdom which is foolishness with God are perverting the true use of things, laboring as in the fire, contending with one another even unto blood, and exerting their power to support ways of living foreign to the life of one wholly crucified to the world;

AND WASTE OF LABOR.

if we consider what great numbers of people are employed in preparing implements of war, and the labor and toil of armies set apart for protecting their respective territories from invasion, and the extensive miseries which attend their engagements; while they who till the land and are employed in other useful things in supporting not only themselves but those employed in military affairs, and also those who own the soil, have great hardships to encounter through too much labor; while others in several kingdoms, are busied in fetching men to help to labor from distant parts of the world, to spend the remainder of their lives in the uncomfortable condition of slaves, and that self is the bottom of these proceedings;—

THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST.

amidst all this confusion, and these scenes of sorrow and distress, can we remember that we are the disciples of the Prince of Peace, and the example of humility and plainness which he set for us, without feeling an earnest desire to be disentangled from everything connected with selfish customs in food, in raiment, in houses and in all things else? That being of Christ's family, and walking as he walked, we may stand in that uprightness wherein man was first made, and have no fellowship with those inventions which men in their fallen wisdom have sought out.

Section IX.

The way of carrying on wars common in the world is so far distinguishable from the purity of Christ's religion that many scruple to join in them. Those who are so redeemed from the love

of the world as to possess nothing in a selfish spirit have their "life hid with Christ in God," and he preserves them in resignedness, even in times of commotion.

As they possess nothing but what pertains to his family, anxious thoughts about wealth or dominion have little or nothing in them on which to work; and they learn contentment in being disposed of according to His will who, being omnipotent and always mindful of his children, causeth all things to work for their good; but when that spirit works which loves riches, and in its working gathers wealth and cleaves to customs which have their root in self-pleasing, whatever name it hath it still desires to defend the treasures thus gotten.

Connection between Wealth and War.

This is like a chain in which the end of one link encloseth the end of another. The rising up of a desire to obtain wealth is the beginning; this desire being cherished, moves to action; and riches thus gotten please self; and while self has a life in them it desires to have them defended. Wealth is attended with power, by which bargains and proceedings contrary to universal righteousness are supported; and hence oppression carried on with worldly policy and order, clothes itself with the name of justice and becomes like a seed of discord in the soul. And as a spirit which wanders from the pure habitation prevails, so the seeds of war swell and sprout and grow and become strong until much fruit is ripened. Then cometh the harvest spoken of by the prophet, which "is a heap in the day of grief and desperate sorrows." Oh that we who declare against wars, and acknowledge our trust to be in God only, may walk in the light, and therein examine our foundation and motives in holding great estates! May we look upon our treasures, the furniture of our houses and our garments, and try whether the seeds of war have nourishment in these our possessions. Holding treasures in the self-pleasing spirit is a strong plant, the fruit whereof ripens fast. A day of outward distress is coming, and Divine love calls to prepare against it.

Section X.

The Earth only a Conditional Gift.

"The heaven, even the heavens, are the Lord's; but the earth hath he given to the children of men." As servants of God our land or estates we hold under him as his gifts; and in applying the profits it is our duty to act consistently with the designs of our Benefactor. Imperfect men may give from motives of misguided affection, but perfect wisdom and goodness gives agreeably to his own nature; nor is this gift absolute, but conditional, for us to occupy as dutiful children and not otherwise; for He alone is the true proprietor. "The world," saith He, "is mine, and the fulness thereof."

The True Jubilee.

The inspired lawgiver directed that such of the Israelites as sold their inheritance should sell it for a term only, and that they or

their children should again enjoy it in the year of jubilee, settled on every fiftieth year. "The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine, saith the Lord, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me." This was designed to prevent the rich from oppressing the poor by too much engrossing the land; and our blessed Redeemer said: "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled."

When Divine love takes place in the hearts of any people, and they steadily act in a principle of universal righteousness, then the true intent of the law is fulfilled, though their outward modes of proceeding may be various; but when men are possessed by that spirit hinted at by the prophet, and, looking over their wealth, say in their hearts, "Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?" they deviate from the Divine law, and do not count their possessions so strictly God's nor the weak and poor entitled to so much of the increase thereof, but that they may indulge their desires in conforming to worldly pomp.

The Lust for Land.

Thus when house is joined to house and field laid to field, until there is no place, and the poor are thereby straitened, though this is done by bargain and purchase, yet so far as it stands distinguished from universal love, so far that woe predicted by the prophet will accompany their proceedings. As He who first founded the earth was then the true proprietor of it, so he still remains, and though he hath given it to the children of men, so that multitudes of people have had their sustenance from it while they continued here, yet he hath never alienated it, but his right is as good as at first; nor can any apply the increase of their possessions contrary to universal love, nor dispose of lands in a way which they know tends to exalt some by oppressing others without being justly chargeable with usurpation.

Section XI.

The Expansion of the Empire: Treatment of Native Races.

. . . . . .

Section XII.

While our minds are prepossessed in favor of customs distinguishable from perfect purity, we are in danger of not attending with singleness to that light which opens to our view the nature of universal righteousness.

The Division of Labor.

In the affairs of a thickly-settled country are variety of useful employments besides tilling the earth; so that for some men to have more land than is necessary to build upon and to answer the occasions of their families may consist with brotherhood; and from the various gifts which God hath bestowed on those employed in husbandry, for some to possess and occupy much more than others may likewise so consist; but when any, on the strength of their possessions, demand such rent or interest as necessitates their tenants to a

closer application to business than our merciful Father designed for us, it puts the wheels of perfect brotherhood out of order, and leads to employments the promoting of which belongs not to the family of Christ, whose example in all points being a pattern of wisdom, the plainness and simplicity of his outward appearance may well make us ashamed to adorn our bodies with costly array or treasure up wealth by the least oppression.

Right and "Rights."

Though by claims grounded on prior possession great inequality appears among men; yet the instructions of the Great Proprietor of the earth are necessary to be attended to in all our proceedings as possessors or claimers of the soil. "The steps of a good man are ordered of the Lord," and those who are thus guided and whose hearts are enlarged in his love give directions concerning their possessions agreeably thereto; and that claim which stands on universal righteousness is a good right; but the continuance of that right depends on properly applying the profits thereof. The word "right" commonly relates to our possessions. We say, a right of propriety to such a division of a province, or a clear, indisputable right to the land within certain bounds. Thus this word is continued as a remembrancer of the original intent of dividing the land by boundaries, and implies that it was equitably or rightly divided, that is, divided according to righteousness. In this—that is, in equity and righteousness—consists the strength of our claim. If we trace an unrighteous claim and find gifts or grants proved by sufficient seals and witnesses it gives not the claimant a right; for that which is opposite to righteousness is wrong; and the nature of it must be changed before it can be right.

An Utopia.

Suppose twenty free men, professed followers of Christ, discovered an island, and that they with their wives, independent of all others, took possession of it and, dividing it equally, made improvements and multiplied; suppose these first possessors, being generally influenced by true love, did with paternal regard look over the increasing condition of the inhabitants, and, near the end of their lives, gave such directions concerning their respective possessions as best suited the convenience of the whole and tended to preserve love and harmony; and that their successors in the continued increase of people generally followed their pious example and pursued means the most effectual to keep oppression out of their island; but that one of these first settlers, from a fond attachment to one of his numerous sons, no more deserving than the rest, gives the chief of his lands to him, and by an instrument sufficiently witnessed strongly expressed his mind and will;—

Twentieth Part of Utopia under a Landlord:

suppose this son, being landlord to his brethren and nephews, demands such a portion of the fruits of the earth as may supply himself, his family and some others, and that these others thus supplied out of his store are employed in adorning his building with

curious engravings and paintings, preparing carriages to ride in, vessels for his house, delicious meats, fine wrought apparel and furniture, all suiting that distinction lately arisen between him and the other inhabitants;

RESULT—IN POLITICS;

and that, having the absolute disposal of these numerous improvements, his power so increaseth that in all conferences relative to the public affairs of the island, these plain, honest men, who are zealous for equitable establishments, find great difficulty in proceeding agreeably to their righteous inclinations—suppose this son, from a fondness to one of his children, joined with a desire to continue this grandeur under his own name, confirms the chief of his possessions to him, and thus for many ages there is one great landlord over near a twentieth part of this island,

IN RISE OF A "PREDATORY" CLASS.

and the rest are poor oppressed people, to some of whom, from the manner of their education, joined with a notion of the greatness of their predecessors, labor is disagreeable; who, therefore, by artful applications to the weakness, unguardedness, and corruptions of others in striving to get a living out of them, increase the difficulties among them, while the inhabitants of other parts, who guard against oppression and with one consent train up their children in frugality and useful labor, live more harmoniously;—

"QUO WARRANTO?"

if we trace the claims of the ninth or tenth of these great landlords down to the first possessor and find the claim supported throughout by instruments strongly drawn and witnessed, after all we could not admit a belief into our hearts that he had a right to so great a portion of land after such a numerous increase of inhabitants.

The first possessor of that twentieth part held no more, we suppose, than an equitable portion; but when the Lord, who first gave these twenty men possession of this island unknown to all others, gave being to numerous people who inhabited the twentieth part, whose natures required the fruits thereof for their sustenance, this great claimer of the soil could not have a right to the whole to dispose of it in gratifying his irregular desires; but they, as creatures of the Most High God, Possessor of heaven and earth, had a right to part of what this great claimer held, though they had no instruments to confirm their right.

CONCLUSION.

Thus oppression in the extreme appears terrible; but oppression in more refined appearances remains to be oppression, and when the smallest degree of it is cherished it grows stronger and more extensive.

To labor for a perfect redemption from this spirit of oppression is the great business of the whole family of Christ Jesus in this world.

JOHN WOOLMAN (OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS) "OF MOUNT HOLLY IN THE JERSEYS, NORTH AMERICA."

Born 1720. Died 1772.

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Municipal Slaughterhouses.

DECEMBER, 1899.

IT is a remarkable fact that while in most respects the sanitary code in this country is considerably in advance of those of the Continental nations, yet in the matter of meat inspection we are very far behind them.

Dr. Morison Legge, the Secretary to the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis, in his work on *Public Health in European Capitals*, says that in regard to meat-inspection "Great Britain is at least twenty years behind France, Germany, Belgium and Denmark."

Importance of Meat Inspection.

For the protection of public health it is of the utmost importance that all meat intended for human consumption should be examined and approved by a skilled inspector. Many diseases are caused by the consumption of unsound meat. Meat that has begun to putrefy is capable of causing acute, and often fatal, sickness and diarrhœa. Tapeworms, trichinosis, anthrax, tuberculosis and other diseases may be acquired by eating the flesh of animals that have suffered from those complaints, some of which are by no means uncommon. Tuberculosis is especially prevalent. It was found that 27 per cent. of the animals slaughtered in Saxony in 1895 were suffering from this disease. Mr. King, Veterinary Inspector to the Manchester Corporation (quoted in Legge and Sessions' *Cattle Tuberculosis*), states that at the slaughterhouse in that city 41 per cent. of the cows, 22 per cent. of the heifers, 25 per cent. of the bulls, and 16 per cent. of the bullocks were found to be infected with tuberculosis. It has been proved that this dreadful disease—which is responsible for one-seventh of our mortality, and last year killed 60,000 persons in England and Wales—may be acquired by eating the flesh of tuberculous animals. The Jews are required by their religious ritual to inspect meat with special care, and much is rejected by them. It is well known that they are freer from tuberculosis than their Gentile neighbors.

That this danger is real and ever present is proved by occasional disclosures concerning the seizure of tubsfull of putrid livers destined for the manufacture of sinister "breakfast delicacies," or cow-beef containing "tuberculous deposits in some places as large as a small walnut."* These casual horrors are, however, soon forgotten, and the consumption of diseased meat goes on unchecked.

* *Meat Trades Journal*, July 4, 1899.

How can we Protect Ourselves from Diseased Meat?

In Germany, France and most civilized countries, slaughtering takes place at stated hours in large public slaughterhouses and all the meat is examined by highly trained inspectors, nearly all of whom are qualified veterinary surgeons. In this country the animals are killed in small private slaughterhouses, usually situated behind the butcher's shop. These slaughterhouses are very numerous. In London, for example, there were in 1897 no less than 470, and the number in smaller places is proportionally much greater; Sheffield, with a population of 356,000, contains 190 private slaughterhouses. The establishments are scattered over the town, no stated hours for slaughtering are observed, and the so-called inspectors are nearly always persons who have had no special training for their work. According to the Report of the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis: "In Battersea, for instance, four plumbers and three carpenters discharge the office of meat-inspectors; in Hackney the duties have been committed to two plumbers, one carpenter, one compositor, one bricklayer, one florist, one builder, one surveyor, and one stonemason. In Portsmouth a solitary butcher has received as colleagues three school-teachers, one medical dispenser, one carpenter, and one tram-conductor."

It is obvious that the task of efficiently inspecting a large number of scattered private slaughterhouses where slaughtering may take place at any time is one of extreme difficulty and would require a large and expensive staff of specially trained officials. But in the large municipal slaughterhouse, with slaughtering carried on at fixed hours, meat inspection becomes a comparatively simple business.

The Royal Commission on Tuberculosis reported that "the use of public slaughterhouses in populous places, to the exclusion of all private ones, is a necessary preliminary to a uniform and equitable system of meat inspection." This, important as it is, would not be the only advantage arising from the supersession of private establishments by public slaughterhouses. There are many other

Advantages of Municipal Slaughterhouses.

Many of our private slaughterhouses are in so insanitary a condition that the meat is exposed to foul emanations from drains, decomposing blood, offal, etc. They may easily become a source of grave danger to the surrounding districts. In municipal slaughterhouses, on the other hand, the buildings are specially designed for their purpose; they are kept in good sanitary condition, and the meat is therefore not subject to deterioration. The concentration of the business of slaughtering in one large establishment removes many sources of nuisance from the neighborhood of dwelling-houses, and by placing the building near a railway station, the driving of weary and exhausted cattle through the streets would be avoided and the street danger to the public would be lessened. On humanitarian grounds the superiority of municipal slaughterhouses is obvious. The closed doors of private slaughterhouses must hide many a pitiful

scene of clumsy cruelty. In our public establishments we could insist that none but skilled persons should be employed in the work of killing, and that only the most improved appliances, such as the Greener method, should be used.

German experience has shown the disadvantage arising from even the slightest modification of the municipal slaughterhouse system. In the Berlin slaughterhouses separate chambers are provided for each butcher who desires to rent one ; but this in practice has been found to militate against the inspection of meat, and hence in slaughterhouses more recently constructed the butchers slaughter in common halls, paying fees for the use of the premises. Osthoff (*Handbuch der Hygiene*, Vol. VI.), in considering the cost of the use of public slaughterhouses, and of the inspection of the meat in relation to the cost of the meat, estimates the additional cost due to these causes as amounting to about half-a-farthing per pound of meat. The German public slaughterhouses are in all cases self-supporting. The six municipal slaughterhouses of Paris cost the city £680,000, and as far back as 1851 they were stated to be yielding an interest of 6½ per cent. per annum upon the outlay.

Provincial Experience.

By section 169 of the Public Health Act of 1875 any urban sanitary authority has the power to provide a public slaughterhouse, and the system is already in operation in fifty towns in the United Kingdom, and others, as Rochdale, in September, 1899, and Yarmouth in October, 1899, are adopting the same plan. In some cases, as, for example, Glasgow and Manchester, the system has proved a financial success ; in others, it has entailed some charge upon the rates. It must, however, be remembered that local success or failure depends largely upon the butchers, who may decide to use the municipal slaughterhouse, but cannot be compelled to do so. It is therefore not sufficient to provide the municipal slaughterhouse, we must also

Abolish the Private Slaughterhouses.

Many towns in England, Wales and Ireland have provided slaughterhouses, but (apart from a few exceptional instances) they have no power to abolish those under private control except in case of flagrant violation of the law. Dublin has erected a fine public slaughterhouse, but few butchers use it. They prefer the private slaughterhouses where practically the carcases are not inspected and could not be without a large staff of inspectors. In Germany, when the town council has erected a public slaughterhouse, it may issue an order prohibiting the slaughtering of animals in the district except at the public slaughterhouse. In Scotland, a municipality has the power to declare that when a public slaughterhouse has been provided, no other place shall be used for slaughtering, except for a period of three years in the case of existing registered slaughterhouses. Scotch town councils should be urged to use this power, which, according to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on

Tuberculosis, should be extended to all towns in England, Wales and Ireland. English town councils should be urged to petition Parliament for legislation to this effect, and should meanwhile provide a public slaughterhouse.

The establishment of public slaughterhouses, and the abolition of private ones, are measures that have received the strong support of the medical profession in this country. At the meeting of the British Medical Association, in August 1899, the State Medicine Section unanimously supported Dr. Manby, the Assistant Medical Officer of Health of Liverpool, who read a paper strongly advocating the municipal slaughterhouse and the abolition of the private slaughterhouse. Our leading writers on public health are unanimous on this subject. It will suffice to quote Sir Richard Thorne Thorne, the Medical Officer to the Local Government Board: "Public slaughterhouses, officered by skilled inspectors, and supervised by medical officers of health, are urgently required, amongst other reasons, for the prevention of tuberculosis in man." ". . . the properly administered public slaughterhouse is demanded as an act of justice to those trading in meat; it is demanded in the interests of public health and of decency; it is demanded for the prevention of cruelty to the lower animals, and it is demanded to bring England —if not the United Kingdom—somewhat nearer to the level of other civilized nations in this matter."

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SOCIALISM FOR MILLIONAIRES

BY

BERNARD SHAW

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PREFATORY NOTE.

SINCE the appearance of the following essay in the *Contemporary Review* (Feb. 1896) a Millionaire Movement has taken place, culminating in the recent expression of opinion by Mr. Andrew Carnegie that no man should die rich. A reference to Fabian Tract No. 5, "Facts for Socialists," will convince Mr. Carnegie that the danger he warns us against is still far from widespread. Nor is the doctrine new: John Ruskin "unloaded" and published his accounts with the public years ago; and Mr. Passmore Edwards's annual investments for the common good have come to be regarded as an ordinary asset, like the established Parliamentary Grants in Aid. But the modern substitution of Combination for Competition as the principle of capitalism is producing a new crop of individual fortunes so monstrous as to make their possessors publicly ridiculous. Unloading is, for the moment, the order of the day. The problem is, how to unload without the waste, pauperization, and demoralization that are summed up in England under the word charity. It seems clear from some late sensational disbursements that the Millionaires have not solved this problem. For this they cannot be blamed, because the problem is fundamentally insoluble under the social conditions which produce it; but they can at least do their best instead of their worst with their superfluity; and, so far, they seem to prefer, with the best intentions, to do their worst. In the hope that my essay may prove suggestive to them, the Fabian Society has decided to reprint it, with the permission of the Editor of the *Contemporary Review*, as a Fabian Tract.

LONDON, 1901. G. B. S.

SOCIALISM FOR MILLIONAIRES.

The Sorrows of the Millionaire.

THE millionaire class, a small but growing one, into which any of us may be flung to-morrow by the accidents of commerce, is perhaps the most neglected in the community. As far as I know, this is the first Tract that has ever been written for millionaires. In the advertisements of the manufactures of the country I find that everything is produced for the million and nothing for the millionaire. Children, boys, youths, "gents," ladies, artizans, professional men, even peers and kings are catered for; but the millionaire's custom is evidently not worth having: there are too few of him. Whilst the poorest have their Rag Fair, a duly organized and busy market in Houndsditch, where you can buy a boot for a penny, you may search the world in vain for the market where the £50 boot, the special dear line of hats at forty guineas, the cloth of gold bicycling suit, and the Cleopatra claret, four pearls to the bottle, can be purchased wholesale. Thus the unfortunate millionaire has the responsibility of prodigious wealth without the possibility of enjoying himself more than any ordinary rich man. Indeed, in many things he cannot enjoy himself more than many poor men do, nor even so much; for a drum-major is better dressed; a trainer's stable-lad often rides a better horse; the first class carriage is shared by office-boys taking their young ladies out for the evening; everybody who goes down to Brighton for Sunday rides in the Pullman car; and of what use is it to be able to pay for a peacock's-brain sandwich when there is nothing to be had but ham or beef? The injustice of this state of things has not been sufficiently considered. A man with an income of £25 a year can multiply his comfort beyond all calculation by doubling his income. A man with £50 a year can at least quadruple his comfort by doubling his income. Probably up to even £250 a year doubled income means doubled comfort. After that the increment of comfort grows less in proportion to the increment of income until a point is reached at which the victim is satiated and even surfeited with everything that money can procure. To expect him to enjoy another hundred thousand pounds because men like money, is exactly as if you were to expect a confectioner's shopboy to enjoy two hours more work a day because boys are fond of sweets. What can the wretched millionaire do that needs a million? Does he want a fleet of yachts, a Rotten Row full of carriages, an army of servants, a whole city of town houses, or a continent for a game preserve? Can he attend more than one theatre in one evening, or wear more than one suit at a time, or digest more meals than his

outlet? Is it a luxury to have more money to take care of, more begging-letters to read, and to be cut off from those delicious Alnaschar dreams in which the poor man, sitting down to consider what he will do in the always possible event of some unknown relative leaving him a fortune, forgets his privation? And yet there is no sympathy for this hidden sorrow of plutocracy. The poor alone are pitied. Societies spring up in all directions to relieve all sorts of comparatively happy people, from discharged prisoners in the first rapture of their regained liberty to children revelling in the luxury of an unlimited appetite; but no hand is stretched out to the millionaire, except to beg. In all our dealings with him lies implicit the delusion that *he* has nothing to complain of, and that he ought to be ashamed of rolling in wealth whilst others are starving.

Millionaires Less Than Ever Able to Spend Their Money on Themselves.

And please remember that his plight is getting worse and worse with the advance of civilization. The capital, the energy, the artistic genius that used to train themselves for the supply of beautiful things to rich men, now turn to supply the needs of the gigantic proletariats of modern times. It is more profitable to add an ironmongery department to a Westbourne Grove emporium than it was to be a Florentine armorer in the fifteenth century. The very millionaire himself, when he becomes a railway director, is forced to turn his back on his own class, and admit that it is the third-class traffic that pays. If he takes shares in a hotel, he learns that it is safer, as a matter of commercial policy, to turn a lord and his retinue out of doors than to disoblige a commercial traveller or a bicyclist in the smallest reasonable particular. He cannot get his coat made to fit him without troublesome tryings-on and alterations unless he goes to the cheap ready-money tailors, who monopolize all the really expert cutters because their suits must fit infallibly at the first attempt if the low prices are to be made pay. The old-fashioned tradesman, servile to the great man and insolent to the earner of weekly wages, is now beaten in the race by the universal provider, who attends more carefully to the fourpenny and tenpenny customers than to the mammoth shipbuilder's wife sailing in to order three grand pianos and four French governesses. In short, the shops where Dives is expected and counted on are only to be found now in a few special trades, which touch a man's life but seldom. For everyday purposes the customer who wants more than other people is as unwelcome and as little worth attending to as the customer who wants less than other people. The millionaire can have the best of everything in the market; but this leaves him no better off than the modest possessor of £5,000 a year. There is only one thing that he can still order on a scale of special and recklessly expensive pomp, and that is his funeral. Even this melancholy outlet will probably soon be closed. Huge joint-stock interment and cremation companies will refuse to depart to any great extent from their routine of Class I., Class II., and so on, just as a tramway com-

pany would refuse to undertake a Lord Mayor's Show. The custom of the great masses will rule the market so completely that the millionaire, already forced to live nine-tenths of his life as other men do, will be forced into line as to the other tenth also.

Why Millionaires Must Not Leave Too Much to Their Families.

To be a millionaire, then, is to have more money than you can possibly spend on yourself, and to suffer daily from the inconsiderateness of those persons to whom such a condition appears one of utter content. What, then, is the millionaire to do with his surplus funds? The usual reply is, provide for his children and give alms. Now these two resources, as usually understood, are exactly the same thing, and a very mischievous thing too. From the point of view of society, it does not matter a straw whether the person relieved of the necessity of working for his living by a millionaire's bounty is his son, his daughter's husband, or merely a casual beggar. The millionaire's private feelings may be more highly gratified in the former cases; but the mischief to society and to the recipient is the same. If you want to spoil a young man's career, there is no method surer than that of presenting him with what is called "an independence," meaning an abject and total dependence on the labor of others. Anybody who has watched the world intelligently enough to compare the average man of independent means when he has just finished his work at the university, with the same man twenty years later, following a routine of fashion compared to which the round of a postman is a whirl of excitement, and the beat of a policeman a chapter of romance, must have sometimes said to himself that it would have been better for the man if his father had spent every penny of his money, or thrown it into the Thames.

Parasites on Property.

In Ireland, the absentee landlord is bitterly reproached for not administering his estate in person. It is pointed out truly enough that the absentee is a pure parasite upon the industry of his country. The indispensable minimum of attention to his estate is paid by his agent or solicitor, whose resistance to his purely parasitic activity is fortified by the fact that the estate usually belongs mostly to the mortgagees, and that the nominal landlord is so ignorant of his own affairs that he can do nothing but send begging letters to the agent. On these estates generations of peasants (and agents) live hard but bearable lives; whilst off them generations of ladies and gentlemen of good breeding and natural capacity are corrupted into drifters, wasters, drinkers, waiters-for-dead-men's-shoes, poor relations, and social wreckage of all sorts, living aimless lives, and often dying squalid and tragic deaths. But is there any country in the world in which this same wreckage does not occur? The typical modern proprietor is not an Irish squire but a cosmopolitan shareholder; and the shareholder is an absentee as a matter of course. If his property is all the better managed for that,

he himself is all the more completely reduced to the condition of a mere parasite upon it ; and he is just as likely as the Irish absentee to become a centre of demoralization to his family connections. Every millionaire who leaves all his millions to his family in the ordinary course exposes his innocent descendants to this risk without securing them any advantage that they could not win more effectually and happily by their own activity, backed by a fair start in life. Formerly this consideration had no weight with parents, because working for money was considered disgraceful to a gentleman, as it is still, in our more belated circles, to a lady. In all the professions we have survivals of old pretences—the rudimentary pocket on the back of a barrister's gown is an example—by which the practitioner used to fob his fee without admitting that his services were for sale. Most people alive to-day, of middle age and upward, are more or less touched with superstitions that need no longer be reckoned with by or on behalf of young men. Such, for instance, as that the line which divides wholesale from retail trade is also a line marking a step in social position ; or that there is something incongruous in a lord charging a shilling a head for admission to his castle and gardens, or opening a shop for milk, game, and farm produce ; or that a merchant's son who obtains a commission in a smart regiment is guilty of an act of ridiculous presumption.

Dignity of Labor.

Even the prejudice against manual labor is vanishing. In the artistic professions something like a worship of it was inaugurated when Ruskin took his Oxford class out of doors and set them to make roads. It is now a good many years since Dickens, when visiting a prison, encountered Wainwright the poisoner, and heard that gentleman vindicate his gentility by demanding of his fellow prisoner (a bricklayer, if I remember aright) whether he had ever condescended to clean out the cell, or handle the broom, or, in short, do any work whatever for himself that he could put on his companion. The bricklayer, proud of having so distinguished a cell mate, eagerly gave the required testimony. In the great Irish agitation against coercion in Ireland during Mr. Balfour's secretaryship, an attempt was made to add to the sensation by pointing to the spectacle of Irish political prisoners, presumably gentlemen, suffering the indignity of having to do housemaid's work in cleaning their cells. Who cared ? It would be easy to multiply instances of the change of public opinion for the better in this direction. But there is no need to pile up evidence. It will be quite willingly admitted that the father who throws his son on his own exertions, after equipping him fully with education and a reasonable capital, no longer degrades him, spoils his chance of a well-bred wife, and forfeits the caste of the family, but, on the contrary, solidifies his character and widens his prospects, professional, mercantile, political, and matrimonial. Besides, public opinion, growing continually stronger against drones in the hive, begins to threaten, and even to execute, a differentiation of taxation against unearned incomes :

so that the man who, in spite of the protests of parental wisdom and good citizenship, devotes great resources to the enrichment and probable demoralization of remote descendants for whose merit the community has no guarantee, does so at the risk of having his aim finally defeated by the income-tax collector. We, therefore, have the intelligent and public-spirited millionaire cut off from his old resource of "founding a family." All that his children can now require of him, all that society expects him to give them, all that is good for themselves, is a first-rate equipment, not an "independence."

And there are millionaires who have no children.

Why Almsgiving is a Waste of Money.

The extremities to which the millionaire is reduced by this closing up of old channels of bequest are such that he sometimes leaves huge sums to bodies of trustees "to do good with," a plan as mischievous as it is resourceless; for what can the trustees do but timidly dribble the fund away on charities of one kind or another? Now I am loth to revive the harsh strains of the Gradgrind political economy: indeed, I would, if I could, place in every Board School a copy of Mr. Watts' picture of a sheet profiled by the outline of a man lying dead underneath it, with the inscription above, "What I saved, I lost: what I spent, I had: what I gave, I have." But woe to the man who takes from another what he can provide for himself; and woe also to the giver! There is no getting over the fact that the moment an attempt is made to organize almsgiving by entrusting the funds to a permanent body of experts, it is invariably discovered that beggars are perfectly genuine persons: that is to say, not "deserving poor," but people who have discovered that it is possible to live by simply impudently asking for what they want until they get it, which is the essence of beggary. The permanent body of experts, illogically instructed to apply their funds to the cases of the deserving poor only, soon become a mere police body for the frustration of true begging, and consequently of true almsgiving. Finally, their experience in a pursuit to which they were originally led by natural benevolence lands them in an almost maniacal individualism and an abhorrence of ordinary "charity" as one of the worst of social crimes. This may not be an amiable attitude; but no reasonable person can fail to be impressed by the certainty with which it seems to be produced by a practical acquaintance with the social reactions of mendicity and benevolence.

"The Deserving Poor."

Of course, this difficulty is partly created by the "deserving poor" theory. I remember once, at a time when I made daily use of the reading-room of the British Museum—a magnificent communistic institution—I gave a £2 copying job to a man whose respectable poverty would have moved a heart of stone: an ex-schoolmaster, whose qualifications were out of date, and who, through no particular fault of his own, had drifted at last into the reading-room as less literate men drift into Salvation Army Shelters. He was a sober,

well-spoken, well-conducted, altogether unobjectionable man, really fond of reading, and eminently eligible for a good turn of the kind I did him. His first step in the matter was to obtain from me an advance of five shillings; his next, to sublet the commission to another person in similar circumstances for one pound fifteen, and so get it entirely off his mind and return to his favorite books. This second, or rather, third party, however, required an advance from my acquaintance of one-and-sixpence to buy paper, having obtained which, he handed over the contract to a fourth party, who was willing to do it for one pound thirteen and sixpence. Speculation raged for a day or two as the job was passed on; and it reached bottom at last in the hands of the least competent and least sober copyist in the room, who actually did the work for five shillings, and borrowed endless sixpences from me from that time to the day of her death, which each sixpence probably accelerated to the extent of fourpence, and staved off to the extent of twopence. She was not a deserving person: if she had been she would have come to no such extremity. Her claims to compassion were that she could not be depended upon, could not resist the temptation to drink, could not bring herself to do her work carefully, and was therefore at a miserable disadvantage in the world: a disadvantage exactly similar to that suffered by the blind, the deaf, the maimed, the mad, or any other victims of imperfect or injured faculty. I learnt from her that she had once been recommended to the officials of the Charity Organization Society; but they, on inquiring into her case, had refused to help her because she was "undeserving," by which they meant that she was incapable of helping herself. Here was surely some confusion of ideas. She was very angry with the Society, and not unreasonably so; for she knew that their funds were largely subscribed by people who regarded them as ministers of pity to the poor and downcast. On the other hand, these people themselves had absurdly limited the application of their bounty to sober, honest, respectable persons: that is to say, to the persons least likely to want it, and alone able to be demoralized by it. An intelligent millionaire, if tempted to indulge himself by playing the almsgiving philanthropist (to the great danger of his own character) would ear-mark his gift for the use of the utterly worthless, the hopelessly, incorrigibly lazy, idle, easy-going, good-for-nothing. Only, such a policy would soon exhaust the resources of even a billionaire. It would convince the most sentimental of almsgivers that it is economically impossible to be kind to beggars. It is possible to treat them humanely, which means that they can be enslaved, brought under discipline, and forced to perform a minimum of work as gently as the nature of the process and their own intense objection to it permit; but there is no satisfaction for the compassionate instincts to be got out of that. It is a public duty, like the enforcement of sanitation, and should be undertaken by the public. Privately supported colonies of the unemployed, like that of the Salvation Army at Hadleigh, are only the experiments on which an inevitable extension of the Poor Law will have to be based. What is urgently needed at

present by the poor is the humanization of the Poor Law, an end which is retarded by all attempts to supplant it by private benevolence. Take, for example, the hard case of the aged poor, who are not beggars at all, but veterans of industry who have in most cases earned an honorable pension (which we are dishonest enough to grudge them) by a lifetime of appalling drudgery. We have to deal with at least 350,000 of them every year. Very little can be done by private efforts to rescue these unfortunate people from the barbarity of the ratepayers by building a few almshouses here and there. But a great deal can be done by arousing the public conscience and voting for reasonably humane and enlightened persons at elections of guardians. The guardians of the West Derby (Liverpool) Union, instead of imprisoning aged couples separately and miserably in their workhouse, put them into furnished cottages, where, provided they keep them neat and clean, they are no more interfered with than if they were in a private almshouse. The difference in happiness, comfort, and self-respect, between the cottage and the workhouse, is enormous: the difference in cost is less than two shillings a week per pair. If a millionaire must build almshouses, he had better do it by offering to defray the cost of a set of cottages on condition that the guardians adopt the West Derby system. This, of course, is pauperizing the ratepayer; but the average ratepayer is a quite shameless creature, loud in his outcry against the immorality of pauperizing any one at his expense, but abject in his adulation of the rich man who will pauperize him by those subscriptions to necesssary public institutions which act as subsidies in relief of the rates.

Never Endow Hospitals.

Hospitals are the pet resource of the rich man whose money is burning a hole in his pockets. Here, however, the verdict of sound social economy is emphatic. Never give a farthing to an ordinary hospital. An experimental hospital is a different thing: a millionaire who is interested in proving that the use of drugs, of animal food, of alcohol, of the knife in cancer, or the like, can be and should be dispensed with, may endow a temporary hospital for that purpose; but in the charitable hospital, private endowment and private management mean not only the pauperization of the ratepayer, but irresponsibility, waste and extravagance checked by spasmodic stinginess, favoritism, almost unbridled licence for experiments on patients by scientifically enthusiastic doctors, and a system of begging for letters of admission which would be denounced as intolerable if it were part of the red tape of a public body. A safe rule for the millionaire is never to do anything for the public, any more than for an individual, that the public will do (because it must) for itself without his intervention. The provision of proper hospital accommodation is pre-eminently one of these things. Already more than a third of London's hospital accommodation is provided by the ratepayers. In Warrington the hospital rate, which was 2d. in the pound in 1887-8, rose in five years to 1s. 2d. If a billionaire had

interposed to take this increase on his own shoulders, he would have been simply wasting money for which better uses were waiting, demoralizing his neighbors, and forestalling good hospitals by bad ones. Our present cadging hospital system will soon go the way of the old Poor Law ; and no invalid will be a penny the worse.

Be Careful in Endowing Education.

Education comes next to hospitals in the popular imagination as a thoroughly respectable mark for endowments. But it is open to the same objections. The privately endowed elementary school is inferior to the rate-supported one, and is consequently nothing but a catchpit in which children, on the way to their public school, are caught and condemned to an inferior education in inferior buildings under sectarian management. University education is another matter. But whilst it is easy to found colleges and scholarships, it is impossible to confine their benefits to those who are unable to pay for them. Besides, it is beginning to be remarked that university men, as a class, are specially ignorant and misinformed. The practical identity of the governing class with the university class in England has produced a quite peculiar sort of stupidity in English policy, the masterstrokes of which are so very frequently nothing but class solecisms that even the most crudely democratic legislatures of the Colonies and the most corrupt lobbies of the United States are superior to ours in directness and promptitude, sense of social proportion, and knowledge of contemporary realities. An intelligent millionaire, unless he is frankly an enemy of the human race, will do nothing to extend the method of caste initiation practised under the mask of education at Oxford and Cambridge. Experiments in educational method, and new subjects of technical education, such, for instance, as political science considered as part of the technical education of the citizen (who is now such a disastrously bungling amateur in his all-important political capacity as voter by grace of modern democracy); or economics, statistics, and industrial history, treated as part of the technical commercial education of the wielder of modern capitals and his officials: these, abhorrent to university dons and outside the scope of public elementary education, are the departments in which the millionaire interested in education can make his gold fruitful. Help nothing that is already on its legs is not a bad rule in this and other matters. It is the struggles of society to adapt itself to the new conditions which every decade of modern industrial development springs on us that need help. The old institutions, with their obsolete routine, and their lazy denials and obstructions in the interests of that routine, are but too well supported already.

Endowing Societies.

The objection to supplanting public machinery by private does not apply to private action to set public machinery in motion. Take, for example, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. If that society were to undertake the punish-

ment of cruel parents by building private prisons and establishing private tribunals, even the most thoughtless subscriber to private charities and hospitals would shake his head and button up his pocket, knowing that there are public laws and public prisons and tribunals to do the work, and that they alone should be trusted with such functions. But here the public machinery requires the initiative of an aggrieved person to set it in motion; and when the aggrieved person is a child, and its "next friend" the aggressor, the machinery does not get started. Under such circumstances, Mr. Waugh's society, by stepping in and taking the child's part, does a great deal of good; and this, observe, not by supplanting the State, or competing with it, but by co-operating with it and compelling it to do its duty. Generally speaking, all societies which are of the nature of Vigilance Committees are likely to be useful. The odium which attaches to the name came from the old-fashioned American Vigilance Committee, which, in the true spirit of private enterprise, not only detected offenders, but lynched them on its own responsibility. We have certain State vigilance officers: sanitary inspectors, School Board visitors, a Public Prosecutor (of a sort), the Queen's Proctor, and others. The only one of these who is an unmitigated public nuisance is the censor of the theatre, who, instead of merely having power to hale the author of an obnoxious play before a public tribunal, has power to sentence him to suppression and execute him with his own hands and on his own responsibility, with the result that our drama is more corrupt, silly, and indecent than any other department of fine art, and our unfortunate censor more timid and helpless than any other official. His case shows the distinction which it is essential to observe in vigilance work. But though we have an official to prevent Tolstoy's plays from being performed, we have no official to prevent people from stealing public land and stopping up public footpaths. The millionaire who gives money to "Days in the Country" for city children, and will not help Commons Preservation Societies and the like to keep the country open for them, is unworthy of his millions.

All these considerations point in the same direction. The intelligent millionaire need not hesitate to subsidize any vigilance society or reform society that is ably conducted, and that recognizes the fact that it is not going to reform the world, but only, at best, to persuade the world to take its ideas into consideration in reforming itself. Subject to these conditions, it matters little whether the millionaire agrees with the society or not. No individual or society can possibly be absolutely and completely right; nor can any view or theory be so stated as to comprise the whole truth and nothing but the truth. A millionaire who will not subsidize forces that are capable of a mischievous application will subsidize nothing at all. Such justice as we attain in our criminal courts is the outcome of a vehemently partial prosecution and defence; and all parliamentary sanity is the outcome of a conflict of views. For instance, if we try to figure to ourselves a forcible reconstruction of society on lines rigidly deduced either from the Manchester School or from State Socialism

we are at a loss to decide which of the two would be the more intolerable and disastrous. Yet who hesitates on that account, if such matters interest him, to back up the Fabian Society on the one hand, or the Personal Rights Association on the other, according to his bias? Our whole theory of freedom of speech and opinion for all citizens, rests, not on the assumption that everybody is right, but on the certainty that everybody is wrong on some point on which somebody else is right, so that there is a public danger in allowing anybody to go unheard. Therefore, any propagandist society which knows how to handle money intelligently and which is making a contribution to current thought, whether Christian or Pagan, Liberal or Conservative, Socialist or Individualist, scientific or humanitarian, physical or metaphysical, seems to me an excellent mark for a millionaire's spare money.

Yet after all, mere societies are good marks for anybody's spare money. Most of them may be left to the ordinary guinea subscriber; and though millionaires are such inveterate subscribers and donors that I dare not leave the societies out of account, I confess I despise a millionaire who dribbles his money away in fifties and hundreds, thereby reducing himself to the level of a mere crowd of ordinary men, instead of planking down sums that only a millionaire can. My idea of a millionaire is a man who never gives less than ten thousand pounds, ear-marked for the purchase of something of the best quality costing not a penny less than that amount. The millionaire should ask himself what is his favorite subject? Has it a school, with scholarships for the endowment of research and the attraction of rising talent? Has it a library, or a museum? If not, then he has an opening at once for his ten thousand or hundred thousand.

Starting Snowballs.

There is always something fascinating to the imagination of a very poor man in the notion of leaving a million or so to accumulate at compound interest for a few centuries, and then descend in fabulous riches on some remote descendant and make a Monte Cristo of him. Now, even if there were likely to be any particular point in being Monte Cristo after a couple of hundred years further social and industrial development, a modern millionaire, for the reasons already stated, should be the last person in the world to be much impressed by it. Still, the underlying idea of keeping a great money force together, multiplying it, and finally working a miracle with it, is a tempting one. Here is a recent example, quoted from a local paper:

"The gift of a farm to the Parish Council of St. Bees by the Rev. Mr. Pagan, of Shadforth, Durham, is accompanied by some peculiar conditions. The farm is 33a. 3r. 2p. in extent, and is valued at £1,098. The rent of the farm is to be allowed to accumulate, with two reservations. Should the grantor ever require it, the council may be called upon during his lifetime to pay him *from* time to time out of the accumulated investments any amounts not exceeding £1,098. Not more than £10 may be spent in charity, *but not in relief of the rates*. The balance is to be invested in land and houses until all the land and houses in the parish have been secured by the parish council. When that is accomplished, the sum of £1,098 may be handed over to some adjacent parish, which shall deal with the gift similarly to St. Bees."

Beware of the Ratepayer and the Landlord.

In the above bequest, we have a remarkable combination of practical sagacity and colossal revolutionary visionariness. Mr. Pagan sets a thousand pound snowball rolling in such a way as to nationalize the land parish by parish until the revolution is complete. Observe—and copy—his clause, "not in relief of the rates." Let the millionaire never forget that the ratepayer is always lying in wait to malversate public money to the saving of his own pocket. Possibly the millionaire may sympathize with him, and say that he wishes to relieve him. But in the first place a millionaire should never sympathize with anybody: his destiny is too high for such petty self-indulgence; and in the second, you cannot relieve the ratepayer by reducing, or even abolishing, his rates, since freeing a house of rates simply raises the rent. The millionaire might as well leave his money direct to the landlords at once. In fact, the ratepayer is only a foolish catspaw for the landlord, who is the great eater-up of public bequests. At Tonbridge, Bedford, and certain other places, pious founders have endowed the schools so splendidly that education is nobly cheap there. But rents are equivalently high; so that the landlords reap the whole pecuniary value of the endowment. The remedy, however, is to follow the example of the Tonbridge and Bedford founders instead of avoiding it. If every centre of population were educationally endowed with equal liberality, the advantage of Bedford would cease to be a *differential* one; *and it is only advantages which are both differential and pecuniarily realizable by the individual citizens that produce rent.* Meanwhile, the case points to another form of the general rule above deduced for the guidance of millionaires: namely, that bequests to the public should be for the provision of luxuries, never of necessaries. We must provide necessaries for ourselves; and their gratuitous provision in any town at present constitutes a pecuniarily realizable differential advantage in favor of living in that town. Now, a luxury is something that we need not have, and consequently will not pay for except with spare or waste money. Properly speaking, therefore, it is something that we will not pay for at all. And yet nothing is more vitally right than the attitude of the French gentleman who said: "Give me the luxuries of life, and I will do without the necessaries." For example, the British Library of Political Science is prodigiously more important to our well-being than a thousand new charitable soup-kitchens; but as ordinary people do not care a rap about it, it does not raise the rent of even students' lodgings in London by a farthing. But suppose a misguided billionaire, instead of founding an institution of this type, were to take on himself the cost of paving and lighting some London parish, and set on foot a free supply of bread and milk! All that would happen would be that the competition for houses and shops in that parish would rage until it had brought rents up to a point at which there would be no advantage in living in it more than in any other parish. Even parks and open spaces raise rents in London, though, strange to say,

London statues do not diminish them. Here, then, is the simple formula for the public benefactor. Never give the people anything they want : give them something they ought to want and dont.

Create New Needs: the Old Ones Will Take Care of Themselves.

Thus we find at the end of it all, appositely enough, that the great work of the millionaire, whose tragedy is that he has not needs enough for his means, is to create needs. The man who makes the luxury of yesterday the need of to-morrow is as great a benefactor as the man who makes two ears of wheat grow where one grew before. John Ruskin set a wise example in this respect to our rich men. He published his accounts with the public, and shewed that he had taken no more for himself than fair pay for his work of giving Sheffield a valuable museum, which it does not want and would cheerfully sell for a fortnight's holiday with free beer if it could. Was not that better than wasting it heartlessly and stupidly on beggars, on able-bodied relatives, on ratepayers, on landlords, and all the rest of our social absorbents? He has created energy instead of dissipating it, and created it in the only fundamentally possible way, by creating fresh needs. His example shows what can be done by a rich expert in fine art ; and if millions could bring such expertness to their possessor, I should have discoursed above of the beautification of cities, the endowment of a standard orchestra and theatre in every centre of our population, and the building of a wholesome, sincere, decent house for Parliament to meet in (noble legislation is impossible in the present monstrosity) as an example for parish halls and town halls all through the country, with many other things of the same order. But these matters appeal only to a religious and artistic faculty which cannot be depended on in millionaires—which, indeed, have a very distinct tendency to prevent their possessor from ever becoming even a thousandaire, if I may be permitted that equally justifiable word. The typical modern millionaire knows more about life than about art ; and what he should know better than anyone else, if he has any reflective power, is that men do not succeed nowadays in industrial life by sticking to the methods and views of their grandfathers. And yet not until a method or a view has attained a grandfatherly age is it possible to get it officially recognized and taught in an old country like ours. In bringing industrial education up to date, the millionaire should be on his own ground. Experiment, propaganda, exploration, discovery, political and industrial information ; take care of these, and the pictures and statues, the churches and hospitals, will take care of themselves.

Conscience Money and Ransom.

I must not conclude without intimating my knowledge of the fact that most of the money given by rich people in "charity" is made up of conscience money, "ransom," political bribery, and bids for titles. The traffic in hospital subscriptions in the name of Royalty fulfils exactly the same function in modern society as Texel's traffic

in indulgences in the name of the Pope did before the Reformation. One buys moral credit by signing a cheque, which is easier than turning a prayer wheel. I am aware, further, that we often give to public objects money that we should devote to raising wages among our own employees or substituting three eight-hour shifts for two twelve-hour ones. But when a millionaire does not really care whether his money does good or not, provided he finds his conscience eased and his social status improved by giving it away, it is useless for me to argue with him. I mention him only as a warning to the better sort of donors that the mere disbursement of large sums of money must be counted as a distinctly suspicious circumstance in estimating personal character. Money is worth nothing to the man who has more than enough ; and the wisdom with which it is spent is the sole social justification for leaving him in possession of it.

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COMMUNISM

A LECTURE BY

WILLIAM MORRIS

(with an Editor's note by G. Bernard Shaw).

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EDITOR'S NOTE.

THE Fabian Society is indebted to the Trustees of William Morris for permission to include the following paper in its series of Tracts. It was written for delivery as a spoken address to the members of the Hammersmith Socialist Society in 1893. By that time Morris had acquired an intimate knowledge of the attempt to organize Socialism in this country which began in the early eighties. He had himself undertaken and conducted that part of the experiment which nobody else would face: namely, the discovery and combination, without distinction of class, of all those who were capable of understanding Equality and Communism as he understood it, and their organization as an effective force for the overthrow of the existing order of property and privilege. In doing so he had been brought into contact, and often into conflict, with every other section of the movement. He knew all its men and knew all their methods. He knew that the agitation was exhausted, and that the time had come to deal with the new policy which the agitation had shaken into existence. Accordingly, we find him in this paper doing what he could to economize the strength of the movement by making peace between its jarring sections, and recalling them from their disputes over tactics and programs to the essentials of their cause.

The Socialist agitation in Morris's time had divided itself into three clearly defined sections. His own section, organized as The Socialist League, broke down because there was only one William Morris. Those who combined any real understanding of his aims or his view of our commercial civilization with high personal character and practical ability were too few and far between to effect a political revolution. The other two sections survived. One of them, the Social-Democratic Federation, concerned itself very little with Morris's fundamental conceptions of Equality, Communism, and the rediscovery under Communism of Art as "workpleasure." It set itself frankly to organize the proletariat as a single class for the purpose of wresting the material sources of production from the hands of the proprietary class; or, in the well worn phrases of the older Social-Democrats, to make the workers "class-conscious" of themselves, and to organize "the class war." The third section was the Fabian Society, which aimed simply at the reduction of Socialism to a constitutional political policy which, like Free Trade or Imperial Federation or any other accepted parliamentary movement, could be adopted either as a whole or by instalments by any ordinary respectable citizen without committing himself to any revolutionary association or detaching himself in any way from the normal course of English life.

The Fabian project was, of course, enormously more acceptable to a timidly Conservative nation than its two rivals. It also called for a good deal of administrative knowledge and parliamentary ingenuity, and so selected automatically for its membership the politically clever and officially experienced Socialists. It is not sur-

prising, therefore, that the Fabians alone made any headway; that the Socialist League was abandoned by Morris as a failure after a patient and laborious trial; that the Independent Labor Party, a later formation, adopted parliamentary methods; and that the Social-Democratic Federation, after keeping up the struggle for a declaration of the class war for years, had finally to choose between assimilating its methods to those of the Independent Labor Party and being crowded out of the field of Labor agitation.

It is unnecessary to say that Morris was from the first impatient of Fabianism as an essentially superficial movement. But he was fundamentally the most practical of all the Socialists. When he quarrelled with facts, he set to work at once to alter them. He was quite accustomed to be laughed at and explained away in a superior manner, both from the popular and the academic point of view. In all the arts and crafts which he had touched with his own hands, the laughter and the superior explanations had been hastily checked by the discovery that he had effected a revolution whilst his critics were idly chattering. But the same qualities which enabled him to alter unpleasant facts when he could, enabled him to face them when he could not. When he found after trying his hardest that the English people would not join the Socialist League or allow the Social-Democratic Federation to convince them that they belonged to an ungentlemanly class, he accepted the situation and considered how to make the best of it. His inevitable isolation as a man of genius was of course not less among avowed Socialists than elsewhere; but it compelled all the sections to listen to him when they would not listen to one another; and the Hammersmith Socialist Society, a faithful bodyguard surviving from the extinct Socialist League, provided for him within his own curtilage a platform on which every Socialist was proud to speak.

What he himself said to the sections from this platform will be found in the following pages. It gives his reasons for advising the other Socialists not to quarrel with the Fabians. And it gives his warning to the Fabians that it is one thing to formulate on paper a constitutional policy, and another thing to induce people to carry it out when the Equality and Communism to which it leads are abhorred instead of desired by them.

I must add a word of editorial explanation. It was Morris's habit, fortunately for posterity, to write his lectures at full length instead of trusting to extemporization. How he found time to write so many, even when he was reviving the lost art of fine printing in his spare time, I cannot imagine. He certainly did not find time to revise them. Besides, he seems to have had the Shakespearian habit of never blotting a line, perhaps as part of his general rule not to waste time in cobbling a bad job, but to do it over again. The manuscript consists of fourteen pages of white foolscap. There are words scored through and replaced by others before the ink was dry, but no reconstructions made on revision, a ceremony which was clearly never gone through. The last half of the paper must have been written against time in great haste: more words are left

out than in the earlier pages; and occasionally a sentence becomes a hopeless no-thoroughfare. The grammar, too, is hasty: the verb agrees with the nearest noun, which is not always its subject. The ands are sometimes written at full length, and sometimes indicated by anpersands, just as we have printed them. The spelling is for the most part conventional; but the s is always doubled in disappear and disappoint, and there is never more than one g in aggressive. The italics represent Morris's own underscoring. The punctuation is very hasty; but as the sense never depends on the position of a stop, I have altered or supplemented it freely for the sake of clearness. I have been very reluctant to meddle with the words; but on page 10, line 48, I have changed "anything" to "like everything"; the footnote on page 11 occurs in the manuscript as a rather obstructive parenthesis; on page 12, line 48, I have been Vandal enough to alter the characteristic phrase "their wealth—nay their riches" into "their wealth—or rather their riches" because I found that the "nay" in this passage conveyed to a typical reader the impression that Morris thought more of riches than of wealth (a misunderstanding which would almost bring him back from the grave to protest);* on page 14, line 4, I have altered "which doesn't involve" into "which will then no longer involve"; and on page 15, line 4, I have changed "as they are now and probably must be to be successful under the guidance of one man" to "as they are now (and, to be successful, must probably remain) under the guidance of one man." To Morris's friends, as to myself, these changes will seem mere impertinences; but others will find the meaning made clearer by the changes. At all events, those who are offended can correct their copies. The rest of the very few departures from the manuscript are only replacements of obviously dropped articles or prepositions, and need no apology. I believe that the words "of making" on page 11, line 5, should be "to make"; but I have not altered them, as such a change would affect the meaning. Finally, I may say that the back of the manuscript, which lay before Morris as he sat listening to the debate on the platform after his lecture, is adorned with decorations in pencil, which began, schoolboy fashion, with several arrows—not, it must be confessed, the clothyard shafts he describes in A Dream of John Ball, but fat, short, heavy-headed bolts for a medieval machine gun. Then comes a sort of fishing rod with Gothic crockets—or perhaps it is a conventionalized lily leaf. The rest is the familiar decoration of flower and scroll and leaf with which his hand was so often busy in idle moments. His notes of the discussion run as follows: "old age pensions—Mordhurst one road—means—luxury or necessity—opponent—come Bradlaugh—Bullock—workman."

Morris bibliographers should note that the title Communism is not distinctive of this lecture, as he used it on other occasions on the Hammersmith platform and elsewhere. G. B. S.

* See the paper on "Art, Wealth and Riches" in the volume of Morris's essays entitled *Architecture, Industry and Wealth* (London, 1902: Longmans; 6s. net).

Intelligence enough to Conceive, ~~Power to Compel~~ courage enough to will, power enough to Compel. If our ideas of a new Society are anything more than a dream, these three qualities must animate the due effective majority of the working people: and then, I say, the thing will be done

COMMUNISM.

WHILE I think that the hope of the new-birth of society is certainly growing, & that speedily, I must confess myself puzzled about the means toward that end which are mostly looked after now; and I am doubtful if some of the measures which are pressed, mostly, I think, with all honesty of purpose, and often with much ability, would, if gained, bring us any further on the direct road to a really new-born society, the only society which can be a new birth, a society of practical equality. Not to make any mystery about it, I mean that the great mass of what most non-socialists at least consider at present to be socialism, seems to me nothing more than a *machinery* of socialism, which I think it probable that socialism *must* use in its militant condition; and which I think it *may* use for some time after it is practically established; but does not seem to me to be of its essence. Doubtless there is good in the schemes for substituting business-like administration in the interests of the public for the old Whig muddle of *laissez faire* backed up by coercion and smoothed by abundant corruption, which, worked all of it in the interest of successful business men, was once thought such a wonderful invention, and which certainly was the very cement of society as it has existed since the death of feudalism. The London County Council, for instance, is not merely a more useful body for the administration of public business than the Metropolitan Board of Works was: it is instinct with a different spirit; and even its general *intention* to be of use to the citizens and to heed their wishes, has in it a promise of better days, and has already done something to raise the dignity of life in London amongst a certain part of the population, and down to certain classes. Again, who can quarrel with the attempts to relieve the sordidness of civilized town life by the public acquirement of parks and other open spaces, planting of trees, establishment of free libraries and the like? It is sensible and right for the public to push for the attainment of such gains; but we all know very well that their advantages are very unequally distributed, that they are gains rather for certain portions of the middle-classes than for working people. Nay, this socialist machinery may be used much further: it may gain higher wages and shorter working hours for the working men themselves: industries may be worked by municipalities for the benefit both of producers and consumers. Working-people's houses may be improved, and their management taken out of the hands of commercial speculators. More time might be insisted on for the

education of children; and so on, and so on. In all this I freely admit a great gain, and am glad to see schemes tried which would lead to it. But great as the gain would be, the ultimate good of it, the amount of progressive force that might be in such things would, I think, depend on *how* such reforms were done; in what spirit; or rather what else was being done, while these were going on, which would make people long for equality of condition; which would give them faith in the possibility and workableness of socialism; which would give them courage to strive for it and labour for it; and which would do this for a vast number of people, so that the due impetus might be gained for the sweeping away of all privilege. For we must not lose sight of the very obvious fact that these improvements in the life of the larger public can only be carried out at the expense of some portion of the freedom and fortunes of the proprietary classes. They are, when genuine, one and all attacks I say on the "liberty and property" of the non-working or useless classes, as some of those classes see clearly enough. And I admit that if the sum of them should become vast and deep reaching enough to give to the useful or working classes intelligence enough to conceive of a life of equality & co-operation; courage enough to accept it and to bring the necessary skill to bear on working it; and power enough to force its acceptance on the stupid and the interested, the war of classes would speedily end in the victory of the useful class, which would then become the new Society of Equality.

Intelligence enough to conceive, courage enough to will, power enough to compel. If our ideas of a new Society are anything more than a dream, these three qualities must animate the due effective majority of the working-people; and then, I say, the thing will be done.

Intelligence, courage, power *enough*. Now that *enough* means a very great thing. The effective majority of the working people must I should think be something as great in numbers as an actual mechanical majority; because the non-working classes (with, mind you, their sworn slaves and parasites, men who can't live without them) are even numerically very strong, and are stronger still in holding in their hand the nine points of the law, possession to wit; and as soon as these begin to think there is any serious danger to their privilege—i.e., their livelihood—they will be pretty much unanimous in defending it, and using all the power which they possess in doing so. The necessary majority therefore of intelligence, courage, & power is such a big thing to bring about, that it will take a long time to do so; and those who are working for this end must clearly not throw away time and strength by making more mistakes than they can possibly help in their efforts for the conversion of the working people to an ardent desire for a society of equality. The question then, it seems to me, about all those partial gains above mentioned, is not so much as to what advantage they may be to the public at large in the passing moment, or even to the working people, but rather what effect they will have towards

converting the workers to an understanding of, and ardent desire for Socialism; true and complete Socialism I mean, what I should call Communism. For though making a great many poor people, or even a few, somewhat more comfortable than they are now, somewhat less miserable, let us say, is not in itself a light good; yet it would be a heavy evil, if it did anything towards dulling the efforts of the whole class of workers towards the winning of a real society of equals. And here again come in those doubts and the puzzlement I began by talking about. For I want to know and to ask you to consider, how far the betterment of the working people might go and yet stop at last without having made any progress on the *direct* road to Communism. Whether in short the tremendous organization of civilized commercial society is not playing the cat and mouse game with us socialists. Whether the Society of Inequality might not accept the quasi-socialist machinery above mentioned, and work it for the purpose of upholding that society in a somewhat shorn condition, maybe, but a safe one. That seems to me possible, and means the other side of the view: instead of the useless classes being swept away by the useful, the useless classes gaining some of the usefulness of the workers, and *so* safeguarding their privilege. The workers better treated, better organised, helping to govern themselves, but with no more pretence to equality with the rich, nor any more hope for it than they have now. But if this be possible, it will only be so on the grounds that the working people have ceased to desire real socialism and are contented with some outside show of it joined to an increase in prosperity enough to satisfy the cravings of men who do not know what the pleasures of life might be if they treated their own capacities & the resources of nature reasonably with the intention and expectation of being happy. Of course also it could not be possible if there be, as we may well hope, an actual necessity for new development of society from out of our present conditions: but granting this necessity, the change may and will be exceedingly slow in coming if the working people do not show their sense of the necessity by being overtaken by a longing for the change & by expressing that longing. And moreover it will not only be slow in coming but also in that case it can only come through a period of great suffering & misery, by the ruin of our present civilization: and surely reasonable men must hope that if the Socialism be necessary its advent shall both be speedy & shall be marked by the minimum of suffering and by ruin not quite complete. Therefore, I say, what we have to hope for is that the inevitable advance of the society of equality will speedily make itself felt by the consciousness of its necessity being impressed upon the working people, and that they will consciously and not blindly strive for its realization. That in fact is what we mean by the education into Socialism of the working classes. And I believe that if this is impossible at present, if the working people refuse to take any interest in Socialism, if they practically reject it, we must accept that as a sign that the necessity for an essential change in society is so far distant, that we need scarcely trouble ourselves

about it. This is the test; and for this reason it is so deadly serious for us to find out whether those democratic tendencies & the schemes of new administration they give birth to are really of use in educating the people into *direct* Socialism. If they are not, they are of use for nothing else; and we had best try if we can't make terms with intelligent Tories and benevolent Whigs, and beg them to unite their intelligence and benevolence, and govern us as kindly and wisely as they can, and to rob us in moderation only. But if they are of use, then in spite of their sordid and repellent details, and all the sickness of hope deferred that the use of such instruments assuredly brings us, let us use them as far as they will go, and refuse to be disappointed if they will not go very far: which means if they will not in a decade turn into a united host of heroes and sages a huge mass of men living under a system of society so intricate as to look on the surface like a mere chance-hap muddle of many millions of necessitous people, oppressed indeed, and sorely, not by obvious individual violence and ill-will, but by an economic system so far reaching, so deeply seated, that it may well seem like the operation of a natural law to men so uneducated that they have not even escaped the reflexion of the so-called education of their masters, but in addition to their other mishaps are saddled also with the superstitions and hypocrisies of the upper classes, with scarce a whit of the characteristic traditions of their own class to help them: an intellectual slavery which is a necessary accompaniment of their material slavery. That as a mass is what revolutionists have got to deal with: such a mass indeed I think could and would be vivified by some spark of enthusiasm, some sudden hopeful impulse towards aggression, if the necessity for sudden change were close at hand. But is it? There are doubtless not a few in this room, myself perhaps amongst them (I say *perhaps* for one's old self is apt to grow dim to one)—some of us I say once believed in the inevitableness of a sudden and speedy change. That was no wonder with the new enlightenment of socialism gilding the dulness of civilization for us. But if we must now take soberer views of our hopes, do not reproach us with that. Remember how hard other tyrannies have died, though to the economical oppression of them was added obvious violent individual oppression, which as I have said is lacking to the heavy tyranny of our times; and can we hope that it will be speedier in its ending than they? I say that the time is not now for the sudden kindling of the impulse of direct aggression amongst the mass of the workmen. But what then! are we to give up all hope of educating them into Socialism? Surely not. Let us use all means possible for drawing them into socialism, so that they may at last find themselves in such a position that they understand themselves to be face to face with false society, themselves the only possible elements of true society.

So now I must say that I am driven to the conclusion that those measures I have been speaking of, like everything that under any reasonable form does tend towards socialism (present conditions being understood) *are* of use toward the education of the great mass

of the workers; that it is necessary in the present to give form to vague aspirations which are in the air about them, and to raise their aims above the mere businesslike work of the old trades unions of raising wages with the consent (however obtained) of the employers; of making the workers see other employers* than those who live on the profit wrung out of their labour. I think that taking up such measures, directly tending towards Socialism, is necessary also in getting working people to raise their standard of livelihood so that they may claim more and yet more of the wealth produced by society, which as aforesaid they can only get at the expense of the non-producing classes who now rob them. Lastly, such measures, with all that goes towards getting them carried, will train them into organisation and administration; and I hope that no one here will assert that they do not need such training, or that they are not at a huge disadvantage from the lack of it as compared with their masters who have been trained in these arts.

But this education by political and corporate action must, as I hinted above, be supplemented by instilling into the minds of the people a knowledge of the aims of socialism, and a longing to bring about the complete change which will supplant civilization by communism. For the Social-democratic measures above mentioned are all of them either make-shift alleviations to help us through the present days of oppression, or means for landing us in the new country of equality. And there is a danger that they will be looked upon as ends in themselves. Nay it is certain that the greater number of those who are pushing for them will at the time be able to see no further than them, and will only recognise their temporary character when they have passed beyond them, and are claiming the next thing. But I must hope that we can instil into the mass of people some spirit of expectation, however vague, beyond the needs of the year; and I know that many who are on the road to socialism will from the first and habitually look toward the realization of the society of equality, & try to realise it for themselves—I mean they will at least try to think what equality will turn out to be, and will long for it above all things. And I look to this spirit to vivify the striving for the mere machinery of Socialism; and I hope and believe that it will so spread as the machinery is attained that however much the old individualist spirit may try to make itself master of the corporate machinery, and try by means of the public to govern the public in the interests of the enemies of the public, it may be defeated.

All this however is talking about the possible course of the Socialist movement; but since, as you have just heard, it seems to me necessary that in order to make any due use of socialist machinery one should have some sort of idea as to the life which is to be the result of it, let me now take up the often told tale of what we mean by communism or socialism; for between complete Socialism and Communism there is no difference whatever in my

* The public to wit, i.e., the workers themselves in their other position of consumers.

mind. Communism is in fact the completion of Socialism: when that ceases to be militant & becomes triumphant, it will be communism.

The Communist asserts in the first place that the resources of nature, mainly the land and those other things which can only be used for the reproduction of wealth and which are the effect of social work, should not be owned in severalty, but by the whole community for the benefit of the whole. That where this is not the case the owners of these means of production must of necessity be the masters of those who do not own a sufficiency of them to free them from the need of paying with a portion of their labour for the use of the said means of production; and that the masters or owners of the means of production do practically own the workers; very practically, since they really dictate to them the kind of life they shall lead, and the workers cannot escape from it unless by themselves becoming owners of the means of production, i.e. of other men. The resources of nature therefore, and the wealth used for the production of further wealth, the plant & stock in short, should be communized. Now if that were done, it would at once check the accumulation of riches. No man can become immensely rich by the storing up of wealth which is the result of the labour of his own brain and hands: to become very rich he must by cajolery or force deprive others of what their brains or hands have earned for them: the utmost that the most acquisitive man could do would be to induce his fellow citizens to pay him extra for his special talents, if they specially longed for his productions. But since no one could be very rich, and since talent for special work is never so very rare, and would tend to become less rare as men were freer to choose the occupations most suitable for them, producers of specialities could not exact *very* exorbitant payment, so that the aristocracy of talent, even if it appeared, would tend to disappear, even in this first state of incomplete Communism. In short there would be no very rich men: and all would be well off: all would be far above the condition of satisfaction of their material necessities. You may say how do I know that? The answer is because there could not be so much waste as there is now. Waste would tend to disappear. For what is waste? First, the causeless destruction of raw material; and secondly, the diverting of labour from useful production. You may ask me what is the standard of usefulness in wares? It has been said, and I suppose the common view of that point is, that the price in the market gives us the standard; but is a loaf of bread or a saw less useful than a Mechlin lace veil or a diamond necklace? The truth is that in a society of inequality, a society in which there are very rich people and very poor ones, the standard of usefulness is utterly confused: in such a society the market price of an article is given us by the necessities of the poor and the inordinate cravings of the rich; or rather indeed *their* necessity for spending their wealth—or rather their riches—somehow: by no means necessarily in pleasure. But in a society of equality the demand for an article *would* be a standard of its usefulness in one way or other. And it

would be a matter of course that until every body had his absolute necessities and his reasonable comforts satisfied, there would be no place for the production of luxuries; and always labour would be employed in producing things that people (all the people, since classes would have disappeared) really want.

Remember what the waste of a society of inequality is: 1st: The production of sordid makeshifts for the supply of poor folk who cannot afford the real article. 2nd: the production of luxuries for rich folk, the greater part of which even their personal folly does not make them want. And 3rdly: the wealth wasted by the salesmanship of competitive commerce, to which the production of wares is but a secondary object, its first object being the production of a profit for the individual manufacturer. You understand that the necessary distribution of goods is not included in this waste; but the endeavour of each manufacturer to get as near as he can to a monopoly of the market which he supplies.

The minimization of waste therefore, which would take place in the incomplete 1st stages of a society of equality—a society only *tending* to equality—would make us wealthy: labour would not be wasted: workmen would not be employed in producing either slave wares, or toys for rich men: their genuine well made wares would be made for other workmen who would know what they wanted. When the wares were of such a kind as required very exquisite skill and long training to produce, or when the material used was far fetched and dear bought, they would not cease to be produced, even though private citizens could not acquire them: they would be produced for the public use, and their real value be enormously increased thereby, and the natural and honest pride of the workman duly satisfied. For surely wealthy people will not put up with sordid surrounding or stinginess in public institutions: they will assuredly have schools, libraries, museums, parks and all the rest of it real & genuine, not makeshifts for such things: especially as being no longer oppressed by fears for their livelihood, and all the dismal incidents of the battle for mere existence, they will be able to enjoy these things thoroughly: they will be able in fact to use them, which they cannot do now. But in all I have been saying about this new society hitherto I have been thinking I must remind you of its inchoate and incomplete stages. The means of production communized but the resulting wealth still private property. Truth to tell, I think that such a state of things could only embrace a very short period of transition to complete communism: a period which would only last while people were shaking down into the new Society; for if there were no poor people I don't see how there could be any rich. There would indeed be a natural compulsion, which would prevent any man from doing what he was not fitted for, because he could not do it usefully; and I need not say that in order to arrive at the wealth I have been speaking of we must all work usefully. But if a man does work usefully you can't do without him; and if you can't do without him you can only put him into an inferior position to another useful citizen by means of com-

pulsion; and if you compel him to it, you at once have your privileged classes again. Again, when all people are living comfortably or even handsomely, the keenness of the strife for the better positions, which will then no longer involve a life of idleness or power over ones neighbours, will surely tend to abate: men get rich now in their struggles not to be poor, and because their riches shield them from suffering from the horrors which are a necessary accompaniment of the existence of rich men; e.g., the sight of slums, the squalor of a factory country, the yells and evil language of drunken and brutalized poor people & so forth. But when all private life was decent and, apart from natural accident, happy; and when public institutions satisfied your craving for splendour and completeness; and when no one was allowed to injure the public by defiling the natural beauty of the earth, or by forbidding mens cravings for making it more beautiful to have full sway, what advantage would there be in having more nominal wealth than your neighbour? Therefore, as on the one hand men whose work was acknowledged as useful would scarcely subject themselves to a new system of caste; and, on the other, people living happily with all their reasonable needs easily satisfied would hardly worry themselves with worrying others into giving them extra wealth which they could not use, so I think the communization of the means of industry would speedily be followed by the communization of its product: that is that there would be complete equality of condition amongst all men. Which again does not mean that people would (all round) use their neighbours coats, or houses or tooth brushes, but that every one, whatever work he did, would have the opportunity of satisfying all his reasonable needs according to the admitted standard of the society in which he lived: i.e., without robbing any other citizen. And I must say it is in the belief that this is possible of realization that I continue to be a socialist. Prove to me that it is not; and I will not trouble myself to do my share towards altering the present state of society, but will try to live on, as little a pain to myself and a nuisance to my neighbour as I may. But yet I must tell that I shall be more or less both a pain to myself (or at least a disgrace) and a nuisance to my neighbour. For I do declare that any other state of society but communism is grievous & disgraceful to all belonging to it.

Some of you may expect me to say something about the machinery by which a communistic society is to be carried on. Well, I can say very little that is not merely negative. Most antisocialists and even some socialists are apt to confuse, as I hinted before, the co-operative machinery towards which modern life is tending with the essence of socialism itself; and its enemies attack it, and sometimes its friends defend it on those lines; both to my mind committing a grievous error, especially the latter. E.g. An anti-socialist will say How will you sail a ship in a socialist condition? How? Why with a captain and mates & sailing master and engineer (if it be a steamer) and ABs and stokers & so on and so on. *Only* there will be no 1st 2nd and 3rd class among the passengers: the

sailors & stokers will be as well fed & lodged as the captain or passengers; and the Captain and the stoker will have the same pay.

There are plenty of enterprizes which will be carried on then, as they are now (and, to be successful, must probably remain) under the guidance of one man. The only difference between then and now will be, that he will be chosen because he is fit for the work, & not because he must have a job found for him; and that he will do his work for the benefit of each and all, and not for the sake of making a profit. For the rest, time will teach us what new machinery may be necessary to the new life; reasonable men will submit to it without demur; and unreasonable ones will find themselves compelled to by the nature of things, and can only I fear console themselves, as the philosopher did when he knocked his head against the door post, by damning the Nature of things.

Well, since our aim is so great and so much to be longed for, the substituting throughout all society of peace for war, pleasure and self-respect for grief and disgrace, we may well seek about strenuously for some means for starting our enterprise; and since it is just these means in which the difficulty lies, I appeal to all socialists, while they express their thoughts & feelings about them honestly and fearlessly, not to make a quarrel of it with those whose aim is one with theirs, because there is a difference of opinion between them about the usefulness of the details of the means. It is difficult or even impossible not to make mistakes about these, driven as we are by the swift lapse of time and the necessity for doing something amidst it all. So let us forgive the mistakes that others make, even if we make none ourselves, and be at peace amongst ourselves, that we may the better make War upon the monopolist.

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Public Wealth and Corporate Expenditure.

*An Address to the Ancient Order of Foresters at their Annual Gathering in Birmingham Town Hall, on Sunday, October 9th, 1904.**

"PUBLIC WEALTH" means wealth belonging to a Community or Corporate Body; and the possessor of such wealth can utilize and administer it as Corporate Expenditure. By "Corporate Expenditure" I mean not municipal expenditure alone, nor trades union expenditure alone, nor benefit society expenditure alone, but something of all of them; combined expenditure for corporate ends, as distinguished from private and individual expenditure. I wish to maintain that more good can be done and greater value attained by the thoughtful and ordered expenditure of corporate money, than can be derived from even a lavish amount distributed by private hands for the supply of personal comfort and the maintenance of special privileges.

It sounds like a secular subject, but no subject is really secular, in the sense of being opposed to sacred, unless it is a subject intrinsically bad; and if the truth be as I imagine myself now to conceive it, the subject I am endeavoring to bring forward has possible developments of the most genuinely sacred character. I shall not have time to develop this fully, but I can make a beginning.

Careless Spending.

First I would direct your attention to a fact and ask you to observe how little thought is expended by mankind in general on the spending of money, and how much time and attention are devoted to the earning of it. That may seem natural; it is considered easy to spend and hard to earn. I am by no means sure that it is easy to spend wisely. Men who have much money to spend—and few of us are in that predicament—if they are conscientious

* The Society is indebted to Sir Oliver Lodge for permission to print and issue this Address as a pamphlet.

and good men, feel the difficulty seriously; they realize that it is so easy to do harm, so difficult to know how to do real good. Charity may seem a safe and easy method of disbursing, and much of it at present alas is necessary, but few things are more dangerous: it is an easy salve to the conscience, but it by no means conduces to fulness and dignity of life.

But eliminating men of large fortunes, let us attend to our own case. We, the ordinary citizens, how little time do we find to consider our manner of spending; we mostly do it by deputy, all our time is occupied in earning. It may be said roughly that men earn the money and that their wives spend it: a fair division of labor. They spend it best: and if the man insists on retaining and spending much of it, he is liable to spend it very far from wisely or well.

Public v. Private Expenditure.

I will not labor the point; we get something by private expenditure undoubtedly: we get the necessaries of life, and we get some small personal luxuries in addition. We do not get either in the most economical fashion. Buying things by the ounce or by the pint is not the cheapest way of buying; nor is a kitchen fire in every household the cheapest way of cooking, especially in the summer. Without going into details, and without exaggerating, we must all see that individualism results in some waste. If each man pays for the visits of his own doctor it is expensive. If each man provides his own convalescent home it is expensive. If each man goes on his own excursion or travels it is not so cheap as when several club together and run the journey on a joint purse. Private and solitary travel may be luxurious, but it is not cheap. A cab is dearer than an omnibus; a private garden is far dearer in proportion than a public park. Of private expenditure altogether it may be said: some of it is necessary, much of it is luxurious, but none of it is economical.

Corporate or combined expenditure achieves a greater result, not only for the whole, but actually for each individual. "Each for himself" is a poor motto; the idea of "Each for all" is a far more powerful as well as a more stimulating doctrine than "Each for himself." Thus

already you see our subject shows signs of losing its secular character and of approaching within hailing distance of the outposts of Christianity.

The Objects of Thrift.

Very well, now go on to consider the subject of *thrift* —not personal spending, but personal saving. What is the saving for? There are two chief objects:—

(1) To provide for sickness, for old age, and for those who are dependent upon us, and whom we should otherwise leave helpless when we go. This is clearly the chief and especially forcible motive for saving: it is the mainspring and original motive-power of this and all other benefit societies. But there is also another not at all unworthy motive, though it is one less generally recognized or admitted, and to this I wish incidentally to direct attention.

The second great motive for thrift and wise accumulation is—

(2) To increase our own power and influence and effective *momentum* in the world.

The Power of Wealth.

The man of wealth is recognized as a force in the world, sometimes indeed a force for evil, sometimes for good, but undeniably and always a power. People often complain of this and abuse the instinct which recognizes wealth as being such a power. But it is inevitable. It does not indeed follow that great wealth need be concentrated in a few hands, or that one single individual shall have the disposal of it: it is an accidental and, as I think, an unfortunate temporary arrangement of society which brings about that result; but, whether in many hands or in few, wealth is bound to be a power: it is no use abusing what is inevitable, we must study and learn how to utilize the forces of nature. Wealth is one of those forces.

Why is it so powerful? Because it enables its owner to carry out his plans, to execute his purposes, to achieve his ends. He has not to go cap in hand to somebody and ask permission; he can do the thing himself. He cannot do everything indeed, his power is limited, but

he can do much. So also the members or a wealthy corporate body, if they want to do something, if they want to meet elsewhere than in a public-house, for instance, encounter no difficulty, they can have a hall of their own, or they can hire one. Wealth is accumulated savings. Considered as power, it does not matter whether the wealth is in many hands or in few. The owners of it are important people; and if they mean to do good the material accessories are at their command. A rich corporation, like a rich man, has great power. Suppose he wants to bring out an invention, his own or someone else's, he has the means. Suppose he wants to build a laboratory or endow a University, he can do it. Suppose he wants to plant waste land with forest trees, who will stop him? But he cannot do everything. A genius has powers greater than his. A rich man's power is great, but it is limited; for suppose he wants to compose an oratorio, to paint a picture, to make a scientific discovery, and has not the ability; his wealth is impotent, he cannot do it. No, his power is strictly limited, but it is not so limited as that of the poor man.

The Weakness of Poverty.

We are poor men, and some of us want to renovate the Black Country and cover up its slag heaps with vegetation and with forests—a beautiful and sane ideal—but it is a difficult task. I do not own a square foot of soil, nor do most of you. What right have we to go to plant trees on someone else's land? We should be trespassers; and, at a whim of the owner, they might be rooted up. The owners of the soil however may be willing for the reafforestation of the Black Country, they may give us assistance, they may enable us to carry out the scheme. I sincerely hope they will, but we must go and ask them. Without the wealth we are powerless. We see so many things that might be done if we had the means: for instance, we helplessly lament the existence of slums, we see numerous ways in which to improve cities, we would like to suppress smoke and show how the air could be kept pure for the multitudes herded in cities to breathe and enjoy; but we cannot do it, we are not rich enough. Moreover, if we did, what would happen; at least at

first? Rents would rise, and the improved property would become too dear for the present inhabitants to live in. Clear and purify the air of towns, and they would at once, with their good drainage and fine sanitary conditions, become the best and healthfullest places to live in. Now they are too dirty, then they would be too dear.

But, if the land near all large towns belonged to the community, if we had corporate ownership of land, what would we not do! Then the improvements would be both possible and profitable, and the community who made them would reap the benefit.

Someday: someday an approach to this condition of things is bound to come. It feels to me almost like part of the meaning of that great prayer "Thy Kingdom come"; and if so we are again not far away from the atmosphere of Christianity.

Public Wealth and Public Debts.

For accummulation of wealth to be really beneficial it should contribute to the common weal, it should conduce to well being, and so be worthy of the name of *weal-th* or wealth.

The only way probably you and I can ever become wealthy is by becoming corporately wealthy, by clubbing our savings and becoming an influence and a power in the land.

Already I see, by your Report, that this organization or corporate body owns more than seven millions: not seven millions free to be dealt with as you like, it is all ear-marked to good and beneficent objects, and all needed for the achievement of those objects; but still it is a substantial sum, and it can increase. Roll it up to seventy millions, apply it to other objects than sickness and death, and you will become capitalists, able to execute your behests, an influence and a power in the world.

Would this be a good thing? Ah, that is a large question. There are always dangers in great capital, it is a serious responsibility; and if badly and domineeringly used, it may become a fearful evil. In unwise and unscrupulous hands, if they are ignorant and foolish, it is far from safe. But let it come gradually, let it be owned by mankind or by the community at large, and I for one

would trust them—we are bound to trust mankind—would trust them at first to endeavor to make a good use of it, and ultimately to succeed in so doing.

I believe in public capital and public expenditure, so it be clean and honest and well managed; everything depends upon that; but in this fortunate city that is already accomplished. What is known as a public debt is really a public investment, and anything not spent in the waste of war should have public works, or elevated humanity, or other good results, to show for it. Then it at once becomes capital, and is no more appropriately called debt; it has not been spent, but invested. "Funds" is a better name for it.

The Economy of Rising Rates.

That is why I believe in Rates—not altogether in the Poor Rate, for I am unable to feel that the Poor Law is on a satisfactory basis, though it is administered with the best intentions by the guardians: the system is as I think in some respects mistaken, but I will not go into that now; I only say parenthetically that the Poor Rate I do not welcome—but rates for public works, education rates, rates for municipal and corporate services generally, rates for museums and libraries and recreation grounds and parks and rational amusements, all these I would welcome and wish to grow.

We should not try to economize in these things, we should put our heads together so as to spend the public money wisely and well, and then, we should spend it. Private thrift, public expenditure; that is the way to raise a town or a nation in the standard of civilization.

The spendings of an individual, what are they? They are gone in his individual comfort and luxury. The spendings of a community are Capital: they result in public works, in better housing, in good roads, in thorough lighting; they open up the country, they develop its resources, they educate the citizens, they advance all the amenities of existence, in an economical because corporate or co-operative manner.

Good management is required; and that is why you take pains to send good men to the City Council to look after your interests: your interests, not in screwing and

economizing, but in spending wisely and honestly and well, getting the most they can for your money, and looking out for improvements and for good schemes worthy of encouragement. And when they do this well, be ready to trust them with more; see that not only the municipal but the national purse also is properly supplied. Our National Government is for all good purposes miserably poor. I fear there is sad waste somewhere, and that before the taxes can be judiciously raised the sources of the waste must be discovered and checked. I trust that already this labor is being put in hand. You have fine public servants who are trying to do their best with an ancient and very cumbrous and over-centralized machine; much revenue has to be spent in various unprofitable ways, wars and other, but in every good and noble direction of expenditure the country is miserably poor. Where it is economical it should be lavish; and where it is lavish it should be economical; that is an exaggeration, but there is a kind of truth underlying it. Our national economy in higher education is having disastrous results, it is a real danger to the Nation. While other nations are investing millions of public money on higher education and research we prefer to keep the money in our pockets in order to spend it privately; and the result is that while the State is poor the individual is rich. Individuals are over rich in this country; money breeds money on our present system with very little work, and it is apt to roll itself up into portentous and top-heavy fortunes. The result is, I fear, a state of things that some people say is becoming a scandal. I do not know. But however that may be I should like to see this wealth owned by communities; I should like to see it in corporate hands and expended for the general good.

Unearned Incomes.

Do not think that the original making of a fortune is easy. Most fortunes began by thrift and enterprise; it is not the making of a fortune that is easy: it is the transferring and the inheriting of it that are so fatally easy and so dangerous. If the maker of the fortune himself had the disbursing of it, there would be but little harm done, and there might be much good. No fortune can be

honestly *made* without strenuous industry and character. But a fortune can be inherited, *can* be inherited I say, though I hope it seldom is, by a personification of laziness and folly and vice.

That however is not my point. My point is that self-denial is the beginning of capital and the essence of thrift—present self-denial for future good. This self-denial for future good you of this and kindred societies are already exercising in a small way, but it is possible and indeed likely that it will come to be exercised in a larger way, and so gradually a considerable fraction of the property of the world may ultimately pass into your hands. Wake up to this possibility, and do not abuse capital or capitalists, for some day you will be capitalists yourselves. Then it will strain your energies to know what to do with it, and how to use it for the best and highest good of humanity—the ascertainment of which is a noble aspect of human endeavor.

I do not expect agreement in all that I have to say, nor do I speak with authority; I am anxious to admit that I may be mistaken; I only ask you to consider and weigh my message, the more so if you disagree; as I know many will, especially in what follows:—

The Cheapness of High Salaries.

The tendency of public bodies is to economize in salaries. People look askance at highly paid public servants; whereas it is just from those that you do get something for your money. You don't get much service as a rule from dividend shareholders, but you do as a rule from salaried officers. That is the danger of municipalities and other democratic corporations: they will not realize with sufficient clearness that the manager and administrator is worthy of large remuneration, that to get the best man you must pay him well, and that to put up with a second rate article when you can get the best is but a poor policy, and in the long run bad economy. Cheap men are seldom any good. In a large concern they may waste more than their annual salary in a week. Some people want to pay all men alike. It will not work. It is a subject full of controversy, I know, and I do not wish to dogmatize, but so far as I can see, and I have no

personal interest in the matter, I say that the principle of inequality of payment must be recognized, that it is a necessary consequence of inequality of ability.

Some organizations seem to think, too, that the available work of the world is limited, and that you must each be careful not to do too much of it lest work become scarce. The truth is that the work potentially required by mankind is essentially unlimited; and if we could only get better social conditions there would be work and opportunity and scope for all, each according to his grade and power and ability.

Stand shoulder to shoulder and help each other, and form a banded community for mutual help, by all means; let all co-operate together, and let not one human being be idle except the sick and insane; but allow for different kinds of work, and put the false glamor of the idea of artificial equality out of your minds. In any organization, as in any human body, there must be head and there must be hands, there must be trunk and limbs: the good of the whole is secured by each doing his apportioned task and obtaining his appropriate nourishment: not every part alike, though each sufficient for his need: each brought up to his maximum efficiency.

And what is true of property is true of personal service also. That which is spent for the individual is of small value compared with service done for the race. It is on the pains and sacrifice of individuals that a community is founded. "The pleasures of each generation evaporate in air; it is their pains that increase the spiritual momentum of the world." (J. R. Illingworth, in *Lux Mundi*.) The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church; it is by heroism and unselfish devotion that a country rises and becomes great.

The Results of Public Spirit.

Witness the magnificent spectacle of Japan to-day: the State above the individual; common good above personal good; sacrifice of self and devotion to the community; these great qualities, on which every nation has risen to glory, were never displayed more brightly in the history of the world than now before our eyes. It is a nation which is saturated and infused with public spirit,

the spirit of the race, enthusiasm for the community and for the welfare of humanity. This is the spirit which elevates cities; it is this which makes a nationality; it is this which some day will renovate mankind.

A splendid article in the *Times* of last Tuesday calls it "the soul of a nation," a translation of the Japanese term Bushido. It is a sort of chivalry, but the term "chivalry" does not convey it; our nearest approach to it is "public spirit," public spirit in a glorified form, the spirit which animated the early Christian Church, so that prison, suffering, death itself, were gladly endured so that the gospel might be preached and humanity might be saved—a spirit which must be near akin to the divine idea of Sacrifice for the salvation of the world. To lose your life as the highest mode of saving it; to lose the world but retain the honor and dignity of your own soul; that spirit which animated the apostles, prophets, martyrs, is alive in Japan to-day. Is it alive in us as a nation? If not, if we have replaced it to any extent by some selfish opposite, by any such diabolically careless sentiment as "after me the deluge," then we as a nation have lost our soul, sold it for mere individual prosperity, sold it in some poor cases for not even that, for mere liquid refreshment, and we are on the down grade.

I trust it is not so, but sometimes I greatly fear it. It is surely not too late to arrest the process of decay; the heart of the Nation is sound enough: the men, as they said in South Africa, the men are splendid. Give them a fair chance, introduce better conditions, set forth high ideals, and be not ashamed to speak of these ideals and to follow them: then we shall find that there is plenty of the spirit of unselfishness still, the spirit which calls men to harder tasks than momentary spurts of bravery, calls us all to the long and persistent effort of educating ourselves in the facts of the universe, grasping the real truth of things, and, then with patience and self-control, applying our energies to the material betterment and spiritual elevation of the world.

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AND
PUBLIC HEALTH

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Municipal Milk and Public Health.

THE attention of students of social science, as well as that of public health workers generally, is daily being more and more directed to the food supply of the people. The great epidemics of the nineteenth century resulted in such legislation as the Public Health Acts, which aimed at the external control of the environment of the population of the urban and rural sanitary authorities. But experience shewed that mere external interference was insufficient, and hence a movement became general towards investing the *ownership* as well as the control of the water supplies of the country in the hands of the community. The result shewed that although carelessness was not entirely got rid of, yet the condition of the publicly owned supplies was far safer and better than those left to private commercial management. It was proved that in the case of such a prime necessity as water—one so liable to pollution—the aim of profit-making must be superseded by the consideration of the public health, even though this might involve financial loss. No one will now deny the beneficial results of this change, and few will be found who oppose, in principle, the municipal ownership of water supply. This change has consisted in the replacement of an unlimited number of privately owned wells, from which bad water was sold at a high price, by a popularly owned central supply systematically distributed at about cost price to rich and poor alike. This change of industrial method, combined with public knowledge, has been the main cause of a reduction in the death-rate* of about 3 per 1,000 per annum in the space of about twenty years. The annual rate of mortality from enteric fever—the chief of water-borne diseases—sank in the same time from ·390 per 1,000 to ·100.

With these facts in view, sociologists are beginning to ask themselves the question whether there is not the same need for public ownership and control of the milk supply. At the present time this indispensable commodity is being drawn from a thousand indiscriminate sources, whose main characteristic is the general dirtiness and stupidity of their methods of production ; and whose distribution is through agencies, most of which are marked by their liability to contaminate the article they handle. It is no exaggeration to say that the great bulk of milk producers, distributors, and retailers know nothing of the nature and properties of the material they deal in, while such an elementary knowledge is essential for the public safety. County councils are doing something to teach dairying, but so long as it is as profitable to sell dirty milk as clean, or preservatized butter as fresh, these efforts will produce but scanty fruit.

* See Sixty-Sixth Annual Report, Registrar-General for England and Wales, 1905.

Public attention has recently been drawn to the existence of widespread physical deficiency among the children attending the public elementary schools of the country, and although the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration reported that there was no evidence to prove the existence of actual degeneracy, both that body and the Scotch Commission on Physical Training draw attention to the infantile mortality which is now actually higher than in the decennium 1841-50, as well as to the manifest weakness and liability to disease of a considerable proportion of the children at or below school age. Both agree that for children, at all events for young children, the most important factor in development is their food, and that, in this particular, everything seems against the children of the poor in increasing degree towards the earlier periods of life.

In times when breast feeding is on the decline*, milk is becoming the staple food of an increasing number of the population. Throughout the earlier years of life it forms the most important element of diet, and hence the absence of milk from the diet of the poor involves almost certain underfeeding, or even starvation, for a proportion of their children. In order to build up the physique of the masses of the people, some method must be devised of procuring for them a clean, wholesome, and cheap supply of milk, and the question to be answered is: Can complete public control do this, or can it be better done in some other way? Let us, however, see what are the present methods of production and distribution.

Present Methods.

It may be confidently said that nowhere, except on the very small number of model farms, is anything like a really scientific method of milk-production known. But the most noticeable thing is not the absence of science, but of common cleanliness. Indeed, many dairy farmers believe that dirt is a good thing, that heated and ill-ventilated cowsheds are good for the cows, and that manure gives body and flavor to the milk. For instance, Dr. Leslie Mackenzie, speaking for Scotland, says: "To watch the milking of cows is to watch a process of unscientific inoculation of a pure, or almost pure, medium with unknown quantities of unspecified germs. Everywhere throughout the whole process of milking the perishable and highly nutrient liquid receives its repeated sowings of germinal and non-germinal dirt . . . . and this in good dairies. What must it be when the cows are never groomed, and the udders are never washed, where the byres are never even approximately cleaned, where ventilators are never opened, where the pigs are a few feet away, where cobwebs are ancient and heavy, where hands are only by accident washed, where heads are only occasionally cleaned, where spittings are not infrequent, where the milker may be a chance comer from some filthy place, where, in a word, the various dirts of the civilized human are at every hand reinforced by the inevitable dirts of the domesticated cow."†

* Infantile Mortality and Infant Milk Depots. G. F. M'Cleary; 1904. Chapter I.
† "The Hygiene of Milk," *Edinburgh Medical Journal*; 1898.

In a series of articles, entitled "The Milk Supply of Large Towns," the *British Medical Journal* drew attention, in March, 1903, to the defective conditions of milk production which are so prevalent. The Commissioner, reporting on a farm outside a large town, says: "The operation of milking was in full swing, three dirty-looking boys being hidden away behind their respective cows. . . . The clothes which the boys wore were equally dirty, and the stalls, which they were supposed to have been cleaning out while I was waiting, were several inches deep in manure and foul-smelling straw. . . . The hind-quarters of the cows were coated with filth. . . . I was horrified to see the filthy state of the milk as it flowed out of the pail. It was discolored with grit, hair, and manure. 'Look at that,' I said, pointing to a specially large bit of manure. I regretted my zeal, for Tom dipped his whole hand into the pail, and, as he brought it out, said, 'Oh that aint nothing; it's only off the cow.'" That this condition is a very prevalent one is shewn by reports of medical officers of health from widely separated parts of the country.* In Staffordshire, for instance: "The ventilation of the [cow] sheds was, in most cases, not attended to in the slightest degree. In some it was necessary to open the doors for a few minutes before going in on account of the oppressive smell and moisture-laden air; in some there was no means of ventilation. . . . In few was there any attempt at keeping the floors or walls clean, and, in some cases, they were filthy. The hind-quarters of the cows were in a similar condition." In a county report, Dr. Reid summarizes the condition of Staffordshire dairy farms as follows:—"I may mention generally that I very rarely come across a dairy farm which is satisfactory as regards the cowsheds; *most are ill-lit, over crowded, badly ventilated, and badly drained.*" "With a few exceptions," says Dr. Newman, "the farms in Leicestershire sending milk to Finsbury appear to be neither regulated nor registered." Similarly unsatisfactory reports come from all over the country.

From a recent report of the Local Government Board (England)† it will be seen how little control is exercised over the farms in Ireland. The dirty and insanitary condition of many of the Dublin cowsheds is specially mentioned, and the general condition of the provincial dairy farms seems also very unsatisfactory.

These are but specimens, and give only a feeble idea of the extent and nature of the unwholesomeness of sources of the food of the invalid and infant.

Some Results.

All observers are agreed that the conditions described above form the rule, and that a cleanly managed dairy farm—clean even in the everyday meaning of the word—is the exception. There are two ways of measuring the results on the health of the community. First, by means of the recorded epidemics which have been traced to milk; and next, by the Registrar-General's Mortality Returns.

* Report on the Milk Supply of Finsbury. Dr. Newman; 1903.
† Parliamentary Paper (Cd—833). Appendix IV.

It must be borne in mind that the study of milk as a vehicle of disease is a comparatively recent one, and that it is, in regard to many diseases, such as diphtheria, only in its infancy; thus it will be seen that recorded epidemics probably represent only a small part of the disease due in reality to milk infection. There is little doubt but that large numbers of isolated attacks of illness are due to this cause, although no one has a suspicion as to their origin.

In 1900 the Local Government Board for Ireland issued a report on the spread of typhoid fever, which alleged that "there had been repeated and detailed observations of the spread of enteric through creamery skimmed milk." In Glasgow in 1880 there was an epidemic of typhoid which caused 508 cases and 69 deaths; altogether no less than 200 of these epidemics were traceable to contaminated milk supplies. About 18 epidemics of diphtheria have been traced to milk-borne infection, one of the worst was in St. John's Wood in 1878 when 262 persons were attacked, and 38 died.

About 73 epidemics of milk-borne scarlet fever have been traced to carelessness or ignorance among milk producers. In most cases these were due to infection among the employees which had been kept secret, and, in some instances, it is more than probable that the cows themselves were the source of the disease.

There is little doubt but that a proportion of the tuberculous disease, which is such a scourge of modern communities, is due to the drinking of milk from tuberculous cows, or infected with dust containing the bacilli. This is especially the case with regard to the young, who not only, as a rule, drink milk more freely, but are also more susceptible than are adults.

One of the most fatal diseases from the child's standpoint is that of *diarrhœa*. In 1901, 30,121 deaths* were recorded as due to this cause alone. In London in 1902, 2,504 deaths were due to this malady. In Brighton in 1901-2 out of 226 deaths from diarrhœa, 191 were directly traceable to the unwholesome milk supply, and there is every reason to believe that this proportion holds good for the country generally. That this disease is prevalent in hot weather, that it occurs most frequently where food is liable to contamination, that it is much less common among children who are breast-fed, and that its incidence is most heavily felt by those who live exclusively on cow's milk—all point to the fact that the milk supply is the main cause of this waste of human life.

Much of the disease just referred to was conveyed by the milk, through dirty water either used to dilute the milk, or to clean the vessels in which it was conveyed. Some was traceable to dust or dirt getting into the supply on its way to the consumer; some again to diseased people coming in contact with it. But, in addition, there is the question of diseased cows to be considered. If we take the proportion of tuberculous cows discovered in Manchester as the general average for the whole country, we shall find that about 10,800 out of 2,000,000 milch cows are affected in the udders with

* Registrar-General's Annual Report.

this dangerous disease. But experience has shewn that country cows are, owing to less stringent inspection, more diseased than those kept in towns, and if we add to this the fact that there are several other diseases in the cow which, though apparently slighter, can yet cause severe illness in the human being, we shall realise that the proportion of diseased milk-sources is much higher than this.* Under present conditions it is to the interest of farmers to hide the fact of disease among the cows, and hence the financial interest of one class is directly opposed to the health interest of another, and in this case, at least, the money wins. Any solution of the milk problem must aim at harmonizing the interest of producer and consumer, so that the occurrence of disease in an animal shall not be financially disastrous to the one or physically injurious to the other.

The Use of Preservatives.

The distance which modern town life has necessarily placed between the source of the milk supply and the consumer has not only tended to remove control from the producer, but has necessitated a growing delay between the milking and the final delivery of the milk. With the present dirty methods of production it can easily be understood that the milk, butter, and cream are peculiarly liable to decompose, especially in hot weather. Hence it has become an almost universal custom for dairymen to mix varying quantities of chemical preservatives in their milk, cream, and butter, in order that they may keep well. With a public unable to detect the taste of the added chemicals, with a complete ignorance as to the physiological action on the part of the purveyor, and with such excellent results for the trade, it can easily be understood why this custom has grown so rapidly. A Departmental Committee† in 1901 shewed that 18·2 per cent. of the milk samples examined for them, 77·9 per cent. of the cream samples, and 57·1 per cent. of the butter samples, had been doctored with such substances as boric acid, formalin, salicylic acid, or benzoic acid. In butter the common proportion is about 1 lb. of chemicals to 100 lbs. of butter ; but the proportion is generally left to the "inspiring moment's care." This custom at Southampton, if we are to believe the borough analyst, is more ingenious with regard to the milk ; here 1 lb. of preservative is added to a gallon of water, and 1 pint of this mixture is added to every 8 gallons of milk, so that with every tumbler of milk you take 6 grains of some sort of chemical. "Both boric acid," he says, "and formalin preparation are being increasingly used."

But Southampton is not alone in this matter. The analyst of the Dairy Trade Protection Society asserts that there is an enormous amount of preservatives used in the milk trade of London—"far more than anyone has any conception of." Most preservatizing goes on in summer, and especially on Sundays—a day that is hallowed in many ways by the dairy trade.

* Swithinbank and Newman : Bacteriology of Milk.

† Departmental Committee on Food Preservatives and Coloring Matter : Report.

The use of these preservatives is a necessary corollary of the dirty methods of production, and, while their action on healthy adults is at present unknown, it seems certain that for infants, young children, and invalids, the results are pernicious. The use of chemicals, again, while failing to arrest the growth of dangerous organisms, will hide the fact that the article is stale, and will thus encourage its consumption, even when unfit for food. In the words of the report of the Preservatives Committee: "There is further objection to the use of preservatives in the milk traffic, that they may be relied upon to protect those engaged therein against the immediate results of scrupulous cleanliness. Under the influence of these preservatives, milk may be exposed, without injury, to conditions which otherwise would render it unsaleable. It may remain sweet to taste and smell, and yet have incorporated disease germs of various kinds."

"It has been put before us that it is not possible to supply large towns, especially London, with new milk without the aid of preservatives, but we have abundant evidence to prove *that this is no more than a matter of organization and system.* No doubt the prohibition of preservatives in milk offered for sale would tend to the disadvantage of small retailers, who have no cold storage, *but this is not a consideration* which should stand in the way of a much needed reform."

Denmark has prohibited the use of all preservatives, even in the butter destined for exportation, and has had to introduce greater cleanliness of production to compensate. At one time, France also had a prohibition law, but this was relaxed with regard to export at the urgent request of the British butter trade.

Adulteration.

While the use of chemical preservatives and coloring matter in dairy produce is essentially a form of adulteration, a few persons may yet be found to defend the custom; but these are practices which no one will defend, practices which exist to a great extent—even an increasing extent—among the sellers of dairy produce. We have just seen how the consequences which should normally result from the dirty methods of production, and which themselves represent a great financial saving on the proper cost of production, are hidden by the use of chemicals. We have now to consider a less legitimate, although equally harmful custom. It may be pleaded that the use of preservatives is the result of ignorance, but such an excuse can hardly be put forward to defend adulteration. From earliest times milk has, by its very nature, lent itself to the dishonesty of the dealer. In the old days, chalk and calves' brains were said to have been added to replace quality; water was added to increase the bulk. But the use of the former ingredients have long since been given up, and the main forms which adulteration takes, are:—

The addition of small quantities of water.
The addition of separated to "whole" milk.
The abstraction of cream.
The addition of diluted condensed milk.

The business of adulteration is a highly skilled one, and has increased in cleverness to meet the demands of a growing number of public analysts. Formerly the making of a profit and the keeping up of a business connection were the two ends to be kept in view; now detection by experts has to be avoided as well. As a guide to analysts the Board of Agriculture has fixed the standard of 3 per cent. by weight of butter-fat, below which it is illegal to sell milk as "whole." This is to ensure that the customer shall have milk of a reasonably good quality, and which has not been grossly tampered with. This standard is arrived at by experts in dairy work, and on the basis of a very large number of analyses. That the standard is a low one is shewn by the chemist to the Aylesbury Dairy Company who, after analyzing 100,000 samples, found the average of fat was 4 per cent. by weight. The amount of fat in good milk generally amounts to about 3·5 per cent. to 4 per cent. in winter, and often to as much as 5 per cent. in summer. The recommendation of the Departmental Committee to raise the standard to 3·25 per cent. is not, therefore, an extravagant one. The great drawback of indirect interference in the matter of an arbitrary standard is shewn by the fact that many members of the trade consider it legitimate to make a profit out of any fat which happens to exceed the standard amount. Hence a custom has grown up called "toning down the milk," which consists in the addition of skimmed milk to such an extent as just to reduce the percentage of fat to the legal minimum. By the addition of separated milk (*i.e.*, milk free from fat) the adulteration is rendered less easily detectable as the proportion of "solids not fat" is left normal, and only the proportion of fat reduced. In this way it is much easier to plead that the milk had only been standing, and that the cream had been taken away from the top layers by earlier customers.

In 1902*, 11·6 per cent. of the samples taken in England and Wales were reported against, and this was the highest rate recorded for ten years. The percentage of adulterations discovered in London was 15·6 per cent. In six metropolitan boroughs the percentage of adulteration to samples taken was no less than 20; and in the Borough of Finsbury the average percentage taken over a period of ten years was 25, or a quarter of the whole. It is always possible to raise these percentages by the appointment of a fresh and specially skilled inspector. For instance, in Islington, of 385 samples taken by the ordinary inspector, 23 or 6 per cent. were adulterated; while out of 547 taken by a special officer, 111 or 20·3 per cent. were condemned. The multiplication of hands through which the milk passes greatly adds to the rate of adulteration. The profits of adulteration, even when balanced against the fines of the police courts, must be very great; in 1902 the Local Government Board reported that, on the return made to them, the people of London were paying an annual sum of £30,000 for water which had been fraudulently added to their milk. If we take this basis for the United Kingdom,

* Annual Report Local Government Board, 1902.

the nation is paying about £240,000 annually to the adulterators for the water they add;* to this must be added the annual cost of the medical officers, sanitary inspectors, police courts, lawyers, etc., etc., after deducting the fines and costs recovered. It has been estimated that, at the lowest, the people of England and Wales are paying about £25,000 per annum under these heads also. It would be thought that private enterprise had done enough when it had caused the great amount of illness which dirty and slip-shod methods can account for, without defrauding those who already suffer so much.

It must not be thought, moreover, that the monetary loss represents the total social cost of adulteration. To adults it may do, but it is far otherwise with regard to the infant population. For them directions are issued by means of which cows' milk is diluted and prepared so as to somewhat resemble human milk. These proportions are based upon the use of good whole milk, and when the dealers have already tampered with the milk, the mother or nurse is misled, and the modified milk sinks below the proper standard of nourishment. In this way those children who are unfortunate enough to be hand-fed may be slowly starved. There is no doubt that the high infantile mortality, attributable to dirty milk, is increased by the supply of diluted and preservatized milk.

But it should not be imagined that all the blame rests with the producer or middleman; owing to the present slip-shod methods of distribution the employees on the rounds are doing their part in the general swindle. They, on their own account, dilute, give short measure, and tamper with the milk which, totally unguarded, is left in their hands. And in these circumstances the middleman is powerless, for if he prosecutes a dishonest employee he only condemns his own business, and publishes the condemnation.† Finally, there is no doubt at all as to the existence of a system of blackmail among the inspectors themselves. A recent writer† describes the process. "I do not think that anything is to be gained by beating about the bush in this matter, and so let me briefly state that the inspector's fee is one guinea, as a rule paid in cash, but occasionally in kind. Now there are two ways in which this transaction may be viewed. You may picture the wicked trader bribing the innocent inspector to overlook his crimes, or you may imagine the inspector threatening the dairyman with—'Your money or your reputation.' It is not very difficult to see on which side the blame lies. It is a negative advantage only which the dairyman's money gains for him. The inspector does not say, 'Give me my guinea, and I guarantee that you will *not* get into trouble,' but 'Refuse me my guinea, and I guarantee that you will get into trouble.'" This is another explanation why the full burden of adulteration never sees the light of day.

Social Reaction.

It is impossible to do more than outline, in the limits of a Fabian Tract, the present chaotic and disastrous conditions which private

* The Problem of the Milk Supply. F. Lawson Dodd.

† Vide *Economic Review*, January, 1905. Article on Milk Trade from Within.

enterprise in the supply of a commodity which is essentially suitable for collective ownership, has brought into existence. The methods of distribution are as bad as those of production ; the railway companies have no financial or other interest in the delivery of clean milk, and therefore very seldom provide proper vans for its conveyance. Fish, paint, petroleum, or any other unsuitable goods are packed along with the milk. The churns from the farms are allowed to stand for hours on platforms of rural stations to be dealt with as ordinary goods, or to await the slow milk train. While thus waiting, the milk is often exposed to the hot rays of the sun and the dust of passing traffic, which both make for increased bacterial contamination. It is improperly covered in badly shaped receptacles, which are scarcely ever locked, and from which the contents are often pilfered or polluted. Neither farmer, middleman, nor railway company cares what happens to the delicate foodstuff which they are handling, and so long as the farmer gets his price, the company its rate, and the middleman his fat profit, considerations of cleanliness and public health are little cared about. "If the Almighty had intended that there should be no manure in the milk, he would have placed the udder at the other end of the cow" represents the rural mind. "Doctors' fads" suffices for the rest. Hence, after passing on its slow and often interrupted journey, it finally reaches the poorest customer who buys it from a small shop where pickles, soap, vinegar, and paraffin are its close companions, and where, remaining uncovered, in a doubtfully clean basin, it forms the last resting place of flies, and a receptacle for the dust and dirt of the shop and the street. When it reaches the jugs of the poor in pennyworths and ha'porths, it is often as much as three days old, and is loaded with bacilli, but alas! unprotected by the souring which would have occurred had it not been for the doses of chemicals which it has received in its strange career. Good milk may contain 50,000 to 500,000 micro-organisms to the cubic centimetre: it will now be understood why Dr. Newman records the numbers in milk sold in the City of London and Holborn as 4,800,000 at a good class shop, and as 3,200,000 in a poor class shop in Finsbury. "In 1899, 50 samples of milk were examined in St. Pancras: 16 (*or 32 per cent.*) were normal healthy milks ; and 34 (*or 68 per cent.*) were unhealthy milks. Of the latter, 12 samples contained pus [matter from abscesses] in smaller or greater amount, and 5 (*or 10 per cent.*) contained the tubercule bacilli."*

In the face of such facts, which could be multiplied many times over, the urgency of the matter of milk supply is beginning to dawn on the minds of the people. But something has already been done which may be summarized here.

The Dairies, Cowsheds, and Milkshops Orders, 1885-1899, are issued now on the authority of the Local Government Board, under powers granted under the Contagious Diseases Animals Act, 1878. These orders throw upon every urban and rural sanitary authority the duty of regulating and supervizing the milk trade, and of carrying

* Report on the Milk Supply of Finsbury. Dr. Newman.

out certain general regulations prescribed by the orders. They further have the power of making and enforcing bye-laws under section 13. A register of all cowkeepers and dairymen is to be kept and revised from time to time. Before any fresh dairy or cowshed is occupied the authority must be first satisfied as to its sanitary condition; and it is made unlawful to occupy any such place if it is likely to be injurious to the cattle, or to the milk, or may afford opportunities for infection or contamination.

It is further made illegal for any infected person to take part in the supply of milk; and no dairy may directly communicate with a water-closet, or be used as a sleeping apartment, or a piggery; lastly, no milk from a cow suffering from certain specified diseases (now including tuberculosis) may be sold for human food, or for food of animals unless first boiled.

Under the provisions of the Infectious Diseases Prevention Act, 1890; and for London, under the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, sanitary authorities are given the appearance of powers for dealing with milk-borne epidemics. When such an epidemic appears the Medical Officer of Health may, after obtaining an order from a magistrate of the locality where the dairy is situated, proceed to inspect such dairy, and, if accompanied by a veterinary surgeon, the cows also. If satisfied that this is the offending dairy, he must report to his council, and they may order the dairyman to appear before them within 24 hours, and shew cause why an order should not be made forbidding him to sell his milk in the district of the authority concerned until their order is withdrawn. If the offender refuse to obey, then proceedings may be taken in his own district, and he may be fined £5 and 40 shillings for each day of default.

This measure has been found quite worthless in practice, as it takes three or four days at least to get in motion, and then further delay may be achieved by the dairyman, who would thus get time to dispose of a diseased cow. While this delay takes place the people are all the time consuming the diseased milk. In fact, promptness is the main factor in dealing with milk epidemics, and under this Act it is the very thing that is impossible. Then, too, when all is done, you have only locked the stable door after the escape of the horse, you have not *got such control as will prevent the occurrence of disease.*

Prevention of Fraud.

We have now seen what society has done to protect itself against the filthy conditions which are so prevalent in the places where milk is produced. The machinery has been at work since 1885, and very little has been done at the sources, at least, for the administration of the law is in the hands mainly of the very persons whose interest lies in its neglect—viz., the farmers. Then, too, the somewhat later attempt made to control milk-borne disease is admittedly a failure.* We will consider lastly the measure against fraud in the form of adulteration which has been in operation since 1875, and

* See Dr. Newman's Report on the Milk Supply of Finsbury, 1903.

which was strengthened in 1899, and under which adulteration seems, till quite recently, to have been on the increase.

The Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, 1875-1899, are aimed at the prevention of (*a*) the mixing of injurious ingredients with any article of solid or liquid food or drug, (*b*) the selling of any such article of inferior quality, and (*c*) the abstraction of anything from such article which might injuriously affect its quality. In one class of cases it must be proved that the added substance is injurious, and, in the other class, it is only necessary to prove that the article is not of the nature, substance, or quality demanded. It is under these Acts that sanitary inspectors take samples. It will be seen from what has already been said of adulteration that it is still profitable, and that this law although preventive in its action in some cases, does not seem to touch the bulk of the evil. It may be mentioned that inspectors may not take samples outside their own areas; and that the use of coloring matter and preservatives does not constitute an offence.

These attempts to control from the outside by legislative methods a trade so thoroughly disorganized, ignorant, dirtily managed, and permeated with dishonesty, have naturally failed to produce any real and lasting result, and it is certain that such measures, while acting as palliatives, will never prevent the evil or wholly remove it.

The law then is hopelessly inadequate, even if carried out to the letter. Under the Dairies' Orders satisfactory regulations have been adopted in only a few districts, and in others they are not nearly stringent enough. Those in force in London were drawn up by the old Metropolitan Board of Works at a time when the relation of milk to disease was little understood. "In the eyes of the law milk may contain large quantities of preservatives, such as boric or salicylic acids; it may shew a deposit of stable manure; it may be colored with annatto or turmeric; it may contain pus or innumerable micro-organisms, either harmless or pathogenic; it may be coated with dust from the street, or contain dead flies in suspension; it may contain saltpetre to hide the flavor of some unsuitable food given to the cow; it may be the product of a cow fed on such fermented food as brewer's grains, which renders it unfit for infants' food—it may contain all these impurities, and yet be legally 'pure milk!'"*

Certified Milk.

The Borough of Sunderland, amongst others, has started a movement for the improvement of the milk supply by means of certificates granted to those producers who fulfil certain definite conditions. These certificates, renewable from year to year, give a guarantee of quality on behalf of those who fulfil their conditions, and may be used as an advertisement. The system has not found much favor, and the ignorance of the public is at present so great that, while caring little for the conditions of milk production, they certainly do object to the added cost that is entailed by any extra precautions under the present system.

* "The Problem of the Milk Supply." 1904.

Municipal Milk Depots.

It was in France, where an increasing infant mortality accompanying a falling birth rate led people seriously to consider the question of the food of the infant population, that the first Infants' Milk Depot was started by Dr. Dufour at Fécamp under private auspices. Many local authorities, on both sides of the channel, have now followed this example. Liverpool, St. Helen's, Bradford, Battersea, and many other places have inaugurated depots in this country. The general plan in all these is to provide, at a low price, sterilized humanized milk in sealed bottles with sufficient in each for one meal. The sterilization kills the germs, and the humanization adapts the milk to infants' digestive processes. These bottles of milk are sold at a central depot, and, in the case of Liverpool, at about 30 dairies as well. In this last named place 3,000 bottles per day have been sold. The cost to the parent for the food of one child is about 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. per week, and in Battersea about 400 children are being fed.* By far the best municipal milk supply is that established in the City of Rochester, U.S.A., in 1897, and, as it shews the main lines on which all public supplies should be carried on, it will be useful to describe its method of working. "A central station at which the milk is prepared is organized each [summer] on a farm outside the city, where a trained nurse and assistants have full control of the cows, utensils, bottles, etc., and where all of the milk-work is carried on in a portable milk laboratory. Everything coming in contact with the milk is thoroughly sterilized in steam sterilizers. The milk itself is not subjected to any Pasteurizing or sterilizing process. Sterilizing and Pasteurizing are only an open invitation to the milkman to be careless in the production and handling of milk.

"At the milk station on the farm the milk is taken from clean, well-fed, tested cattle, into sterile cans which are carried to the farm in sterile cheese-cloth bags. Just before milking, the cows' udders are washed. A sterilized cheese-cloth fly cloth is placed over the cow, the first portion of the milk being rejected. So soon as the cans are filled they are immediately covered by a layer of cheese-cloth held in position by a rubber band. The cans of milk thus covered are immediately taken from the barn into the laboratory, about 200 yards away, where the milk is properly diluted, sweetened, and turned off into sterile nursery bottles of various sizes of the Siebert type. The bottles are corked with sterile rubber corks, placed in racks, covered with cracked ice, and immediately transferred to the city for use. Of the cleanliness of milk prepared in this way, forty-three daily samples were found to average not more than 14,000 bacteria† per cubic centimetre, while the city milk for the same period approximated 235,000 bacteria per cubic centimetre."‡

* Annual Reports on the Health of Battersea. 1903 and 1904.

† *Cp.* number found in London milk noted above.

‡ "The Influence of Municipal Milk Supply on the Deaths of Young Children." Dr. Goler, Health Officer Rochester, N.Y., U.S.A., *New York State Journal of Medicine*, 1903.

Of most municipal milk depots it must be said that they are only attempts to solve a great problem, but, though small, they go in the right direction. Good has been done, but it is little, owing to the following reasons :—

1. The farms are not under the control of the depots, and hence sterilization is necessary, although in itself bad.

2. The sale of only one kind, viz., modified milk, reduces the usefulness, as those who wish to prepare their own infants' food get the unwholesome milk of the ordinary dairy.

3. There is no system of advising each mother, and supervizing the growth of the child as is the case in Paris.

4. They do not touch the really important point, which is the clean production and general organization of the milk supply of the poor.

5. No help is given to the deserving mother, suckling her own child, who therefore needs extra nourishment for herself, and often finds it impossible from lack of food to continue in this right course.

Private Experience.

Many attempts have been made by private enterprise with varying success, and recent revelations in connection with one of the best companies in London have shewn that they in no really efficient manner protect the public from danger.* In York a pure milk supply has been carried out on commercial lines, under a skilled and intelligent dairy farmer, and so great has been the demand that prices have had to be raised above the ordinary market rate to choke off business. In Paris, Dr. H. Rothschild has organized a supply of pure sterilized milk which is sold in several depots in the poorer districts, the demand is very great, and continually increasing owing to the quality, cleanliness, and price of the milk sold; but although this milk is supplied at a much cheaper rate than at other dairies the profit made is considerable, and that the benefit has been great is evidenced by the vital statistics of the city. Another instance of a useful attempt to solve the problem by private effort is that afforded by the Copenhagen Milk Supply Company under the able direction of Mr. G. Busck. This company pays a limited dividend of 5 per cent., and the managing director expends much time, energy, skill, and experience without any remuneration. It has not only improved the quality and sources of the milk, but has successfully prevented the attempts of other companies to form a corner to raise prices. Another valuable work done to supply pure milk to the very poor is that of the Hon. Nathan Straus in New York. He has succeeded in giving good milk at reduced cost to the poor by means of careful organization of supply and distribution.† It is needless to enumerate more cases. Two main facts stand out prominently to the student. First, all attempts at improvement on

* Vide case of Typhoid Fever caused, in the opinion of the jury, by the Milk from a farm on the books of the Aylesbury Dairy Company. Frost *v.* Aylesbury Dairy Co. Court of Appeal, Feb. 1905. *Times* Law Reports, p. 300.

† Infant Mortality and Infants' Milk Depots, p. 68.

present lines of distribution inevitably keep up and raise the market price of milk. The second point is that wherever improvement has taken place and the price has been kept down or lowered, the undertaking has not only been on a large and carefully organized scale, but there has always been an absence of the mere commercial element. Dr. Rothschild and Mr. Busck both bear testimony to this.

The Lines of True Reform.

Mention has already been made of the municipal milk depots established in many large centres of population. These have commenced the work of public supply; and the next move must be to enlarge their basis and increase their control over their sources of supply. Hence, each town should have a municipal milk depot for the sale of milk of all kinds—whole, separated, buttermilk, cream, and other dairy produce—connected with a farm under the same ownership and control. These depots should be situated in the poorer districts, and they should sell the articles at a cost covering production and distribution. To secure freedom from adulteration, all the employees should be well paid, and the milk should be distributed in sealed cans and bottles to the depots or the consumers. At first it might be made compulsory for the customers to fetch their own milk, and thus save the cost of delivery, as at Dr. Rothschild's depots in Paris. The municipal farm should also supply pure milk to all public institutions, whether officially or privately managed, such as fever hospitals, asylums, workhouses and schools. In connection with the elementary schools it would be advisable to follow the suggestion in the Report of the Scottish Physical Training Committee: "It would in many cases be an inestimable advantage could regular and sufficient meals—such as broth, porridge and milk, or bread and milk—be provided at a minimum cost"*; or to obtain half a pint of milk for each child at least once a day. Such an arrangement would secure a saving on the cost of the milk purchased from the contractors, and would prevent such epidemics as have occurred even in the largest London hospitals. This is no new idea. The Corporation of Nottingham, for instance, supplies its asylum from its own herd of cows, and receives about £2,500 per annum for the sale of milk and butter. In 1903-4 the Birmingham Drainage Board took £1,894 for the sale of 61,404 gallons of milk produced on their sewage farm; and at Reading the same thing is done. It is imperative that all such institutions as have just been mentioned should have an unimpeachable milk supply; and the only way to ensure that is by giving them one under the direct control of the local sanitary authority. If the physique of the poorer classes is to be built up, it is essential that their food should be both good and cheap, and this applies especially to the milk supply. The milk produced on the municipal farm would be distributed to the local depots, and the extra cost of clean and healthy production would be saved from the profits of the middlemen and the loss entailed in bad organization.

* *Vide* Report, p. 30.

These model farms should be run in connection with the technical schools, and the science and art of dairy-farming taught under the most favorable conditions. It is certain that no mere tariff interference can prevent the loss of an industry carried on in a way which not only displays technical ignorance, but also want of organization, combined with practices which are injurious to the public health.

The establishment of municipal milk depots supplied from municipal farms is the first step towards the social organization of the dairy industry; and this would inevitably lead towards a complete organization of the supply. Well-to-do people would soon purchase their milk from stores which they could rely upon, and each successive increase in demand would render the whole process more economical, and hence a lowering of price possible. The community would take over the whole of the supply, and production as well as distribution would be completely organized on one system. The milkman would be on the same footing as the postman, and his rounds would be as regular, although their frequency would be greatly reduced, owing to the better keeping quality of milk produced under clean conditions, and also to the fact that all milk would be bottled at the farms after being cooled, and thus protected from the sources of pollution which under present methods are so harmful. The number of carts and men and shops would thus be lessened, and the saving could be used to improve the article or lower the price. The number of hands through which the milk passes would also be reduced, and hence the possibility of infection or contamination made less. The sources of supply—the cows, farms, farm-hands, etc. —would be under control and supervision, and epidemics could be entirely avoided. Encouragement would be given for honesty on the part of the men in case of infectious disease existing in their homes or families; they would be paid the usual wages even when not at work if they gave the needed information, and punished if they failed to give it. The presence of disease amongst the animals would be known, and precautions would be taken to isolate the cow if curable or to destroy it if incurable or dangerously ill. Such a decision would be arrived at easily when there was no question of bringing serious financial loss to one man in the interests of the many; the community would lose the animal, but the community would gain the immunity; whereas, under present circumstances, if anything at all happens, it means that the gain of the one is made the loss of the other. The industry would for the first time be put into the hands of skilled persons, and controlled in the interest of the public health. What has happened to water will take place in regard to milk, with the same beneficent results.

The most important industries should be put under public control first. It was epidemics and not epigrams that caused the municipalization of the main sources of our water supply. If tramways or electricity are mismanaged, the public reap inconvenience in transit or lighting; but if the supply of milk is mismanaged—as has been shewn to be the case—the community reaps disease and physical degeneracy in its youngest members, as well as death and

misery resulting from the frequent epidemics amongst the adult population. It is only necessary to convince the public that it can no longer afford to drink dirty and expensive milk in order to support its adherence to a worn-out and obsolete economic theory.

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tions have escaped unscathed; except that in Illinois in 1899, on the petition of several shareholders in the American Glucose Co., an agreement to sell out to a new corporation, the Glucose Sugar Refining Co., was set aside so far as concerned the American Glucose Co.

Trusts and Railways.

The direct attack having thus failed, attempts have been made to destroy trusts by removing their supposed causes. The Final Report of the Industrial Commission of the United States says: "There can be no doubt that in earlier times special favors from railroads were a prominent factor, probably the most important factor, in building up some of the largest combinations." In order to prevent such discrimination the Inter-state Commerce Act of 1887 was passed, prohibiting the combination of railroads for the pooling of freight or to prevent through shipment of goods. It also, to quote the above report, "places upon inter-state carriers a prohibition against unjust or unreasonable rates and against unjust discrimination, but otherwise leaves them as free as they were at common law to make special contracts looking to the increase of business, to classify traffic, to adjust and apportion rates so as to meet the necessities of commerce, and generally to manage their own business in their own way. The commission appointed under the Act is not authorized to fix rates. . . . . But its powers as thus defined are not extensive, and perhaps the criticism of Mr. Justice Harlan is justified, that 'it has been shorn by judicial interpretation of authority to do anything of an effective character.'" President Roosevelt now proposes legislation to prevent secret rebates and unjust rates, but he has to face the vehement opposition of the millionaire party, and there is no security that the administration of the new law will be more efficient than that of the old. Preferential railway rates may favor the growth of trusts, but their absence does not prevent it, as is shown by the spread of combination in Germany where the railroads have been nationalized, and in Britain where discrimination is illegal.

Causes of Combination.

The most popular view of the origin of trusts is that which declares, with Mr. Havemeyer of the Sugar Trust, that "the tariff is the mother of trusts." In one sense this is true, where the industry itself has been created by a protective tariff, but as a general proposition it is incorrect. Some of the most successful American trusts, like the Standard Oil Company, owe nothing to the tariff, and our own British combinations have, of course, grown up under free trade. The truth about the tariff is that it creates the home industry, and by making high profits possible behind its protective wall attracts an unnecessary number of manufacturers into the trade, whose violent competition produces such a state of things that combination is the only outcome.

There are two main causes of combination, the attempt to escape from the consequences of excessive competition, and the desire to realize the economies of large-scale production. From their opera-

tion we cannot escape, and we must, therefore, regard the limitation of competition as a natural development culminating in the production of private monopoly, either complete or partial. Such monopoly is marked by the unified control of business over the whole or a part of the industrial field, and is specially directed towards prices. Only the socialist welcomes this result, and he only because he sees himself in the position desired by the Roman tyrant who wished that all his enemies had but one neck. It is not enough to dismiss the problem with the dictum that public monopoly must supersede private monopoly. For such a conclusion the public mind is not yet prepared, nor is the State machinery at present fitted to cope with industrial administration. If we believe that in the end industry must be managed by the State, we must prepare the way by the gradual development of control ; if, on the other hand, we hold that the organization of industry must remain in private hands, we must purge it of manifest evils. In either case we must guide our action by the endeavor to maintain the advantages of the unified control of industry, and these, over and above the usual economies of a large business, are the prevention of the waste of competition, the specialization of plants, the better organization of talent, the application of all the expert knowledge in a trade to every establishment in the trade, and the better organization of sales.

Trusts and Prices.

Apart from any injury which may be done to the State in its corporate capacity, there are four classes of persons who may be damaged by a trust—the rival producers, the consumers, the employees, and the investors. With the first of these we are only concerned so far as an injury to them may lead to greater loss to the consumer, or where the methods of competition offend against the public sense of honesty. Their interests and those of the consumer can be treated together in relation to the general policy of trusts with regard to prices. The common belief about trusts is that they exist for the purpose of forcing up prices, and every rise in the price of an article produced by a trust is regarded as an exercise of their malignant power. The advance which almost invariably follows the establishment of a trust is adduced in support of this belief, regardless of the fact that comparison is made with prices so low as to be unprofitable. An increase in such circumstances is quite as justifiable as one motived by a rise in the cost of raw materials. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the hope of securing higher prices is one of the chief inducements to combination, and the extent to which this can be done requires our attention. The law of monopoly price is that the monopolist will charge not the highest price, but the price which will call forth the demand productive of the largest net revenue. The maximum profit, being thus a function of two variables, may be produced by different combinations of these, but the motive which will cause the monopolist to prefer a larger supply at a lower price to a smaller supply at a higher price is the fear of creating competition. Mr. Havemeyer

put the matter quite bluntly to the American Industrial Commission when, after declaring that he did "not care two cents for your ethics," he said: "As a business proposition it is right to get all out of business that you possibly can. If you get too much of a profit, you get somebody in competition." The monopolist price will be higher than that which will produce the ordinary profit gained under the rule of free competition. Thus Mr. Archbold, of the Standard Oil Company, when asked, "By virtue of your greater power you are enabled to secure prices that on the whole could be considered steadily somewhat above competitive rates?" replied, "Well, I hope so. Undoubtedly there is an ability, and when that ability is unwisely used it is sure to bring its own defeat." The degree to which competition is capable of reducing the power of a trust is strictly limited. The possibility of effective competition depends largely on the amount of capital which is required; thus, for example, it would be difficult for a new firm to compete with the United States Steel Corporation. And, so long as the trust continues to manufacture a necessary portion of the supply it can obtain its own price for it, though all the time outside producers are marketing all their product at a lower price. Thus, the Durham Coal Sales Association in 1894 was able to maintain the price of Association gas-coal at sixpence a ton above that offered by the non-associated collieries. Nor, except in exceptional cases, can reliance be placed on a shrinkage in demand, or in a shifting of demand from the trust-produced article to an alternative article. The slowness of the American coal consumers to use soft coal instead of anthracite for domestic purposes, even under the pressure of the ruinous prices of the summer and autumn of 1902, well exemplifies the conservatism of the consuming public. A trust can more quickly take advantage of a rising market and offer a longer resistance to a fall than a number of separate establishments can. It is also not under the same compulsion to give away in reduced prices the savings resulting from improvements in manufacture; in fact, the possibility of retaining these extra profits is the great inducement for a trust to seek better methods, and the Sugar Trust avowedly for years retained such profits, for, as Mr. Havemeyer said, "it was none of the public's business," and when prices were lowered that was "business policy again, and not philanthropy."

It is difficult to estimate how far there may have been an increase in prices due to trusts, or how far that has been hurtful. From the Report on the Statistics of Labor for 1901, for Massachusetts, it appears that between 1897 and 1902 the cost of living for the working classes had risen 15·37 per cent., *i.e.*, food 11·16 per cent., clothing 16·07, rent 52·43, fuel and light 9·78, the expenditure on sundries in each year being put at the same proportion of income. These increases represent the movements in retail prices, the rise in wholesale prices being 36 per cent., and both are higher than the increase in general wages, which between 1897 and 1901 was 6·6 per cent. In Germany the kartells have shown themselves guilty of far greater extortion; it is enough to quote the sugar kartell. Some have tried to measure the loss to home con-

sumers by a comparison of prices charged to home and foreign customers; thus American shipbuilders were paying $1·65 for steel which at the same time was exported to be sold in England at 95 cents, while during the last two years the English iron trade has been disorganized by German iron dumped on our markets at or below cost price. This practice is defended by the assertion that the lower average cost of production of the larger output enables the quantity sold at home to be sold at a lower price than otherwise could be afforded. It is also the natural device of every manufacturer who tries to get a footing in a new market, or in one where he meets with strong competition, or when he has a surplus to dispose of, and is used by associations in free trade as well as in protected countries. Thus, Messrs. Denny and Co. say* that the Scottish Plate-makers' Association is prepared to sell boiler-plates abroad at £1 per ton below the home price. On the other hand a trust or kartell dealing in raw or semi-manufactured materials may, by selling abroad at low prices, injure a home trade which works up these same articles into the finished product; thus the Gerresheim Glassworks proprietors complained† in 1901 that their trade was falling off because their foreign competitors could get German coal at a lower rate than they had to pay. Obviously, the crux of the problem lies in the justice or otherwise of the home price. An important point is that the greatest sinners in the way of prices are not the great amalgamations, but the looser associations, syndicates, or kartells. A comparison of the range of prices during the earlier iron and steel pools in the United States, or of the price policy of the German kartells, with the more conservative conduct of the United States Steel Corporation is enough to establish this fact. Indeed a temporary organization, just because it is temporary, must force up prices and make hay while the sun shines, while a permanent combination must take longer views. Nowadays all the American trust magnates profess their belief in low prices.

Tariffs and Prices.

Before dealing with the normal regulation of prices we must first touch on any artificial conditions which strengthen the power of trusts. The chief of these is unquestionably a protective tariff. It is that which enabled Mr. Schwab to obtain $27 for steel rails costing $16 a ton. In Britain we have not had to complain of trusts raising prices because we have had the foreign producer to fall back on. The "infant industry" plea no longer holds good over large tracts of industry, and it is admitted that those iron and steel products, the labor-cost of which is low, no longer require a protective duty in America. We do not need to take the extreme view that the full amount of the import duty is always added to the cost of production and so levied from the consumer; how much will be added will depend upon the interaction of the duty and other coincident factors tending to reduce prices. In Germany the tariff seems to be very fully utilized, but in America it is not to the same degree; thus the

* *Glasgow Herald*, November 12, 1902.

† *Das Grundgesetz der Wirthschaftskrisen*. R. E. May. (Berlin, 1902.)

price of tinplate in the States has gradually approximated to the price abroad. Dr. Grunzel, the secretary of the Central Union of Austrian Manufacturers, puts the whole case very simply:* "An industry organized in kartells can exploit a protective tariff better than one not so organized, and therefore can do with a lower import duty."

One particular method of effecting tariff changes can, however, not be approved, that set forth in a Canadian Act of 1887. If the Governor believes that prices have been unduly raised owing to the operations of a trust, he may, after causing an inquiry to be held by a Judge of the Supreme Court, reduce or suspend the import duties on the articles in question. In virtue of this Act, the tax on imported printing paper was reduced from 25 to 15 per cent. *ad valorem* in February, 1902. Similar powers have been conferred by the Tariff Act recently passed by the Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth. This method throws the whole tariff policy into doubt and confusion, and thereby inflicts serious injury on trade; and since production by trusts now extends over a very wide range of commodities, it has the grave constitutional defect of removing the most important industrial questions from the legislative to the administrative branch of the Government. The same objection applies to the introduction of anti-trust clauses in commercial treaties. If a tariff is to be altered at all, it should be altered at proper intervals, after due notice, and not too frequently, instead of in a sporadic and irregular fashion.

We may, therefore, conclude that where a tariff exists the surest way of preventing extortionate prices is to lower or abolish the import duties, and that where trusts exist in a free trade country, there are the strongest reasons against adopting a protectionist policy. Trusts we can put up with when modified by foreign competition; protection we might endure, if domestic competition kept down prices; but both together are too much for any nation. We, in this country, have already experienced what monopoly meant during the coal boom.

Unfair Competition.

There are certain forms of price policy which are commonly adopted in the competitive world without doing very much harm, but which, in the hands of a trust, become instruments of tyranny.

There are three ways [says Professor J. B. Clark,†] in which a trust can crush an efficient competitor. The rival may be producing goods cheaply, and he may be the man who normally ought to survive; and yet the trust may ruin him. It may make use of the "factors' agreement," by which it gives a special rebate to those merchants who handle only its own goods. It may be resort, secondly, to the local cutting of prices, whereby the trust enters its rival's special territory and sells goods there below the cost of producing them, while sustaining itself by means of higher prices charged in other portions of its own field. Again, the trust may depend on the cutting of the price of some one variety of goods which a rival producer makes, in order to ruin him, while it sustains itself by means of the higher prices which it gets for goods of other varieties.

* *Ueber Kartelle.* (Berlin, 1902.)

†"Monopolies and the Law." *Political Science Quarterly*, Sept., 1901, p. 467.

The most familiar example of the tyranny of rebates is given by the shipping rings, which have thereby inflicted enormous injury on British trade. Merchants shipping goods to South Africa by independent vessels not only lose all of the 10 per cent. rebate granted for exclusive patronage of the ring which they may have earned, but are also charged double or quadruple rates for any shipments they may be compelled to make by "ring" vessels. Messrs. Denny and Co., of Glasgow, again, recently reported an attempt made to force shipbuilders to deal only with the Platemakers' Association, by refusing supplies to those dealing with outside firms. This tyrannical conduct only drove Messrs. Denny to Germany. Other charges are that "the Associated Boiler-makers' ring . . . while holding out for inflated prices for boiler-plates, was underselling in the ship-plate market."* In America the rebate policy was one of the most effective weapons of the Tobacco Trust, and differential prices were freely charged by it, as well as by the Petroleum, Salt, and Photographic Trusts.

The United States Industrial Commission recommended:

> That stringent laws be enacted by the Congress and the several State legislatures, making both penal and criminal the vicious practice of discriminating between customers, and cutting rates or prices in one locality below those which prevail generally, for the purpose of destroying local competition; and that such laws should give to any person damaged the right to sue for and recover prescribed penalties, and make it the duty of prosecuting officers to proceed against the offenders.

Professor Clark also urges the desirability of penalizing these practices, and seeing the extremely great difficulty of enforcing such laws, he advises that the commission of any one of these offences should be held proof of monopoly, thus, according to the common law of the United States, leading to the outlawry of the trust. His object is to keep alive the effective competition of efficient producers and to give reality to potential competition, which to-day are neutralized by the unfair advantages of the trusts. In this way he hopes to prevent monopoly and to escape from the ultimate nationalization of industry. Even those who do not share his hopes must agree that it is more consonant with the interests of the community that the trusts should develop solely through their efficiency as producers and not by the brute power of their wealth, and must therefore share his condemnation of trust tyranny. But in prohibiting those practices our whole view of industry is changed. It is no longer a means for securing the private gain of the individuals engaged in it, but the performance of a public service which requires all persons to be treated alike, and makes the managers responsible to the public for their whole conduct. To enforce such prohibitory laws would demand the most persistent vigilance on the part of the public, and in view of the many forms which evasion can take the best we can say is that enforcement is not absolutely impossible. In the matter of shipping rebates, the situation is much simpler than elsewhere. The case is made out for their prohibition, and we have additional weapons at hand in the grant of

* *Financial Times*, March 13, 1903.

postal and naval subsidies. Already in the Cunard subsidy it has been made a condition that the company is "not to unduly raise freights or to give any preferential rates to foreigners."

Anti-Trust Combinations.

When we have pared off these excrescences of price policy, we have still to face the fact that trusts can keep prices somewhat above competitive rates, and we may anticipate that they will prefer a steady "squeeze" in this way to sudden raids on the public purse. A trust can be met by combination among its customers, who are thus able to oppose a unified demand to a unified offer, or even to undertake manufacture co-operatively for themselves. The Austrian glass and soap workers in 1897 started a co-operative soda factory in opposition to the soda kartell, and in 1901 the mere threat of such action enabled the millers to win concessions from the Austro-Hungarian jute kartell. Early in 1902, the Union of Austrian Manufacturers, wearied of the monopoly of the coal commission houses, started an agency of their own, Gerich and Co., to purchase coal and coke as directed by the Union, to be sold to members at a price just enough to cover expenses. Last year a syndicate of Clyde shipbuilders started a nut, bolt and rivet works in opposition to the Scottish Rivet, Nut and Bolt Co., an amalgamation including most of the firms in the trade, but it has not been a success. A more significant experiment is the Piece Dyeing Trade Board of Bradford, constituted last spring of an equal number of representatives of the Bradford Dyers' Association and of the merchants, their customers, the latter appointed by the Bradford Chamber of Commerce. An independent umpire or chairman is provided for, and, while the merchants agree that the Association is entitled "to a first preference in respect of dyeing work," it is stipulated "that any difference or matter of dispute arising between the Association and their customers shall, if not capable of settlement between the parties, be referred to the committee for their arbitration, and their decision shall be final." In all these arrangements, however, the interests of the ultimate consumer are left out of sight, and it might well be that if an industry were controlled by a chain of trusts each strong enough to hold the others at bay, they would come to an understanding which would work to the detriment of the final purchaser, for it must not be overlooked that the relations between the trusts are every day becoming closer.

The establishment of a counter-trust might be a comparatively easy matter in the case of manufacturers who work up semi-manufactured products, but it is much more difficult among wholesale dealers and almost impossible among retailers, whose interests are too diverse and whose relations with each other are too uncertain to permit of effective joint action. In the retail trade the tendency is to frame agreements with the manufacturers and wholesale houses to fix retail prices which are enforced by the boycott of undercutters. Abundant examples of such agreements in this country may be found in the drug, grocery, and baking trades, and the tobacco retailers are still trying to secure a similar arrangement. Naturally the interests

of the manufacturers and retailers are alone considered in these alliances. To some extent the consumer can and does find a defence in the co-operative movement. Yet though co-operators have gained great benefits from their mutual support and will in future gain even greater, the movement is not strong enough to defeat the trusts and revolutionize the industrial system. Trusts spread faster than co-operation, which is practically confined to the factory workers, and though the capital engaged in co-operative production is large, it is only a drop compared to the industrial capital of the country. The co-operative stores can cope with the retailers even though, as at present, some manufacturers withhold their goods, but they cannot get control of the sources of raw material, and the heavy lines of manufacture are quite out of their sphere.

Regulation of Prices.

In the final resort we come to the State regulation of prices. To do so we must take a great leap in advance of public opinion, and even after having performed that feat we are still in the midst of difficulties. No Government department could possess the knowledge requisite to enable it to fix prices in a number of industries differing in all their circumstances. Only an intimate acquaintance with the course of the markets, to be acquired only from daily work in each trade, could give that capacity. Besides, it is a safe assumption that the best talents in any industry would be engaged in the practice of that industry, and that only, at best, second-rate abilities would be available to exercise such important judicial functions as are involved in the fixing of prices. One might almost say that State management of industry would be simple compared with the fixing of prices. Many of the trusts could even now be taken over by the State with as little dislocation as followed on the nationalization of the telegraphs. "We might even add," says Professor W. J. Ashley,* "that in the case of the Standard Oil monopoly, the development has already reached a point at which, on the purely economic and administrative side, there could be little objection to the Government taking over the business—if only there were a Government politically capable of the task." Perhaps the Wall Paper Manufacturers' Association and the Fine Cotton Spinners' and Doublers' Association approximate to the same condition. The problem is made little easier if we seek to limit prices by limiting the rate of profit, though there are precedents in our dealings with gas companies. Herr R. E. May of Hamburg is a strong advocate† of the limitation of profit to, say, seven per cent., and to meet the objection that this would sterilize progress, he would allow an additional one per cent. where improvements had been introduced, deducting a like amount where no effort had been made at development. The administrative difficulties would be immense in deciding what was admissible as an improvement, and in coping with juggles as to capitalization, depreciation, and reserves, nor must the doubtful result on the money market of such fixing of profit be overlooked.

* *Surveys, Historic and Economic*, p. 387.
† *Das Grundgesetz der Wirthschaftskrisen.*

Supervision of Trusts.

It thus seems conclusive that the State can only effectively regulate prices by assuming the management of industry, but nevertheless some attempt at regulation may be anticipated. The plan most likely to work well is that sketched out by Dr. Grunzel, and as it comes from a believer in combination, and an official of a manufacturers' association, it is worthy of attention. He deals only with kartells or syndicates, not with amalgamations, and he would compel them all to be registered and to file their statutes with a State department. Registration would confer on kartells full legal capacity, including the power to sue members for breach of contract, which they cannot do at present in Austria, Britain or America.

The supervising department would be empowered to hear all complaints and to take cognizance of all acts contrary to the public interest; it would have the right to conduct enquiries and to call for explanations; and if the offending kartell did not amend its ways its would be struck off the register and thus cease to be legalized. The same procedure might be extended to amalgamations, though Dr. Grunzel does not go so far, for, though an amalgamation cannot be dissolved like a kartell, it could be refused the aid of the law courts in enforcing contracts, as, for instance, has happened to illegal combinations in Illinois. We may find a precedent in our own Railway Commission, though experience of that body shows that while effective in repressing injustice or excess, this method might be inoperative in dealing with rates or prices which inflicted injury on the community, as apart from individuals. Control would be strengthened by the constitution in different industries of arbitration courts, with the help of the Chambers of Commerce, similar to the Piece Dyeing Trade Board. The shipping industry would certainly seem to afford a good case for experiment in this direction. The alternative to State supervision of kartells or associations is that we must rely for the prevention of monopoly or oppression on dishonorable members who break their agreements. That happens often enough, but it does not conduce to a high moral tone in industry. It is only the abuse of combination which requires to be suppressed; combination itself is to be welcomed as leading to improved industrial organization and the contract of combination should be enforceable like any other.

Trusts and the Workers.

As with prices so with wages, the power of the trust seems at first to be absolute. A great corporation could lock out a section of its men permanently if it could keep its other works going; it could, and sometimes does, move a branch from one town to another and so has an effective weapon of punishment at hand; even in the ordinary process of concentration it inflicts suffering by the closing of unnecessary works; the terror of the "black list" is multiplied. But, on the other hand, the American anthracite strike has shown that public opinion can force even a trust to give way, and there is also the certainty that it would not be economically advantageous to force down wages, since without high wages the

care and skill cannot be secured which are needed in the handling of expensive and complicated machinery. Lastly, the working man has a much keener sense of his interests as an employé than the consumer has of his interests as a consumer, and a trust would think twice before carrying out an anti-labor policy which would send the workers flocking to the polls to vote for anti-trust candidates. So far as American experience goes the fears of an anti-labor campaign scarcely seem justified. The final report of the Industrial Commission says:

> The evidence before the Commission indicates that the great majority of the combinations recognize trade unions and deal with their representatives in fixing the wage-scale and conditions of labor. . . . . So far there seems to be no indication that the combinations are attempting to lower the wages of working men. The attention of the Commission has not been called to a single instance of an attempt on the part of the combinations to reduce wages generally. In fact, the combinations have, apparently, raised wages as willingly as individuals, and given their employees privileges of all kinds with no more hesitation. The investigation made by the Department of Labor shows that combinations have raised wages *slightly* more than other employers of labor in the same industry.

Too much must not be deduced from these facts, for American trusts have only experienced prosperity, and it remains to be seen whether in a period of depression they would not use to their own advantage that stronger strategic position which concentration gives them. That is all the more to be feared in Britain, since, as one of our judges has said, it is now almost impossible to conduct a strike without illegality. It therefore becomes necessary for the State to guarantee the minimum standard of life just as it prescribes a minimum standard of safety, and to provide for the scientific settlement of industrial disputes by arbitration. For these purposes it is urgently necessary that the trade unions should increase their membership, and devote their energies to political action. It is true that Mr. Baer, the president of the Reading Company, assured us during the American anthracite strike that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of this country," but on the whole the working classes will probably prefer to supplement this fatherly care by the protection of the State.

Protection of Investors.

The investor in bubble companies is scarcely an object for much pity, and many would consider that the losers from over-capitalized trusts have little claim on public sympathy. Yet it is to the public interest that industry should have a sound financial basis, and that commercial confidence should not be shaken by the frequent collapse of water-logged businesses. The late Lord Russell's stinging denunciations of company-promoting frauds and questionable practices are not yet forgotten. In the United States the position is much worse, for there the law does not require the disclosure of the amount of purchase money, assets, earning capacity, or promoters' profits.

> The larger combinations usually issue to their stockholders once a year an annual report regarding the business. This report, however, is frequently in terms so general that it is difficult to learn much regarding actual conditions. This secrecy in promo-

tion, combined with very large capitalization, gives a great advantage to directors and officers of the combination and others associated with them in knowing the value of the shares. There seems to be no doubt that in many instances the promoters of combinations have been able to unload large blocks of stock at prices far above their values, as shown by later experience.

But the Industrial Commission Report continues, "it is probable that the period of the most excessive capitalization of corporations has passed," for bankers and investors, warned by experience, are insisting on "more and more information." This improvement comes too late for a large number of heavily over-capitalized trusts which at the first breath of adversity will pass into the hands of receivers and be reconstructed. Afterwards, like the American railroads which have gone through the same process, they may become sound and prosperous. Meantime, the attempt to earn dividends on an inflated capital tends to keep up prices.

The American ideal at present seems to be to bring their joint-stock company laws up to the British level. The Industrial Commission recommended:

That, to prevent over-capitalization, the several State legislatures enact laws similar to the anti-stock-watering laws of Massachusetts; also to provide for State supervision of all public service corporations, with power to recommend or regulate rates for service, and to pass upon the public need, desirablity, or exigency of any proposed new service.

These laws require that stock must only be issued for cash or for value in actual property, and the directors must obtain from the State Commissioner of Corporations a certificate that he is "satisfied that the valuation given within is a fair and reasonable valuation for the property described." The value of patents would appear to be admissible in such valuation, but not that of goodwill or trade marks. Yet this exclusion would seem to be unfair, since goodwill, if reasonable, measures earning capacity, and would only serve to send up market prices above par. To get a State valuation of goodwill does not appear feasible, and, where ordinary stock which includes goodwill is taken by the vendors, it is unnecessary. It is enough to require that all information should be given necessary to enable the investor to protect himself, and then to ask that he should exercise reasonable caution in his investments. If, as in the case of the English Sewing Cotton Co., investors are ready to pay £457,000 for the goodwill of businesses that are admittedly "in serious difficulties," it is difficult for any law to protect them. The only other proposal, beyond the adoption of the British law made by the Industrial Commission to ensure publicity, was that "the larger corporations—the so-called trusts—should be required to publish annually a properly audited report . . . such report and audit under oath to be subject to Government inspection" in order to bring to light any irregularities or illegalities. To this there can be no objection—there is an American precedent in the State inspection of banks—but under the Companies Act of 1900 auditors in Britain have already very full powers and very serious responsibilities. In fact, the main alteration in our law required to make it fully applicable to trust evils is that it should be compulsory on promoters to disclose all expenses and proceedings leading up to the flotation of the company.

Trusts and the State.

When all possible laws have been passed to prevent excessive prices, to protect the worker, and to safeguard the investor, so that the trust is left to rely on skill in management and on business advantages, its development will be slower but for that very reason the more sure. Under such circumstances the relations between the trusts and the State become of great importance, because we are then confronted by the alternatives of private monopoly and public monopoly. At the best private monopoly can only be a benevolent despotism; at the worst it may be a grinding tyranny, even though its slaves are well fed. It is an error to suppose that the joint-stock company system as exhibited in trusts leads to any widespread redistribution of wealth; at most the investing classes have turned their attention from gold mines and Turkish bonds to industrials. The Industrial Commission could find no evidence that wealth in the States was better distributed than before the trust period, and if in the United Kingdom we are scarcely likely to see the production of such a very wealthy group as in America, the concentration of businesses has given a very much greater power to the comparatively small class of men who own the largest blocks of stock. So long as he gets his dividends the small shareholder will never interfere with the directors except to urge them to the extraction of still greater profits. It is to be expected that wealth will make a strong effort to capture the national administration; it has ability, it has leisure, it has prestige, and it is at present in occupation. We do not need to look for the coarse and worn-out methods of bribery, but for the more subtle processes by which the "interests"—banking, shipping, railway, etc.—secure so large a proportion of parliamentary representation to-day, and for the vehement efforts which gas, tramway, water, and electric monopolies make to influence municipal elections. As in the parallel case of the liquor traffic so with the trusts, it would not be surprising if a strong public feeling should grow up that the only efficient control was public management. Additional impetus would be given to that feeling if, as some suppose, the private monopolies secure of their field ceased to trouble about improvements. A preliminary step to protect the State against the aggression of the over wealthy class would be the special taxation of the rich. That is already admitted in our taxation system, and the Industrial Commission advised the levying of a small graduated tax on the gross earnings of companies. On this it is only to be said that the special taxation of an industry or of a particular method of conducting an industry, not in itself objectionable, does not seem justifiable. The only discrimination which should be made in taxation is between earned and unearned incomes. When that principle is conceded taxation is an excellent method of taking for the State a portion of that wealth which is created by our common social activity.

The operations of foreign trusts have a special concern for the countries with which they trade. A threatened domestic industry can only be protected by itself combining against the foreigner. So much we learned from the Tobacco War. Even where a foreign

trust dumps its surplus product in a country at cost price, the home corporation could probably meet it by availing itself of the best methods of production and the economies of combination, by reducing prices temporarily as the Gas Strip Association did in 1902, or, like the Imperial Tobacco Co., by carrying the war into the enemy's country. The first duties of the State in aiding domestic industries against outsiders should be to ensure efficiency by providing a suitable education for all the industrial classes from top to bottom, and to prevent the hampering of commerce either by the railway companies or by shipping rings. If the German Government makes itself a partner with private industry by granting low freights for export over the national railways, then in the long run we shall find ourselves compelled to do with the railways what we have done with the telegraphs, and work them as a national system. If we cannot grasp the idea that commerce and industry are no longer merely individual undertakings, but predominantly national services, we shall neither understand the significance of recent changes nor the real character of the problems of the near future. So long as a nation is to exist as a nation it cannot endure servitude to a foreign trust and the disappearance of necessary industries. A protective tariff is so favorable to individual as opposed to national interests that it is naturally the first crude method of defence proposed, but rather than protect our industries against the efficient foreigner we want to force them up to his level; in the long run it is only efficiency that is dangerous. The Cunard subsidy plan, where the Government lends capital on conditions as to moderation in rates and efficiency in service, is a safer precedent, but with participation in the risks of capital should go too participation in management.

The international war of trusts may lead to two other results calling for State intervention. It may end, like the Tobacco War, in the division of territory, thus destroying the safety valve of foreign competition, or in amalgamation. In either case the possibilities of tyranny are enhanced. There is no effective defence against an international trust, except nationalization, for formal dissolution of the union would probably result only in the substitution of an equally objectionable and far less vulnerable private understanding. Public opinion turns inevitably towards the replacement of private initiative by national control, and nothing would hasten that development more rapidly than either the parcelling out of the world among the trusts or the appearance of many large international organizations.

RECENT BOOKS ON TRUSTS.

British Industries. Edited by Prof. W. J. ASHLEY. Longmans, 1903. 5s. 6d.

Trusts, Pools and Corporations. Edited by Prof. RIPLEY. Ginn and Co., 1905. 8s. 6d.

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Socialism and Christianity.

"I seriously believe that Christianity is the only foundation of Socialism, and that a true Socialism is the necessary result of a sound Christianity."
Frederick Denison Maurice, 1849.

It is extraordinary how little many Christian people realize the meaning of their own religion, so that they are actually shocked very often at Socialism; and yet all the while Socialism is doing just the very work which they have been commanded by their Master to do. This fact is so obvious that no representative and responsible Christian body can be found to deny it.

Take as an example of this the most representative official English religious gathering possible—the Pan-Anglican Conference of Bishops which met at Lambeth as long ago as 1888.* These prelates, drawn from all parts of the world, belonging by birth to the propertied classes, by station to the House of Lords, and by tradition to the Tory Party, made a solemn pronouncement on the subject of Socialism. Here, if anywhere, we should find a denial that Socialism was Christian. But no! They turned and blessed it. Here are the words of their Encyclical:—

> The Christian Church is bound, following the teaching of her Master, to aid every wise endeavor which has for its object the material and the moral welfare of the poor. Her Master taught her that all men are brethren, not because they share the same blood, but because they have a common heavenly Father. He further taught her that if any members of this spiritual family were greater, richer, or better than the rest, they were bound to use their special means or ability in the service of the whole. . . . It will contribute no little to draw together the various classes of society if the clergy endeavour in sermons and lectures to set forth the true principle of society, showing how Property is a trust to be administered for the good of Humanity, and how much of what is good and true in Socialism is to be found in the precepts of Christ.

So, then, in 1888, when there was no Labor Party or press, we parsons were told in the most solemn way by our official leaders that we were to be social reformers, to preach the Brotherhood of Man, and to show "how much of what is good and true in Socialism is to be found in the precepts of Christ." In writing this tract, therefore, I am but obeying the instructions of my Fathers in God.

An old agricultural laborer once admitted to me that Socialism was "all backed by Scripture"; and I need hardly remind anyone who reads his Bible, that if I were to put down every passage that

* Ten years before this Tract was written in 1898. The next Lambeth Conference, 1897, endorsed this and strengthened it. So did the next in 1908 and 1920.

makes for Socialism, I should want a pamphlet several sizes larger than this. But nothing is more futile than the unintelligent slinging of texts; and I shall therefore confine myself strictly to the *central features* of Christianity, and not pick out chance sayings here and there, since that could be done with the writings of every great moral teacher that has ever lived. Christianity is difierent. It does not only provide a few noble sayings that Socialists would welcome. It *is* Socialism, and a good deal more.

And because I have only space for the central features of the Christian faith, I must pass over the magnificent utterances of the Old Testament prophets and confine myself to the strictly Christian documents, and in these to the sayings and doings of Christ and His Apostles, with a reference to some leading principles of the Church universal.

How Christ Came.

How did Christ come into the world? That is the most important point of all, the most central. We Christians believe that God the Son became man. He could have come in any class He chose, and the Jews expected the Messiah to appear as a great Prince. If Christ had come thus, as an Oriental potentate, in pomp and luxury, with a crowded harem and troops of soldiers, the influential Jews of the day would have welcomed Him. But He was born in a stable. He came as a working man. He worked at His own trade till He was thirty; and then, choosing other working men as His companions, He tramped about the country as one that had not where to lay His head; doing innumerable secular works of mercy, besides preaching spiritual regeneration; and blessing the poor, while He condemned the rich and denounced the proud teachers and leaders of the national religion; and, after three years, He was executed by the law of the land, because He preached revolutionary doctrines, which the common people "heard gladly," but which were detested by the religious authorities of the day.

This was not only a reversal of all that the Jews expected, but it was also a new phenomenon in the world's history. No one before had ever thought of setting on such a basis the message of social regeneration. Nay, even the noblest of Greek philosophers, the constructors of ideal States, had utterly failed to take account of labor, and had based their ideal republics upon slavery. To Plato, even, the masses had but "half a soul"; while Aristotle, who regarded slaves as "living machines," and women as nature's failures to produce men, wrote: "Certainly there may be some honest slaves and women; nevertheless it may be said that women generally belongs to an inferior species, while a slave is an uttterly despicable being" (*Polit.* i, 13). And in Athens, B.C. 300, the slaves numbered about 400,000 out of a total population of 515,000. Ancient society was also based upon infanticide.

But by the Incarnation not only was labor given its true position, but the unity of the whole human race was proclaimed. Humanity in its solidarity was taken upon Himself by the Divine

Word, and every human being declared to be an infinitely sacred and precious thing, with transcendent rights to the fullest development.

Everybody Knew It.

Nor was there any doubt about it from the first. Christ's Mother knew it as soon as she knew that He was to be born of her; and she sang that revolutionary hymn, the *Magnificat*, which is still, curious to relate, repeated every day at Evensong in church: "He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts, He hath put down the mighty from their seats, And hath exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things, And the rich He hath sent empty away" (*Luke* i, 51-3). And at His Nativity there was a similar demonstration of social fellowship as inseparable from true religion: "Glory to God in the highest," the angels sang, "Peace on earth; Goodwill among men."

The man who was sent as Christ's forerunner, to prepare the way before Him, knew it also. "Every valley shall be filled," he cried (*Luke* iii, 5), "and every mountain and hill shall be brought low," putting the *levelling* principle in a nutshell. And when the people asked him what they ought to do, he just told them to practise communism: "He that hath two coats let him impart to him that hath none, and he that hath food let him do likewise" (*Luke* iii, 11, R.V.).* Is it not just what Socialists are trying to do—to level up the valleys, to scatter the proud, to fill the hungry by an equal distribution, —and to change an unchristian state of society, under which it is the *poor* who are sent empty away?

The first public utterance of our Lord Himself proclaimed the same social revolution. On that solemn occasion when He began His mission, He went into the Synagogue at Nazareth; He took the roll of the Hebrew Scriptures, and, out of all the sayings therein, He chose this one: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, Because He anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor: He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, And recovering of sight to the blind, To set at liberty them that are bruised, To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord" (*Luke* iv, 18, R.V.). Could anything be more significant?

Wanted, Orthodoxy.

And now I come to the question, What did Christ Himself teach? He taught much about God, but He also taught much about men.† Religion has these two sides, and both are of immense importance.‡

* I quote from the Revised Version when it seems to bring out best the meaning of the original.

† Let it be clearly understood. This Tract is not written to belittle the Godward side of religion, or to condone that lack of spirituality which is too common already. But its subject is the Duty to our Neighbor which is as much neglected as the Duty to God.

‡ It is noteworthy that the great Pagan writer, Lucian, was as much struck by the social as by the theological side of the new religion. In the passage where he notices the existence of Christianity, he remarks: "It was impressed on them by their original lawgiver that they are all brothers, from the moment that they are con-

We hear, and we need to hear, a great deal about our Duty to God; but how about that other Duty which our Lord declared to be "like unto it"—the Duty to our Neighbor? The Church Catechism* teaches all its little children that it is just as imperative to love our neighbor as ourself as to love God. And surely what we have to show Christian folk is not that we want them to embrace some strange new form of Christianity, but that we want them to be faithful to the old; not to give up their faith, but to hold it in all its fulness; not to be unorthodox, but to be really orthodox—orthodox about this Duty to their Neighbor, which St. John, the most profoundly spiritual of all the Bible writers, declares to come before the Duty to God: "For he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" (1 *John* iv, 20).

What, then, was the social teaching of that Man, who came to reveal God to men, and yet whom St. Peter described afterwards (*Acts* x, 38) as one who "went about doing good"? We will take the four most prominent forms of His teaching—His Signs, His Parables, His Sermon, His Prayer.

Christ's Signs.

Very often when we go into church we find the congregation singing some hymn which expresses the utmost weariness of life and the keenest desire to die and pass to the "better land." Stout old gentlemen and smart young women sing it lustily; and we know that they are singing a lie; for if they were told that they were to die to-morrow, they would not find it at all weary "waiting here." That is an instance of the heresy of modern popular religion. Christ taught exactly the opposite. The vast majority of His miracles restored men to health and life, and enabled them to go back to their work, and to enjoy the measure of life which God allots to mankind. Death in old age, when a man's work is done, is not a sad thing; but death in youth, or in the prime of life is piteous, horrible, abnormal: and so are sickness and deformity.

Christ, then, devoted a large portion of His time to fighting against disease and premature death, and He wept when a friend had been carried off in his prime. Our Bible often calls these acts miracles; but this is a mistranslation of the original Greek, which calls them *signs*—that is, significant acts. If we, then, realize their significance, if we are imitators of Christ in this, too, according to our power, we shall heal sickness, and fight against disease and death, in the workshop and in the slum dwelling; since all sanitary and social reform is but carrying out on a larger scale the signs which our Lord wrought for our example.† For instance, of the children born in the working classes, about twice as many have died as among

verted. . . . All this they take quite on trust, with the result that they despise all worldly goods alike, regarding them merely as common property." Lucian's *Works* (H. W. and F. G. Fowler's translation), vol. iv, p. 83.

* "I learn two things: my duty towards God, and my duty towards my Neighbor. . . . to love him as myself, and to do to all men," etc.

† "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto the Father" (*John* xiv., 12).

the well to do.* And yet, if we even offend or despise one of these little ones, He tells us (*Matt.* xviii) it were better for us that we were cast into the sea with a millstone about our neck! It is surely no empty form that to the most respectable congregations it is said from the altar Sunday after Sunday, "Thou shalt do no murder." For we are all sharers in this ghastly holocaust, and the blood is on our hands, unless we are laboring with all our power to prevent it.

But, further, we learn from the signs of Christ not only to save life and health, but to increase its comfort, as He did at the feeding of the multitudes—and its merriment, as He did at the Cana marriage feast.

Christ's Parables.

Many of the Parables, too, deal with social questions. Many are terrific attacks on money-making, and one was the inspiration of that epoch-making treatise on economics, Ruskin's "Unto this Last." Another was commonly supposed to be difficult only because people did not see that money, the "Mammon of Unrighteousness," must be used so as to make friends—not of Mammon, but of men,† and not enemies—a Socialist moral, as Archbishop Trench himself explained in his standard work on the Parables.

Another, that of the Good Samaritan, it is very necessary to remember for this reason: that it gives an entirely new meaning to the word "neighbor." When Jesus was asked what was the first commandment, He gave a remarkable answer (*Matt.* xxii, 37). The first part, "Love the Lord thy God, was expected: it was doubtless embroidered on the philactery of the lawyer who asked the question. But Jesus added an unexpected second commandment—"a second is like unto it" (not "*the* second" as in the A.V.). He must at some time ransacked the Old Testament, to find that chance utterance about loving one's neighbor, buried away in a corner of Leviticus. And there "neighbor" only meant a man's own kith and kin.‡ But when Jesus, in answer to the question "Who is my neighbor?" (*Luke* x, 29) told the story of the Good Samaritan, He expressly showed that He meant by neighbor every human being all the world over, including "enemies" even. So it is not really true to say that our Lord, in saying "Love thy neighbor," etc., and "Do to others," etc., was only repeating an Old Testament maxim. It was, as He said, "a new commandment."§

Look at the "Parables of the Kingdom." They expressly confute the common notion that the Kingdom of Heaven is something only in the next world, and that men are set only to save what Kingsley called "their own dirty souls." For these Parables are quite

* *Local Govt. Bd. Rep.*, 1912-13:—Upper middle classes, 77 per 1,000; wage-earners, 133 (agricultural, 77); miners, 160; unskilled, 152. Infant mortality is decreasing.

† "Make to yourself friends *by means of* the mammon" (*Luke* xvi, 9, R.V.).

‡ "Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (*Leviticus* xix, 18).

§ "A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love another" (*John* xiii).

unintelligible unless we believe that our Lord came to found a great human Brotherhood—to set up an ideal of goodness and beauty, and to unite men together in the practise of it, here and now, on this earth. He came thus on a social mission to bind men together in love, as well as to purify their individual souls. And so He said that this "Kingdom of Heaven" was like a draw-net (*Matt.* xiii, 47), not consisting only of converted persons, but of every kind; and like a field (xiii, 24) where the tares and wheat grow together; like a grain of mustard seed (xiii, 31) in the way it should grow; and like leaven (xiii, 33) which should spread till it had made the whole world good.

But the last parable He ever uttered is the most important of all; because in it He gave us a picture of the actions for which God judges us. If we know how we shall be judged, then we know what we have to do—how we are to be true Christians. And what does this great Parable of the Judgment (*Matt.* xxv, 31-46) tell us will settle our fate in the next world? Extraordinary to relate, it is just the opposite to what the professedly religious world has been saying, and just the very thing that the Socialists teach. We shall be saved or condemned according to our acts of social service, Christ tells us, saying nothing about church-going, or conversion, or orthodoxy; for these latter are nothing unless they are so genuine as to have a practical result. "Faith without works is dead" (*James* ii, 14-26). We shall be placed on His right hand if we have fed and clothed and helped others—not merely among our own friends, for sinners do that * but those who cannot help themselves; and our Lord, in a magnificent passage, asserts the solidarity of all mankind in Him, by identifying Himself even with the poor wretch in an unspeakable Eastern prison. Then, turning to those on His left, He says: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into the 'fire of the age,'" not because you were heathens or agnostics, but because "I was an hungered and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. . . . Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these least, ye did it not unto me."†

Christ's Sermon.

And this great principle, that what we do is of far more importance than what we profess, is made the clinching passage of the Sermon on the Mount (*Matt.* vii, 16-26)—"By their fruits ye shall know them. Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father." What that Will is we shall see further on. But here

* "For if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? for sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? for sinners also do even the same. And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again" (*Luke* vi, 32-4).

† St. Basil, in his Homily on Riches, shows the feeling of the early Church about this parable when he says: "The robber is not even arraigned [at the Day of Judgment] but the unsocialist [*ho akoinonetos*] is condemned [*katakrinetai*]."

I will point out how this Sermon directly contradicts modern individualism, both secular and religious.

Our religious individualism is condemned in three prominent characteristics—its self-righteous censoriousness ("Judge not . . . Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye"—vii, 1-5); its parade of "charity," falsely so called, and subscription lists ("But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth: that thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall recompense thee" *); its love of cant ("And when thou prayest thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets"—vi, 5-6).

And now for what the Sermon says about secular individualism. Here are the Beatitudes, with which the Sermon begins, printed by Ruskin side by side with their modern perversions :—

CHRIST.	PRESENT-DAY.
Blessed are the poor in spirit: † for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.	Blessed are the rich in flesh: for theirs is the Kingdom of Earth.
Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.	Blessed are they that are merry; and laugh the last.
Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.	Blessed are the proud: in that they *have* inherited the earth.
Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness (dikaiosuné ‡); for they shall be filled.	Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after unrighteousness (injustice): in that they shall divide its mammon.
Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy.	Blessed are the merciless; for they shall obtain money.
Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.	Blessed are the foul in heart: for they shall see no God.
Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.	Blessed are the war-makers: for they shall be adored by the children of men.

To which one might add two further parallels to the two remaining Beatitudes :—

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousnest' sake; for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.	Blessed are those who persecute the lovers of justice: for they prevent the Kingdom of Heaven.
Blessed are ye, when man shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.	Blessed are ye, when the Press shall speak well of you, and praise you; for so did their fathers to the false prophets.

Besides this, the following principles are also taught in the Sermon on the Mount: Love of our enemies, anger being a form of murder (*Luke* vi, 27; *Matt.* v, 21-44); affirmation instead of oaths:

* *Matt.* vi, 1-4, R.V. Not "Shall reward thee *openly*," which is a late addition by some scribe who hankered after antithesis and so destroyed the real point.

† St. Luke has simply "the poor," and follows immediately with "Woe unto you that are rich"; and scholars think that St. Luke gives the original which was modified by St. Matthew. (See, *e.g.*, *The Study of the Gospels*, by Dr. J. A. Robinson, pp. 76, *ff.*) "Poor in spirit," of course, does not mean poor-spirited, but simply the not caring about private property. Poverty in Christ's time *did not imply pauperism or degradation*, but such a simple life as the fisherman-apostles lived.

‡ *I.e.* "justice": see p. 15.

avoidance of capital punishment, and of all litigation and retaliation (*Matt* v, 33-41); a warning that we are not to insist on the "rights of property" (v, 40); a command to give to every one that asks our help (v, 42); a command to lend without asking interest or even the principal back (*Luke* vi, 34, 35); the wrongfulness of all forms of "making money" (*Matt.* vi, 19-21), and the consequent impossibility of serving God if we serve Mammon (vi, 24); that "thrift" is not the right way to abolish poverty (vi, 25-34). But that God wishes all men to have good food, and drink, and beautiful clothes (vi, 29-32) without either the grinding worry of poverty or the deadening lust of riches (vi, 24, 31, 34); and that this happy state of things is to be obtained by our seeking, first of all, two things—the holy brotherhood and the Justice of God. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you" (vi, 33). Seek ye first the divine society and the divine justice, and all these things—clothes more beautiful than Solomon's, and good food and drink—shall be added unto you. Be social, godly, just, and you shall have Utopia. But the modern world is anti-social, selfish, unjust, and we have—London!

It may be urged that some of these precepts of the Sermon are ideal, and not practicable under present conditions. This is true. But it proves that a social system under which the precepts of Christ cannot be carried out is not a system which Christians can be content with. Christianity is in fact far ahead of us; and we have to assist in developing society in the direction of this ideal. So far as we can see, that direction is also the direction of Socialism; although as man develops from his present rudimentary condition to the glorious future which evolution and the Gospel foretell, he may pass beyond the ideal of present-day Socialism to something vaster and more sublime.

Christ's Prayer.

A prayer is generally considered a particularly "other-worldly" thing, or, at least, when it is concerned with this world, it is nearly always selfish and limited, like the prayers children are taught—"Bless father and mother, and make Tommy a good boy," which curiously illustrates how general is the narrowing of modern religion, and grows naturally in after years to—

> Bless me and my wife,
> My son and his wife,
> Us four and no more. Amen.

Our Lord gave us only one prayer, and that quite short, for He set it as a model on which all prayer was to be based. How far we have departed from that model will be clear if we consider its clauses one by one.

The Lord's prayer was originally given for private use.* Here, then, if anywhere, we shall find Individualism! Let us see. The Prayer contains seven petitions and three extra clauses. *None* of

* "But thou when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret" (*Matt.* vi, 6).

these ten parts are individual; *all* are social, three of the petitions are distinctly what some people would call "worldly," while the three extra clauses are specially inserted to insure the social application of the rest.

OPENING CLAUSE.—"Our Father which art in heaven." At the very outset Individualism is renounced; though we pray "in secret" we have to say "Our," and to include all humanity in our prayer, approaching God as the common Father of the whole human family. And no one can say "Our Father which art in heaven" unless he has first said "Our brethren which are on the earth."

1ST PETITION.—"Hallowed be thy Name." The first Petition, like the two next, refers to this world. There should be no full-stops between this petition and "In earth as in heaven." In Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, which represents the high-water mark of biblical scholarship, the clauses are thus printed:—

> Our Father which art in heaven:
> Hallowed be thy name,
> Thy kingdom come,
> Thy will be done,
> In earth as in Heaven:

How, then, is God's Name to be hallowed here upon the earth? Certainly not by a state of things under which in London alone 1,400,000 people* are living in want! If blasphemy in words is wrong, how about blasphemy in *deed*? Whenever we make earthly matter the mirror of the love and justice of God we are hallowing His Name, for we are vindicating His righteousness. But where is the love or justice in modern trade, or politics, or diplomacy? Ask a City man, and he will reply, with a smile, that business is business; by which he means that selfishness must be supreme, untinctured by any thought of mutual love or justice. Indeed, a few years ago, before the Socialist protest, every political economist would have told you that men can only be reckoned with as "competing machines." Now, this is the real blasphemy, the real atheism, the materialism. It has driven thousands of working men into revolt against God, because they felt they could not believe in a loving Father when they saw the blank misery and oppression all around them. Yet God made the country, God places man amid lovely surroundings, which are the glory and delight of poet and artist; but man, modern commercial man, has made the hideous modern town, which shuts out every ennobling influence from those who have to live in it. In fact, it is generally admitted by the most conservative people that "the devil made the town"—that prince of jerry-builders! To hallow God's name, then, we must make the world a mirror of His love and beauty and justice.

2ND AND 3RD PETITIONS.—"Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done." God has given man free-will because it is better to be free and imperfect than to be an irreproachable machine. But God's evolution of the world is towards perfection. Therefore Socialists

* Charles Booth, *Life and Labor*, ii, 20-21, 1891. In 1911, 4 persons in every ten died in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum.—*Registrar-General's Rep.*, 1912.

are right in believing in Utopia ; and as Christians we are bound to be Utopians. People often object that we are dreamy, unpractical people, because we are idealists. But everyone who says the Lord's Prayer definitely proclaims himself a fellow-worker with God for a perfect social state ; he prays for a heaven on earth, for God's will to be as perfectly done here as it is in heaven, for men to be as perfect as the angels, and for this divine evolution to take a social form in the "Kingdom of God." He is *bound*, then, to believe that all our struggles for social and moral reform are leading us to a Utopia. As Ruskin says : "When you pray 'Thy Kingdom come,' you either want it to come or you don't. If you don't, you should not pray for it. If you do, you must do more than pray for it—you must live for it, and labor for the Kingdom of God."

2ND EXTRA CLAUSE.—"In earth as it is in heaven." Our Lord inserts this to make it quite clear that He does not mean us to use the three foregoing petitions in an unreal or other-worldly sense.

4TH PETITION.—"Give us this day our daily bread." When it is evening, and the day's work is over, you are still bound to say this prayer ; for it is morning on the other side of the earth, and there are hungry people in the Antipodes. When your larder is full, you must use it none the less ; for it is not "Give me," but "Give us." It is not "Give me my daily seven-course dinner and champagne," but "Give us our daily bread." Here, in this short prayer, Christ has found room for a thorough statement of our most mundane needs—necessities for *all*, but harmful luxuries for no one. If, then, any man uses this prayer, he is morally bound to distribute his wealth, from his luxury to supply other men's necessities, and to work for a more equal distribution of wealth.* For what one man has another cannot have, and every penny one man has above the true product of society forces some one else to have less, and causes to lack his "daily bread."

5TH PETITION.—"And forgive us our trespasses." Well, you may think, at least, is something that has nothing to with Socialism ! Is it ? Look again.

This also has an EXTRA CLAUSE attached to it, so careful was our Lord to guard against Individualism—"as we forgive them that trespass against us." Here, even here, then, the Christian Faith is social, corporate, reciprocal ; and as we shall be judged by our treatment of our brother, so by our conduct towards him we are forgiven. Christ never allows us to get away from this neighbor of ours. Therefore it was only to be expected that modern heresy should have raised a cry directly the opposite of Christ's principles. "No man shall come between me and my God," was that cry—as if they

* See, for instance, *Luke* iii, 11, already quoted on page 5, "He that hath two coats," etc. ; *James* ii., 15-17, R.V., "If a brother or sister be naked, and in lack of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Go in peace, be ye warmed and filled ; and yet ye give them not the things needful to the body ; what doth it profit ? Even so faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself" ; and also 1 *John* iii, 17, "But whoso hath the world's goods," etc., quoted on page 15.

would make private property even of the Almighty! But the teaching of the Lord's Prayer is that *every man* shall come between me and God. God will not even foregive us, unless we "forgive our debtors."

6TH PETITION.—"Lead us not into temptation." It may be objected that nothing so far has been in favour of Economic Socialism, of State Collectivism. This is quite true; for if our Lord had taught economics, instead of religion with its two great Duties, He would never have led the world to brotherhood at all: all real economic and political reform has been the result of moral regeneration, which in turn it assists. True Socialism * is a much larger thing than Collectivism, which is but one economic scheme for realising it. The methods will change from age to age, as indeed State Socialism has already during the last few years been partly supplanted by Guild Socialism. What abides and grows is the principle of Socialism, which works through both state and municipality, through the guild and the co-operative society, through private effort and public law. Christ taught for all time; and, if He had insisted on Collectivism, men would never have become unselfish enough to attain it. But His teaching and His example are always in advance of us, and thus we are able to develop.

But it is clear to my mind that this 6th Petition impels us to work for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. "Lead us not into temptation." Clearly if we twentieth century folk were Anarchists, we should be living in overwhelming temptation; and if you and I, my Socialist friend, were living as Communists, I am afraid we should find that Tom, Dick, and Harry, not to mention Levi and Cohen, would be tempted to take advantage of us. But the State in which we do happen to live is Individualistic, and I need hardly remind you that under this present competitive system the atmosphere of temptation is terrific. In the office and the workshop, in the studio and behind the counter, all day long the voices cry: "Make money, honestly if you can; but, at all events, make money! If you want to get on, you mustn't mind shouldering So-and-so out of the way. You must look after Number One. Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost!"

Now, I think this, more than anything else, has made me a Socialist. I know that money is the main cause of the awful temptations of these modern times, which have seriously made a new gospel, not of good-will towards men, but of "Self-help"; and I want not only to be freed from this temptation myself, but I want "us" to be freed from it, for I know that it is destroying all our nobility of character. If I want, then, mankind not to be led into temptation, I cannot support the present competitive system.

* "The method of Socialism is co-operation, the method of Individualism is competition. The one regards man as working with man for a common end, the other regards man as working against man for private gain." *Socialism*, by B. F. Westcott, late Bishop of Durham, page 4 (Price 1d. Christian Social Union Pamphlet, No. 3, from Mowbray, 28 Margaret Street, W.). See also Bishop Westcott's *The Incarnation, a Revelation of Human Duties* (S.P.C.K., Northumberland Avenue, 6d.)

Only one means of escape I can see:—to destroy profit-mongering and competition of greed which Christianity condemns, and to establish society on the principles of co-operation, to substitute for the dictatorship of the capitalist "government of the people by the people and for the people, in all the industries and services by which the people live." We cannot at present do away with money in some form, although we are told that money is a root of all evils (1 *Tim.* vi, 10, R.V.). But we can, by basing society on moral principles, minimise the temptation, till humanity is ready for a further step. Thus are we to apply to our present conditions the eternal principles which Christ gave us, and which He gave just that we might apply them from age to age, till God's will is perfectly done, and the whole lump is leavened.

LAST PETITION.—"But deliver us from evil." Unsocial Christians have to learn from this how much of the evil is social, of "the world" as the New Testament so often says, using the word "*cosmos*," which means in the Greek "the order of the world," just as we say "the present social system." And Materialistic Socialists have to learn that it is Evil from which we have to be delivered. Nothing is so shallow as to think that our social disorder is due to economic machinery which can be altered without any change in men's hearts; that is just the stupid materialism of the old political economy turned inside out. Our disorder is due to the evil which made this machinery; it continues because there is so much evil that men tolerate this machinery. Our statute-book is what it is because men are what they are: Socialist Acts of Parliament are only passed as men become more social; and some of the best of those Acts are a dead-letter to-day because men are too selfish to enforce them. When there is less evil in the world, less of that original sin for which the modern name is Individualism, then, and not till then, will the representative bodies which *we* elect allow Socialism to be established. You cannot. it is most true, make humanity good till you have made its environment good; but it is also true that you cannot make that environment good till you have made men better. The two must improve each other. And the perfect State will consist of perfect men and women.

Having now some idea of the drift of Christ's teaching, let us consider a little more fully the two leading principles of Socialism—Brotherhood and Common Wealth—in the light of the whole New Testament.

Brotherhood.

I need hardly dwell on this. Every Christian admits it—in theory, and would be surprised if the parson addressed his flock as "ladies and gentlemen" instead of "brethren." We only have to make Christians true to the religion they profess, and to have the same religion for week-days as for Sundays. We only have to make the respectable church-goer understand that it is really devilish to stand aloof from those whom he may think beneath

him, since St. John says that "In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness, is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother" (1 *John* iii, 10).

The pity of it is that many a professing Christian does not know anything about this brotherly love. He forgets that he has to love his brother *as himself;* and so the very word "charity" has lost its true meaning, and is even applied to those petty forms of almsgiving which may be justly called the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.

What we falsely call "charity" the New Testament calls ALMSGIVING, and our Lord, the first time he mentions it, calls it *justice* (*Matt.* vi, 1, R.V.). And yet, when some one cries, "We want justice and not charity," we think he is proclaiming a brand-new Socialist doctrine! The real CHARITY is described at length by St. Paul (1 *Cor.* xiii) as something that "seeketh not her own," but is patient, kind, generous, modest (v. 4), courteous, good-tempered, guileless (v. 5), honest and sincere (v. 6), confident and brave (v. 7). And this virtue is proclaimed by St. Paul as the greatest thing in the world, greater even than faith and hope—two virtues, by the way, which are almost equally necessary for the social reformer. Further, St. John says of this virtue (our translators for some extraordinary reason translated it "love" in St. John, but it is the same Greek word), that if we dwell in it we dwell in God Himself (1 *John* iv, 16), and that "every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God" (iv. 7), while "he that loveth not" (however much he goes to church) "knoweth not God." And it is remarkable that while St. John includes the love of God in this Charity, he expressly describes it as a social virtue—"But whoso hath the world's goods, and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?" (iii, 17, R.V.). He expressly declares that God is Love, and yet this Divine Love is analyzed by St. Paul as made up of acts of love *to men.*

As the inspired William Blake wrote—

> Love seeketh not itself to please,
> Nor for itself hath any care,
> But for another give its ease,
> And builds a heaven in hell's despair.

There is another virtue necessary to brotherhood, which is a watchword with Socialists. It is JUSTICE. You may not think that it occurs often in the Bible. But it does occur eighty-six times. For every time you find the word "righteousness" you may read for it "justice." The word in the original Greek is *dikaiosuné*, which means justice, and is so translated in the Latin Vulgate by *justitia.* No doubt "righteousness" had a much broader sense originally, and should mean more than "justice" instead of less; but it has been degraded, like the word Charity, by modern use. Remembering this, observe that our Lord spoke of "the unrighteous Mammon," that is, of riches as an unjust thing; that he said, "Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after Justice."

Every Socialist knows that a main offence against brotherhood is *Idleness*, and he claims that every idler is in fact a criminal. St. Paul is with him, "If any will not work, neither let him eat" (*2 Thess.* iii, 10, R.V.); work, he says, in another place (*1 Thess.* iv, 12), "that ye may walk honestly," being unable to conceive of an honest idler. The Communion Service, too, is with him, "Six days shalt thou labor, with a provision for a weekly holiday. The Catechism is with him, "My duty to my neighbour is . . . to learn and labor truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life unto which it *shall* please God to call me." Not "has pleased to call me," as it is generally misquoted. The Catechism does not say that men should be kept down, but that wherever the young may find themselves in after life they are to do their duty. And Jesus Christ gives no invitation to the idler. "Come unto me all ye that *labor*."

There is a Socialist song which tells of the time when there shall be "no master"; and here again they can quote our Lord's own words. "One is your Master, even Christ," "and all ye are brethren" (*Matt.* xxiii, 8, 10), "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it is not so among you; but whosoever would become great among you, shall be your servant: and whosoever would be first among you shall be bond-servant of all. For verily the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto [waited upon], but to minister" *Mark* x, 42-5, R.V.). It has been rather stupidly objected that St. Paul was in favor of slavery because he told servants to obey their masters. But we have only to remember that the early Christians were so full of the spirit of revolt against the "world" or society under which they lived, that they often had to be held back from ruining the whole cause by disorderly conduct. They knew that they were free, that God was no respecter of persons (*Acts* x, 34), and that however respectable a man was, if he approved of class-distinctions, he was "guilty of all" sin.* Therefore St. Paul, who was famous as a man that had "turned the world upside down" (*Acts* xvii, 6), had to tell them that nevertheless they must stick to their work.† He took pains to point out that the Christian slaves (who were as churchmen on a perfect equality with the patrician

* *James* ii, 1-10. See especially vv. 5-9 (R.V.)—"Did not God choose them that are poor as to the world to be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him? But ye have dishonored the poor man. Do not the rich oppress you, and themselves drag you before the judgment seats? Do not they blaspheme the honorable name by the which ye are called? Howbeit if ye fulfil the royal law, according to the scripture, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, ye do well: but if ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin."

† This is also true of the early Fathers. They drew a distinction between "natural law" and "human law." They all agreed that both private property and slavery were not in accordance with natural law, being due to man's sinful condition; but they held that they were justifiable under human law. At the same time they taught that to give up both private property and slaves was a good deed, and they set the example of doing so themselves. See A. J. Carlyle, *Mediæval Political Theory n the West*, and Professor Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*.

Christians) were to do their service, "not to men," but "as to the Lord" (*Eph.* vi, 7), and he repeats this when he writes to the Colossians, "Servants . . . whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and not to men. . . . and there is no respect of persons" (*Col.* iii, 22-5). What St. Paul taught when he wrote to a master may be read in his little letter to Philemon, which is an appeal to a master to receive back a runaway slave, but "not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved" (*Phil.* 16). And, as a matter of history, wherever the Church has been, she has emancipated the slaves, and vindicated the dignity of womanhood.

If we try for a moment to apply the law of Christian brotherhood to our present conditions, it is clear that they cannot stand for one moment before it. All monopolies would go, all class-distinctions would go, and war would be no more. Society would become Socialist, for we are not to lay up treasures *for ourselves* upon the earth (*Matt.* vi, 19), we are each to labor, and to lend without hope of return (*Luke* vi, 34, 5)—interest being the chief modern means of obtaining money without working for it—we are not to maintain our own rights of private property (*Matt.* xix, 21 ; *2 Cor.* ix, 9; *Luke* xii, 13-21), but are to work in complete co-operation and harmony one with another (*1 Cor.* 12). We are to love our neighbor as *ourself*, to vote for his interests as our own, to educate his children as we would like our own educated, to feel his wrongs as wrongs done to us—in fact, as an early Christian writer says, "both to work and pray to get him all the good things we have ourself."* We are to do to him as we would have him do to us were our places changed ; and "*this* is the law and the prophets" (*Matt.* vii, 12). That goes much further than the Socialist maxim, "Each man counts as one, and no man as more than one."

"Thus, if our brother is poor, we must labor for his release from the grinding, harassing toil which shuts out from him the higher things of life.

Ah ! but if he is rich, you say, ought we not to congatulate him on his prosperity, and regard his property rights as sacred ?

Common Wealth.

Pardon me, my friend. If you are a Christian, and love your rich neighbor as yourself, you will do all you can to help him to become poorer. For if you believe in the Gospel, you know that to be rich is the very worst thing that can happen to a man. That, if a man is rich, it is with the greatest difficulty that he can be saved ; for "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God" (*Mark* x, 25). This is startling now, but it was not less strange and startling to the disciples, who "were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves, Who then can be saved ?" But the needle's eye has not grown any larger since then, and the camels certainly have not grown smaller !

* St. Justin Martyr, *Trypho*, 95.

Certain very superior persons, even among Socialists, have blamed Jesus Christ for so often denouncing the rich. But this is just wherein He showed His wisdom. It was a perfectly new idea at the time; for even the disciples, who were not rich, were shocked. But after hearing it for nineteen hundred years, Christendom still acts as if it were peculiarly difficult for a *poor man* to enter the Kingdom. And as we look round at both Church and Nonconformist governing bodies, boards of management, and representative assemblies, or at their clergy—bishops, priests, and deacons, and most ministers and pastors—we find as a matter of fact that the poor man *is* excluded, and that the rich have somehow or other all squeezed through the needle's eye, and have comfortably taken over the direction of the poor man's Kingdom! And the State is worse than the Church; for at this moment in democratic America every member of the Cabinet but one, according to the *Spectator*, is a millionaire.* Can we blame, then, our Lord for putting the case so strongly, since even now it has not yet been driven into our greedy heads? As a matter of fact, the undesirableness of riches is the hardest lesson for man to learn; and he *has* to learn it, if Socialism is to be established on mutual love, or for that matter if it is to be established at all, because otherwise it is impossible.

How strongly our Lord enforced the lesson I need not remind you. People sometimes try to get out of the Parable of Dives and Lazarus by calling it the Parable of the Bad Rich Man.† It is not: it is the Parable of the Rich Man.‡ Dives was an ordinary person, who was not without the ordinary good nature of the selfish, for he at least allowed Lazarus the hospitality of his doorstep; whereas nowadays we should send at once for the policeman if Lazarus attempted such a thing. We are told why Dives was punished in Hades: "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things" (*Luke* xvi, 25).

All true Christians, then, must desire to relieve the rich man of his excess for his own sake, since the inequality that ruins the body of Lazarus ruins the soul of Dives; and Dives is the more miserable of the two, because the soul is more precious than the body.

* This was written in 1897; but to-day the power of the millionaire has not decreased in America. On the other hand the religious bodies are certainly more democratic, on both sides of the Atlantic, than they were.

† Old-fashioned Bibles give this parable the title of "The rich Glutton," which shows how our grandfathers shut their eyes to its meaning. They might as well have called it "The rich Dandy"; and indeed there is nothing about gluttony in the parable, the words translated "fared sumptuously" being better rendered by "living in mirth and splendour," as in the R.V. margin.

‡ St. Augustine well says on this point, "Jesus said not, a calumniator; He said not, an oppressor of the poor; He said not a robber of other men's goods, nor a receiver of such, nor a false accuser; He said not, a spoiler of orphans, a persecutor of widows—nothing of all these. But what did He say? '*There was a certain rich man.*' And what was his crime? The Lazarus lying at his gate, and lying unrelieved." Augustine, *Serm.* clxxviii, 3.

St. James perfectly understood this great truth that the social revolution will be really a blessing for the rich. He stated it in the clearest terms : " Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted : but the rich in that he is made low : because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away " (*James* i, 9, 10). This passage, by the way, happens to be the special Epistle for May 1st, which is St. Philip and St. James' Day, and therefore it has been read throughout the Church on every Labor Day for about 1,500 years. It is still bound to be read every May Day. Outside, the Socialist procession may be singing the reactionary Marseillaise, but in Church the reactionary Vicar is reading to his people the Socialist message of St, James ! It is a wonderful world we live in.

The identity of true Socialism with true Religion is nowhere more clearly shown than in the Christian teaching about riches. The great rival power to God isn ot any of the common bugbears of the religious world—not heathendom, or popery, or the public-house, or the theatre—but Mammon. If then, we are fighting against the power of riches, we are essentially Christian. " Ye cannot serve God and Mammon " (*Matt.* vi, 24 ; *Luke* xvi, 13). And St. Paul makes it still clearer when he says (*Col.* iii, 5) that idolatory, the worship of a rival to God, is covetousness. The common religious notion of idolatory is that it consists in putting up graven images in church ; but the New Testament has given the word a different meaning—it is the worship of the graven image upon a coin. Covetousness is now so openly professed that the economists have built a science upon it ; yet St. Paul more than once mentions it as an equally disgraceful thing with nameless vices ; to take a milder instance, he says (*Eph.* v, 5) : " No whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man who is an idolator hath any inheritance in the Kingdom of Christ." And covetousness was the sin of Judas.

Once more, I repeat it. If the love of money is a root of all evils (1 *Tim.* vi, 10), we can only make the people good Christians by substituting for our acquisitive society one in which all are paid justly for work duly done ; " not looking each of you to his own things, but each of you also to the things of others " (*Phil.* ii, 4, R.V.).

The Christian Church.

What did the first Christians do when their Church was settled in Jerusalem ? They lived as Communists.* They must have known what the Master really meant, they had heard Him speak, and knew thousands of sayings of His which have not come down to us (*John* xxi, 25) ; they had the Apostles amongst them, and had not the divine teaching on hearsay. And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul : and not one of them

* This Communism was voluntary. " While it remained, was it not thine own ? " *Acts* v, 4.) They shared out of their own free will, because they felt that it was the right, Christian thing to do ; and this makes it more significant than if it had been forced upon them.

said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own ; but they had all things common" (*Acts* iv, 32, R.V.). And as a natural result of this Communism (as St. Chrysostom reminded his hearers many years afterwards) "great grace was upon them all. For neither was there among them any that lacked : for as many as were possessors of land or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostle's feet : and distribution was made unto each according as anyone had need" (*Acts* iv, 33-5, R.V.). From each according to his ability, to each according to his need !

Thus we have reached from the first proclamation of a levelling revolution to the establishment of a deliberate voluntary communism co-extensive with the first Church.

My task is nearly done. I have only now to point out that this Church is still pledged to Christian Socialism, not only by her first documents, but by her history. The communist experiment at Jerusalem failed, which was significant as showing how intense was the conviction of those who tried it so long before the time was ripe. But the Church did not give up the Socialist ideal for that.* If it had, then Christ, who promised to be with it even to the end of the world, would have been wrong. There have, indeed, been plenty of bad bishops, and bad priests and people, and periods of corruption and recovery ; but all along, the leaven has been working, and the Kingdom growing nearer and clearer—aye, even amid the deluge of modern avarice. Nor can anyone who has studied the slow processes of evolution in man and nature approve for one moment the ignorant objection that nineteen hundred years is a long time to have taken. It is a short period in the world's history. And all along the corporate Church, as distinguished from individuals, has consistently maintained the same ideal. A form of Communism, confined to religious orders because it could not be practised in the world, has never ceased to flourish ; it has always been held up as an ideal life, and whenever people wanted to be particularly good they have, as a matter of course, lived a communal life, following Christ's advice : "If thou wilt be perfect go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor" (*Matt.* xix, 21). At the present day hundreds of thousands of Christians are so living.

It was the Church in early days, as learned Bishop Gore has shown,† that invented representative government. The Church also steadily condemned all receiving of interest on capital down to

* Note for instance how Tertullian (200 A.D.) appeals to the Socialism of the Church as a thing which can be taken for granted, and which excites the wrath of the pagan world :—"And they [the pagans] are angry with us for calling each other brethren. . . The very thing which commonly puts and end to brotherhood among you [pagans], viz., family property is just *that* upon the community of which *our* brotherhood depends. And so we, who are one in mind and soul, have no hesitation about sharing our possessions with each other." Tertullian, *Apol.*, 39.

† Bishop C. Gore, *The Mission of the Church*, p. 143 ; *The Church and the Ministry*, pp. 97-107.

the 16th Century, and canon law still bears witness to this in theory.* All those whom the Church delights to honor, the Fathers and the Saints, from St. Matthew to the author of the *Utopia*, have practised and preached some form or other of what we now call Christian Socialism.†

In her sacraments she has constantly proclaimed the sacredness of common earthly things ; in Baptism she asserts the absolute right of every human being, however young, or poor, or ignorant, to her brotherhood. Indeed, St. Paul, in his splendid comparison of the brotherhood (1 *Cor.* xii) to the one body with many members, wherein if one member suffer all the members suffer with it, bases his whole contention upon this sacrament of Baptism.‡

In the Holy Communion she has maintained the communal character of the highest form of worship ; for, as the *Didaché* says, "if you are sharers in the imperishable things [*i.e.* communicants], how much more must you be sharers ['communists'] in those things that are perishable" ; "therefore thou shalt not turn away from him that hath need, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that anything is thine own."§ This is just what so shocked people when Mr. Stewart Headlam said that those who come to Holy Communion must be holy communists.

By her very existence the Church declares the solidarity of the human race, and its essential unity, free from all distinction of class, sex, or race, "neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus," as St. Paul insists in three separate epistles (*Gal.* iii, 28 ; *Col.* iii, 11 ; 1 *Cor.* xii, 13).

Much of all this has been forgotten, since Christians have devoted all their energies to breaking up the Church into competitive sects, and fighting with each other, and have made an apotheosis of selfish individualism by the Calvinistic heresies of justification by faith without works, the impossibility of falling from grace, and the still more hideous doctrine of predestination. I simply ask Christians of all kinds to be true to their common mother, the historic Church,

* Two economic doctrines were not only preached, but enforced by the Church courts and accepted by all business men down to the age of the Reformation. One of these was the prohibition of interest. The other was the doctrine of the "just price," which said that a man was not to ask what he could get for a thing, but was to demand only the just price, viz., what it ought to fetch in order to enable the maker of it to lead a decent life according to a recognised standard. These were not mere pious opinions, but were principles universally practised ; and thus for 1,500 years the "selfish machine" of modern economics was not allowed to exist. See Professor Ashley's *Economic History*, vol. 1, chap. 3, and ii, 6.

† Many of the sayings of modern Socialists are indeed but echoes of what is to be found in the Fathers, as well as in later writers, including pioneers of the Reformation like Wyclif and Latimer. The protest indeed of the best men in the Church (as distinguished from the official class) has been greatly continuous.

‡ "For in one spirit were we all baptised into one body, whether Jews or Greeks whether bond or free" (1 *Cor.* xii, 13, R.V.).

§ *Didaché*, or, "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," iv, 8. This early Greek work (which was not discovered till 1883) belongs probably to the 1st half of the 2nd Century ; but the sentence here quoted was taken from the Epistle of Barnabas which is near it in date,

and not be misled by those who have overlaid her teaching with their own selfishness. And to those who are not conscious Socialists I say, Why not? Have you any reason except a selfish one? Why hold back and be half-hearted? You and we are at one. For Christianity is not mere Individualism. Neither is it mere Socialism and water. It is Socialism and fire—the practical religion of those whose inspiration is "comfort, life, and fire of love."* It is also true Individualism; because it proclaimed for the first time the infinite value of every human soul. In a pagan world, based upon the exploitation of slaves, the subjection of women, and the slaughter of infants, Christianity proclaimed that every individual human being is infinitely precious; and because all are infinitely important, therefore all are equally important. But this sublime Individualism was to be realised by an equally sublime Socialism, and Socialism of complete co-operation and brotherly love, in which all the members should work together for the good of the whole body.

And to those Socialists who are not consciously Christian, I also say, Why not? You are serving Christ. You and we are at one. We are fighting against the same evils. Look at old devotional books, and you will find at the beginning the ancient tabulated lists of virtues and vices. You will see that we love the same things that you love, Justice, Love, Hope, Fortitude; that we are commanded to do the same "Corporal Works," to feed, give drink, and clothe. Nay, that we have to fight the same things. There are four "Sins crying to Heaven for Vengeance"; only four, but two of these are Murder and the Sin of Sodom, and the other two are Oppression of the poor and Defrauding the laborers of their wages. You will find, moreover, "Seven Deadly Sins" which you will see at once are just the anti-social sins which you are fighting—Pride, Covetousness, Lust, Anger, Gluttony, Envy, Sloth; and you will observe that, with one exception, none of these seven shock the respectable public, though Socialism does. You will further observe that four of these sins—Pride, Covetousness, Envy and Sloth, and often Gluttony as well—are popularly regarded as very gentleman-like qualities.

Will you, then, realize—and it is time you did!—that what you and every good man are fighting, is nothing else than wickedness, and none the less wickedness because it is embodied in statute-books and economic formulæ? Beneath all your political work you have to convert the heart of man. And it is a tough job. You won't convert him by pointing to his interests. He is singularly blind about them, and always has been. You will only convert him by giving him a moral ideal. Is there a better one than Christ? If so, how is it that Socialism can only be spread in those countries where the

* The *Veni Creator* in the Prayer Book translation. Love or universal charity is the "new commandment" of Christ—the "*novum mandatum*" from which we get our name for "Maundy" Thursday, when Christ said this, and washed the Disciples' feet. All three chapters of the Great Discourse (*John* xiii—xvi) should be carefully studied.

people have professed the Christian faith for many hundreds of years? The Church has made plenty of mistakes, and its members have committed ruinous sins like other people, and always there have been many Judases within the camp selling the Christ for pieces of silver; but its united voice, its official documents, its pattern saints have seldom faltered; and at least it has driven into men's hard hearts some touch of brotherly love, and has made Socialism already almost possible in Christian countries.*

This Socialism is its own old teaching revived. It is getting to understand that; and the age of social lethargy and religious competition is passing away. Every Socialist who understands how deeply religion has been concerned in every movement that has ever won the enthusiasm of men, every Socialist who realizes how enormous is the work before him, must welcome the assistance of this ancient and imperishable organ of love and justice. And every Christian who rejoices in the singular growth of religious zeal in recent years must long to see all that huge force given to the service of the Humanity which Jesus Christ has taken up into the Godhead.

For the man who loves much is a Socialist, and the man that loves most is a Saint, and every man that truly loves the brotherhood is in a state of salvation.

> We know that we have passed from death unto life,
> Because we love the brethren.

* If the men of England will take their place and vote in the Parochial Church Councils which were created in 1920, they can make the old Church new and young again. Hitherto labor folk have done little more than grumble. Labor, for instance, got into Parliament in 1906, but did nothing to help the Government in appointing bishops. The Church has been what the people have made it. Now the people have a further chance; for the Parochial Councils make popular representation directly possible.

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FABIAN TRACT No. 134.

SMALL HOLDINGS, ALLOTMENTS, AND COMMON PASTURES:

And How to Get Them by the Act of 1908.

WHAT is the use of an allotment to a working man? It has many uses. In the first place, if he puts good labor into it, and if he keeps a pig to eat some of the produce and to supply manure, an acre allotment is worth three or four shillings a week to him, and often more.

Secondly, he is always sure of having a good supply of vegetables and potatoes for his family.

When he is out of work, too, he can spend some of the time that would otherwise be wasted, in improving his own piece of land.

Allotments make the laborers more independent when they have to deal with the farmers and landlords. Undoubtedly one of the chief things needed at the present time is an independent and sturdy spirit amongst the farm laborers. In our midland and southern villages they suffer constantly from low wages and harsh treatment, but the majority of them dare not say a single outspoken word to help to make things better. They take whatever wages are offered them and they put up with every tyranny without protest. Why is this? Chiefly because they depend on others for work and food, and seldom have any Trade Union to look after their interests. But if a laborer has a sack or two of flour in his cottage, and a couple of good sides of bacon, and a stock of potatoes to tide him over the winter, he does not feel nearly so helpless and humble. And an allotment can provide him with these things.

How to make an Allotment Profitable.

But allotments are not found to succeed everywhere and always. Certain things are necessary before they are likely to be of real use The allotment must be

NEAR THE LABORER'S OWN HOME.

It is absurd to expect a man to walk out a mile or so and walk back again, after he has done a heavy day's work, in order to spend an hour on his allotment. And as an allotment always requires constant care and attention if it is to give the best results, it is absolutely necessary that it should be near the worker's home.

A FAIR RENT.

Often the laborers grow such good crops on their allotments and make them pay so well that the landlord takes the opportunity to charge them a much higher rent than he asks the farmer for the neighboring land of the same quality. Why should working men

pay a penalty for cultivating their land well? And why should they work hard and constantly in order that the landlord may get an extra rent? The rent must certainly be a fair one.

Small Holdings.

It is not only the laborer who finds it profitable to work a plot of land if he can get it at a fair rent and on reasonable conditions. Working as he does chiefly in his spare time, the allotment is large enough for his needs. But there is an increasing demand for land for another class of agriculturists, the men who wish to devote their whole time to a farm, the men who want a small holding up to fifty acres. Here, again, it is not always possible to bargain with the landlords for suitable farms at a fair price or on fair terms that will protect the tenant against loss of his improvements at the end of the tenancy.

Common Pasture.

There is another kind of land which is urgently needed by both laborers and small holders. In the olden days, before Englishmen allowed their land to be seized by a few landlords under the Enclosure Acts, there were many large commons, whereon the villagers had the right to feed their cattle and pigs. Many a cottager or small farmer would more easily be able to keep his cows, or his horse, or pigs, if he had a right to use ample common pasture. It is the loss of the old rights of grazing animals and gathering fuel on the common lands of the village which has done so much to put the people at the mercy of the landlords.

How to Get Allotments, Small Holdings, and Common Pasture.

Now the law of England says that it is the duty of local government councils to provide all these things—allotments, small holdings, and common pastures—if the people desire them, and cannot otherwise obtain them from the landlords on reasonable terms.

Allotments.

In the case of allotments it is the business of the Borough Council, the Urban District Council, or the Parish Council (or the Parish Meeting in parishes where there is no Parish Council) to find the land for those who wish to work it. These Councils may purchase or hire land either by a voluntary agreement with the landlord or, if he refuses to come to reasonable terms, the Council can ask the Board of Agriculture to make an order compelling the landlord to accept the terms, which are to be settled by an arbitrator appointed by the Board; and this arbitrator must not add to the price because of the compulsion. However, if the land is only to be leased, then the lease must be for not less than fourteen or for more than thirty-five years; but this term can be renewed at the will of the Council. In the case of a Parish, the Council or Meeting, instead of proceeding itself, must ask the County Council to apply for the compulsory order; it hands over the land, when acquired, to the Parish, which must pay all expenses. If the County Council will not move, the Parish can appeal to the Board direct.

[redacted] the land, the Council can adapt it for use (by drainad making, erecting buildings, including a dwelling panied by one acre), and let it out in allotments not acres to any one of the laboring population, or to a s working as a co-operative colony, or to an assoromotion of allotments. The rent must be sufficient money that the Council has spent on the land, so shall ultimately fall on the rates; but a Council may aise a loan to meet the expenses in the first instance. repays the expenses, the Council can let as cheaply and vorable terms as it pleases. And the tenant in every case ove any fruit trees or bushes to which he has no claim for nsation on giving up the tenancy.

If a Council neglect to consider these matters, any six registered parliamentary electors or resident ratepayers can request (in writing) the Council to discuss the need of the neighborhood. Although these petitioners cannot force the Council to return a favorable answer to a request for land, this petition is a useful step to take, as it forces the Council to state its intentions.

If the Councils mentioned above refuse to take action in providing allotments, then it becomes the duty of the County Council to consider the situation (except in the case of a borough), and if it resolves that there is really need for allotments, then it (the County Council) at once takes over all the allotment powers of the Council which has neglected to take action. The County Council can acquire the allotments, and charge all the expenses on the defaulting Council.

If the County Council also neglects its duty, the Board of Agriculture can transfer all the above powers of a County Council to the Small Holdings Commissioners, who can then take all the steps which the County Council might have taken.

Small Holdings.

It is the business of the County Council to find out whether there is a demand for small holdings; and it can acquire land for this purpose in practically the same manner as land can be acquired for allotments as stated above. That is, it can acquire it by purchase or by hiring, by compulsion if necessary, and can adapt the land for use as small holdings. The chief difference is that it can let or sell the land in plots of any size between one and fifty acres, or more than fifty acres if the annual value is not more than £50 as assessed for income tax. Further, the Council must not charge the county rates in any year with more than one penny in the pound on account of any expenses incurred for small holdings, including the annual repayments of any loans raised for such a purpose. If the holder desires to purchase his holding he can do so by half-yearly instalments over a period, agreed on by the Council, not exceeding fifty years.

And if the County Council will not proceed to supply small holdings then the Board of Agriculture (as in the case of allotments) can instruct the Small Holdings Commissioners to acquire the land and charge all expenses on the County Council.

Common Pasture.

This can be acquired by any Council which is [illegible] acquire allotments and small holdings, and can b[illegible] tenants or any laborers in the form of grazing ri[illegible] necessary to get the sanction of the County Cou[illegible] other Council can take action in this way.

Co-operation.

But the County Council can do much more th[illegible] land necessary for allotments and small holdings and [illegible] ture. The experience of successful farming shows mo[illegible] that one of the great secrets of success is the co-operation o[illegible] for the purposes of buying their implements and manure, [illegible] turning their milk into butter, and of sending their produce to market in the cheapest way. English farmers are very far behind the rest of the world in this respect; nevertheless they have begun to move slowly, and co-operative societies are growing in number. A County Council or the Board of Agriculture can make grants or loans of money for the promotion of co-operation between small holders or allotment workers.

What all these Powers Mean.

Simply this: that if the people elect the right men to the local Councils they can get allotments and small holdings on the best terms and ready for immediate use. The Councils can, further, by forming co-operative societies, help the tenants to buy and sell to much greater advantage than if each worker of land had to buy what he wants and to sell his produce on his own account. If the people of England want allotments and small holdings they can have them at once if they use their voting power on polling days.

And remember, if the local Councils refuse to find the land that is wanted, then the Government can force the Councils to act, or can buy the land itself. The Government has already appointed two Commissioners to inquire into the demand for land throughout England and Wales. The truth is the people can force the Government to do whatever they wish if they send the right men to Parliament, and the easiest way to get the Government to attend is to write to your Member of Parliament. But if the voters put men on the Parish, Urban and County Councils, or in Parliament, simply because of their wealth and position and without their having shown genuine good-will towards the people, they are certain not to get what they want. The working men can elect anyone they choose, for they are in the majority. Let them, therefore, make up their minds firmly beforehand whom they wish to have as Councillors, and, when the election comes, let them support their candidates loyally through thick and thin.

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Financial Conditions of the Village.

Let us consider some of the financial and other conditions which lead to this state of affairs. In the first place, I find that the inhabitants have to pay in actual rent to their landlords about £2,500 a year. In fact, the gross estimated rental of the parish is about £3,250, but as there are quite a few small freeholders the amount actually paid in rent is reduced to £2,500. Nearly the whole of this goes off out of the parish and never comes back again. The duke and most of the other landlords are absentees. This forms at once, as is obvious, a severe tax on the inhabitants. One way or another the hundred families out of what they produce from the land have to pay £2,500 a year into alien hands—or, averaging it, £25 per family! and this, if their average income is now only £60, is certainly a heavy burden; since, if they had not to pay this sum, their income might be £85. No doubt it will be said, "Here we see the advantage of having resident squires. The money would then return to the parish." But would it? Would it return to those who produced it? No; it would not. The spoliation of the toilers would only be disguised, not remedied. In fact, let us suppose (a quite ordinary case) that the parish in question were owned by a single resident squire, and that the £2,500 were paid to him in rent. That rent would only go to support a small extra population of servants and dependents in the place. One or two small shops might be opened; but to the farmer and farm worker no advantage would accrue. There might be a slightly increased sale of milk and eggs; but this again would be countervailed by many disadvantages. "Sport" over all the farm lands would become a chronic nuisance; the standard and cost of living, dress, etc., would be raised; and the feeble and idiotic life of the "gentry," combined with their efforts to patronize and intimidate, would go far to corrupt the population generally. In this parish then, of which I am speaking, the people may be truly thankful that they have not any resident squires. All the same, the tax of £25 per family is levied upon them to support such squires in some place or other, and is a permanent burden upon their lives.

Enclosure of the Commons.

Less than a hundred years ago there were in this parish extensive common lands. In fact, of the 4,600 acres of which the parish consists, 2,650, or considerably more than half, were commons. They were chiefly moors and woods; but were, needless to say, very valuable to cottagers and small farmers. Here was pasture for horses, cows, sheep, pigs, geese; here in the woods was firewood to be got, and bracken for bedding; on the moors, rabbits, bilberries, turf for fuel, etc. In 1820 these commons were enclosed; and this is another thing that has helped to cripple the lives of the inhabitants. As is well known, during all that period systematic enclosure of the common lands of Great Britain was going on. In a landlord House of Parliament it was easy enough to get bills passed. Any stick will do to beat a dog with; and it was easy to say that

these lands, being common lands, were not so well cultivated as they might be, and that *therefore* the existing landlords ought to share them up. The logic might not be very convincing, but it served its purpose. The landlords appropriated the commons lands; and during the 120 years from 1760 to 1880, *ten millions of acres* in Great Britain were thus enclosed.*

In 1820 the turn of this particular parish came, and its 2,650 acres of commons "went in." I used to know an old man of the locality who remembered when they "went in." He used to speak of the occurrence as one might speak of a sinister and fatal event of nature—a landslide or an earthquake. There was no idea that it could have been prevented. The commons simply went in! The country folk witnessed the proceeding with dismay; but, terrorized by their landlords, and with no voice in Parliament, they were helpless.

It may be interesting to see some of the details of the operation. In the Enclosure Award Book, still kept in the parish, there remains a full account. The Duke of Rutland, as lord of the manor, as impropriator for tithes, as proprietor, and so forth, got the lion's share, nearly 2,000 acres. The remaining 650 acres went to the other landlords. Certain manorial and tithe rights were remitted as a kind of compensation, and the thing was done. In the Award Book the duke's share is given as follows:—

	Acres.	Roods.
1. "As Impropriator for tithes of corn, grain, and hay; and in lieu of and full compensation for all manner of tithes, both great and small"	1381	3
2. "As Lord of the Manor," and in compensation for certain manorial rights, "and for his consent to the said enclosure" ...	108	2
3. "For chief rents," amounting in the whole to £14	28	2
4. "For enfranchisement of copyholds" ...	11	3
5. "As proprietor"	18	2
6. "By sale to defray the expenses of the Act"	449	1
	1998	1

Thus we find, in exchange for the ducal tithes, nearly a third of the whole area of the parish handed over—most of it certainly not the best lands, but lands having considerable value as woods and moors. We find some acres adjudged to the duke in consideration of his kind "consent" to the transaction. And, most wonderful of all, nearly 450 acres surrendered by the parish to defray the expenses of getting the Act through Parliament! And now to-day in the said parish there is not a little field or corner left—absolutely not a solitary acre out of all the vast domain which was once for the people's use—on which the village boys can play their game of cricket! Indeed, most valuable tracts were enclosed quite in the

* See Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*, "Enclosures."

centre of the village itself—as, for instance, a piece which is still called "The Common," though it is no longer common, and many bits on which little cottages had been erected by quite small folk. It would be a very desirable thing that the enclosure award books in other parishes should be investigated, and the corresponding facts with regard to the ancient commons brought to light generally over the country.*

Incidence of the Rates.

A third thing which cripples the agricultural interest very considerably is the incidence of the rates. The farmer's dread of a rise in rates has become almost proverbial. And it is by no means unnatural or unreasonable. For there is probably no class whose estimated rental is so large, compared with their actual net income, as the farmer class. A farmer whose farm, after deducting all expenses of rent, rates, manure, wages, etc., yields him a clear profit of no more than £100 a year for his household use is quite probably paying £70 a year in rent. But a superior artizan or small professional man who is making £150 a year will very likely be only paying £20 in rent. It is obvious that any slight increase in the rates will fall much more heavily on the first man than on the second. The rates, therefore, are a serious matter to the farmer; and something in the way of shifting their incidence, and distributing the burden more fairly, ought certainly to be done.†

As an instance of this latter point, let me again refer to the parish in question. We have seen that some 2,600 acres of common lands passed over to the landlords in 1820, ostensibly for the public advantage and benefit. Of these, more than 1,500 acres of moor land, held by the duke, are rated on an estimated rental of less than 2s. 6d. per acre. The general farm lands of the parish are rated on an estimated rental of 14s. or 15s. per acre on the average. Thus the moor lands are assessed at about one-sixth of the value of the farm lands. This is perhaps excessively low; but the matter might pass, if it were not for a somewhat strange fact—namely, that a few years ago when some twenty acres of these very moor lands were wanted for a matter of great public advantage and benefit, that is, for the formation of a reservoir, the ducal estate could not part with them under £50 an acre; and a little later, when an extension of acreage was required, the district council had to pay a much higher price, so that the total purchase, first and last, comes out at more than £150 per acre! Now here is something very seriously out of joint. Either the moor lands are worth a capital value of £150 an acre, in which case they ought to be assessed at, say £5, instead of at 2s. 6d.; or else, if the rating at 2s. 6d. is really just and fair,

* *Some Forgotten Facts in the History of Sheffield and District* (Independent Press, Sheffield, 1907, price 2s. 6d.) contains valuable information of this kind.

† I am not here discussing the question of how far a rise of rates falls upon the landlord; for, though this may ultimately and in the far distance be so, it is clear that the farmer primarily feels the pinch, and not till he is nearly ruined is there any chance of his getting a corresponding abatement of rent.

surely it is monstrous that the public, having to carry through a most important and necessary improvement, should be "held up" and made to pay a ruinous price, simply because the land cannot be obtained elsewhere. The conclusion is: Let such lands be rated in accordance with the capital value set upon them by their owners, and we shall have a much fairer and more equitable distribution of the public burden.

The Nuisance of "Sport."

And this matter of the moors leads to the consideration of a fourth cause which cripples the land cultivator terribly in this country. I mean Sport. The nuisance and detriment that this is to the farmer has become so great that, unless strict measures are soon taken, widespread ruin will ensue. In many subtle ways this acts. With the enormous growth of wealthy and luxurious classes during the last fifty years, the tendency has been to turn the country districts into a mere playground. The very meaning of the word sport has changed. The careful working of covers by the occasional sportsman has been replaced by clumsy battues, with wild shouts and shrieks of "drivers," and huge slaughter of birds, half tame, and specially bred for the purpose. Mobs of people, anxious to appear fashionable, and rigged out by their tailors in befitting costume, are formed into shooting parties. Rich men, wanting to get into society, hire moors and woods, regardless of expense, regardless of animal slaughter, regardless of agricultural interests, as long as they get an opportunity to invite their friends.* In Devonshire to-day the farms in many parts are simply eaten up by rabbits, because the landlords, in order to provide plenty of shooting, insist on spinneys and copses and hedgerows and waste bits being retained in their wild state for purposes of cover! On the northern moors the rabbits similarly devastate the farms along the moor edges—not because the rabbits are preserved, for the shooting is mainly of grouse and pheasants, but because the moors, being uncared for except in this way, the rabbits are allowed to multiply without check. They are the gamekeeper's perquisite. Yet if the farmer who has a farm adjoining the moor carries a gun to protect himself against their invasions, it is conveyed to him (if a tenant of the same landlord) that he had better not do so, lest he should be suspected of shooting the grouse! Thus he is paralysed from his own defence. In the parish of which I am speaking there are lands along the moor edges which used to grow oats and other crops, but which now, on account of the rabbit nuisance, are quite uncultivable in that way, and only yield the barest pasture.

* The financing of these affairs is funny. A large moor will let for the grouse season for £3,000, say on the condition of grouse being bagged up to, but not beyond, 2,400 brace. Mid-week parties hurry in by rail and motor, stay for two or, perhaps, three nights, and hurry off again, to be succeeded by other parties the following weeks. The whole thing is conducted in the most mechanical way, with "drives," "batteries," and so forth. And when the expenses are added up, including men employed, guests entertained, and rent paid, they certainly do not fall far short of the proverbial guinea a bird!

Fifty Years of Agricultural Decay.

In and about 1850, when wheat more than once reached £5 a quarter, the farmers and landlords were doing a roaring trade. Rents were high, but the land could afford it. Farmers were anxious to increase the size of their holdings, and landlords were not averse to this, as it saved them trouble. And so set in that tendency to roll small holdings into big ones which continued, with baneful effect, during all the second half of the century. Sport at the same time came in to increase the action. It was easier to pacify the few than the many over that matter. It was simpler to hunt a pack of hounds over two or three large farms than across a network of small holdings. Besides, the New Rich, as well as the elder gentry, wanted widespread parks, and not a democratic rabble of cottagers at their very doors. And so the game went on. Soon prices of farmstuff fell heavily. But it is easier to get rents up than to get them down again. The alleviations of rent which *have* taken place since 1854 have been only painfully gained and grudgingly yielded. Wheat which was at 100 shillings a quarter then has been the last few years at about 30 shillings! And though other farmstuffs have not fallen in like degree, yet during all that period of declining prices, the British farmer has been pinched and pined all over the country. The landlord has been on top of him; and with holdings often much too large for his need, and a yearly balance too small, he has employed far less labor and tillage than he ought to have done; his land has lost heart; and he has lost heart—till he has become to-day probably the least enterprising and least up-to-date of all the agriculturists of Western Europe.*

Such are some at least of the causes which have contributed to the decay of agriculture in this country; and their consideration may indicate the directions in which to seek for a cure.

Security of Tenure Needed.

What is needed, first and foremost, is very obviously security of tenure, under such conditions as shall give both farmer and cottager a powerful interest in the land and its improvement. It is often said, and supposed, that the countryman now-a-days does not care about the land and the rural life, and is longing to exchange it for town life. I do not find this so. I find that he is compelled into town life by the hard conditions which prevail in the country—but not that he *wants* to leave the latter. Indeed, I am amazed at the tenacity with which he clings to the land, despite the long hours and the heavy toil; nor can one witness without wonder and admiration the really genuine interest which he feels in its proper treatment, quite apart from any advantage or disadvantage to himself. It is common to find a farm laborer expressing satisfaction or disgust at the good or bad tillage of a field with which he is in no way connected; or to see a small farmer's son working early and late, perhaps up to the age of thirty, with no wages but a mere pittance

* There are many farms of 500 or 600 acres in Gloucestershire only employing five or six hands—or one man to a hundred acres!

in the way of pocket-money, and only a remote prospect of inheriting at some future date his share of the farm-stock and savings, and yet taking a whole-hearted interest in the work not really different from that which an artist may feel. There is some splendid material here—in these classes neglected by the nation, and overlaid by a tawdry and cheap-jack civilization.

I say it is clear that they must be given a secure and liberal tenure of the land and be free once for all from the caprice of the private landlord with his insolences of political intimidation and sport, and his overbearance in parochial affairs. The absolute speechlessness of our rural workers to-day on all matters of public interest is clearly, to any one who knows them, due to their mortal dread lest their words should reach the powers above. It has become an ingrained habit. And it has led of course to a real paralysis of their thinking capacity and their enterprise. But place these men in a position where the fruits of their toil will be secure, where improvements can be made, in cottage or farm, with a sense of ownership, and where their vote and voice in the councils of the parish will not be dependent on squire or parson ; and the world will be astonished at the result.

Public Ownership.

There are two main directions in which to go in the matter of secure tenure. One is the creation of more small freeholds ; the other is the throwing of lands into the hands of public authorities, and the creation of permanent tenures under them. Though the latter embodies the best general principle, I do not think that forms a reason for ruling out freeholds *altogether*. In all these matters variety is better than uniformity ; and a certain number of freeholds would probably be desirable. In the same way with regard to public ownership, if anything like nationalization of the land is effected, I think it should decidedly be on the same principle of variety—creating not only State and municipal ownership, but ownership by county councils, district councils, parish councils, etc.—with a leaning perhaps towards the more *local* authorities, because the needs of particular lands and the folk occupying them are likely on the whole to be better understood and allowed for in the locality than from a distance.

Let us suppose, in the parish which I have taken for my text, that by some kind of political miracle, all the lands on which rents are now being paid to absent landlords were transferred to the ownership of the Parish Council. Then at once the latter body would come into an income of £2,500 a year. At one blow the whole burden of the rates would fall off, and still a large balance be left for public works and improvements of all kinds. It might be allowable, for a moment, to draw a picture of the utopian conditions which would ensue—the rates all paid, the rents milder and more equal than before, the wages of parish workers raised, free meals for school-children provided, capital available for public buildings, free libraries, agricultural engines and machinery, also for improving or administer-

ing common lands and woods, and so forth. There is no danger of course of so delirious an embarrassment actually occurring! for any scheme of nationalization would take a long time, and would only gradually culminate; and no scheme would place the whole lands of a parish at the disposal of a single body like the parish council. But the example helps us to realize the situation. Every farmer and cottager whose holding was under a public body would know and feel that whatever rent he might have to pay, it would come back to him in public advantages, in the ordaining of which he would have a voice; he would know that he would be in no danger of disturbance as long as he paid his rent; and in the matter of capital improvements in land or building he might either make them himself (with the council's consent), in which case if he should decide later on to quit the holding, the council would compensate him, knowing that the rental paid by the new tenant would be correspondingly increased; or he could get the council (if willing) to make the improvement, and himself pay a correspondingly increased rent for it. In either case he would have as good a bargain, and almost as free a hand, as if he were on his own freehold.

Small Holdings.

Security of tenure, largely through public ownership, must certainly be one of the first items of a land-reform program. Another item, the importance of which is now being widely felt, is the making provision for the effective supply of small holdings. Whether the present Small Holdings and Allotments Act (of 1907) *will* prove effective or not remains to be seen. But something effective in that direction must clearly be done. By small holdings I mean holdings, freehold or leasehold, from twenty-five acres down to one or two acres in extent, each with cottage and buildings attached.* Of this class of holding (largely owing to the "rolling up" policy of last century) there is an absolute famine in the land. The demand, the outcry, for them is great, but the supply is most scanty. Yet this class covers some of the most important work of modern agriculture, and a great variety of such work. It includes, in its smaller sizes, market gardens, with intensive culture of all kinds, and glass, besides the kind of holding occupied by the professional man or other worker who supplements his income by some small cultivation; and in its larger sizes it includes nurseries, as well as small arable and pasture farms. The starvation that exists to-day in Britain of all these classes of industry is a serious matter.†

* The Act of 1907 defines a "small holding" as exceeding one acre and not exceeding fifty acres.

† It will be said that if there is such a demand for small holdings, the supply will soon by natural laws be forthcoming. But as a matter of fact under our present system this is not so—and for three reasons: (1) The slowness of the landed classes to perceive the needs of the day—even though to their own interest; (2) The want of capital among a great number of them, which makes them unwilling to face the breaking up of large farms and the building of extra cottages; (3) The fact that those who have money are careless about public needs, and do not *want* to see a sturdy population of small holders about their doors.

In the parish with which we are dealing, owing partly to its distance from a market, the demand for such holdings takes chiefly the form of a demand for small arable and pasture farms. But the need of these is great, as indeed it is nearly all over the country. A holding of this kind, of any size from five to twenty acres, forms an excellent stepping-stone for a farm laborer or farmer's son towards a position of independence. A second or third son of a farmer, not likely to follow his father in the occupation of the farm, has to-day only a poor prospect. Unable to command enough capital to stock a large farm himself, and unable to find a small one, he has but two alternatives—to drift down into the fruitless life of the farm laborer, or else to go off and try his luck in town. If, as is most often the case, he is twenty-five or so before the need of making a decision comes upon him, his chances of learning a town trade are closed, and the first alternative is all that is left. Yet the small holder of this kind is often one of the most effective and useful types of agricultural worker. On a holding, say of fifteen acres, while he cannot get an adequate living for himself and family by ordinary farm methods, yet he can gain a considerable amount, which he supplements by working as a useful hand for neighbors at harvest and other times. Being thrown on his resources, and not having *too* much land, he gains more than the average out of it, and his own ingenuities and capacities are developed ; so that, as a rule, he is the most resourceful and capable type of man in the district. It is of the most vital importance to the country that this type of man, and his class of holding, should be encouraged.

Agricultural Co-operation.

There is one method which I have so far neglected to mention by which both security of tenure and small holdings can be obtained —I mean Co-operation. The formation of co-operative societies for the purchase of large farms, for the division of them, the building of cottages, and the leasing of small holdings so obtained, is one of the most hopeful directions for the future. It ought to be easy for the public authorities to lend money on perfectly safe terms for this purpose. What co-operation has done and is doing for agriculture in other countries—in the way of establishing banks, land-holding societies, societies for butter-making, egg-collecting, buying of feeding stuffs and manures, sale of produce, etc., is now perfectly well known. Ireland even has left England behind in this matter ; but England and Scotland will have to level up. It is a sign, at least of good intentions, that the late Act gives power to the County Councils to promote and assist the formation and working of co-operative agricultural societies of all kinds.

Re-transfer of Old Common Lands and Declaration of Land Values.

One of the very first things, I think, which ought to be taken up is this question of the commons. If ten million acres between 1760 and 1880 passed so easily from the public use into the exclusive

hands of the land owners, surely there ought not to be much difficulty in passing them back again. As I have said, they were appropriated mainly on the plea that, being commons, they were inadequately cultivated. The main cultivation they have received from the landlords has been of rabbits, grouse, and other game! The public has been simply played with in the matter; and agricultural interests, instead of being extended and improved, have been severely damaged. When we realize, in addition to this, that, owing to the increase of the general population and its needs, these tracts which passed into private hands with such slender compensation to the public, are now held up at ruinous prices, we realize that it is high time that the game should cease; and that the lands which Parliament voted away from the public in those days should now be voted back again—and with "compensation" on a similar scale. These lands are still largely in the hands of the families to whom they were awarded; and the transfer could perhaps be most fairly and reasonably effected by their simple reversion to the public on the expiration of existing life interests in them. But of course there would have to be land courts to deal with and compensate special cases, as where the land had changed hands, and so forth.

The value of such ancient common lands to the public would now be very great. Large portions of them would be suitable for cultivation and for allocation in small holdings; the villages would again have a chance of public playgrounds and cricket grounds; the Parish councils would have lands (so much needed and so difficult to obtain) for allotment gardens; the District councils might turn many an old woodland into a public park; while the wilder moors and mountains could be held under County councils or the State, either for afforestation, or as reserves for the enjoyment of the public, and the preservation of certain classes of wild animals and birds, now in danger of extinction.

Let a large measure of this kind be passed retransferring the main portion of the common lands into public hands; and at the same time a measure compelling owners in the future to declare their land values, and giving power to the public bodies to purchase on the basis of the values so declared; and already we should have made two important steps towards bringing the land of the nation into the possession of its rightful owners.

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PARISH COUNCILS AND VILLAGE LIFE.

SINCE 1894 every rural parish containing more than 300 inhabitants has had a parish council to manage its local affairs. These councils are elected once every three years. There will be elections in March or April, 1922, 1925, 1928, etc. If there is not a good parish council in any parish, the electors should take care to get a good one at the next election.*

What use is the Parish Council?

Many people are saying that the parish councils are of no use to the parishes, and that they have done nothing for the poor man. It is quite true that in most places the parish councils have not done much. In many villages they have done nothing at all. But where they have done nothing at all, it is largely because the wrong men have been elected. In most parishes the farmers and shopkeepers and innkeepers do not like the parish council, because they are afraid of having to pay higher rates, and very few of the squires and parsons believe in it or care much about it.†

These people go about saying that parish councils are of no use at all to anybody. Unfortunately, many labourers and other simple folk believe this. They hoped much from the parish councils, and they have got little or nothing. But it is not true that parish councils are of no use to the poor man. They have taken the power over the village affairs out of the hands of individuals or cliques, and taught the labourer that his vote is as good as that of anyone else. In hundreds of different parishes up and down England and Wales the parish councils have done a great deal of good. In many parishes they have got allotments of grazing or gardening land for men who wanted them; they have protected the poor man's common or village green, and often obtained additional land for common pasture; they have appointed their own men to manage the village charities, and have sometimes restored to the poor charity-money which had formerly been misapplied; they have seen to it that the charities should go to those who really needed them, whatever political or religious opinions they might hold; they have got better drinking water for the cottages, digging new wells and putting up new pumps where required; they have

* For a plain statement of the law about parish councils, exact particulars as to who can vote and who can be elected, and full explanation about the method of election, see Fabian Tract No. 62, "Parish and District Councils: what they are and what they can do." 1d. It will be posted to any person sending 1½d. in stamps to the Secretary, Fabian Society, 25 Tothill Street, London, S.W. 1.

† For this reason no proper report has been published by the Government, as was its plain duty, showing what the parish councils have done. The facts in this Tract have been gathered from more than a hundred separate reports obtained by the Fabian Society from parishes all over the country; from the printed reports and proceedings of county and rural district councils; and from various Parliamentary papers.

cleaned out filthy ponds and ditches, and done away with nuisances which were injuring the health of the village; they have maintained and repaired the footpaths, and prevented the stopping up of public rights of way; they have looked after the rates and taxes and sometimes saved the parish large sums of money by preventing dishonest officers stealing the cash or dealing unfairly with the assessments; they have put up lamps to light the village streets at night; they have procured fire engines to put out fires; they have provided open bathing places and sometimes regular baths for men and women; they have laid out playgrounds for the children, cricket fields for the young men, and pleasant walks among trees, with seats for the weary; they have erected parish halls where needed; and they have sometimes set going libraries and reading rooms for the free use of the parish. All this, and much more, has been done by the parish councils in those parishes in which the right men have been elected. This Tract is written to tell of their success. What these parishes have done, others can do.

Allotments.

Perhaps the most important duty of Parish Councils is the provision of allotments, now not only "for the labouring population" as the Act expressed it, but for all the inhabitants. (Land Settlement (Facilities) Act, 1919. Third schedule.) On December 31st, 1914, 51,957 persons and five associations held allotments from parish councils. and they occupied 3,928 acres owned and 18,538 hired by the councils. During the earlier years of the war all acquisition of land by councils was for the most part stopped, but when the food supply was endangered, the Government urged everybody to grow his own food, with the result that allotments were started everywhere. In quite a number of villages in 1914 only one person held an allotment from the parish council; on the other hand:—

Wolverton, Bucks (pop. 7,384)	had	800
Blackwell, Derby (pop. 4,662)	,,	310
Elmton-with-Cresswell, Derby (pop. 5,631)	,,	284
Headington, Oxford (pop. 4,488)	,,	262
Whitechurch, Glamorgan (pop. 9,079) ...	,,	251
Soham, Cambridge (pop. 4,682)	,,	236
Bradwell, Bucks (pop. 3,938)	,,	225
Wisbech St. Mary, Isle of Ely (pop. 2,099)	,,	214
Condon, Durham (pop. 6,912)	,,	212

In Norfolk 134 parishes had acquired land for allotments by 1914, in Devon 72, in Essex 60, in Kent 72, in Somerset 67, and so on. Altogether about 1,400 parishes out of 7,000 have allotments acquired by the council or by the parish meeting; but it must be recollected that in a great many parishes all the land required is voluntarily supplied by the owners direct to the allotment holders.

Even in the old days before the war the parish councils usually succeeded in getting enough land by agreement with the landlord, which is much the best way for all parties. Sometimes the landowners or parsons have shown themselves willing to help the parish

council, as, for example, at Shepton Beauchamp (Somerset) and at Eaglescliffe (Durham), where the good offices of the rector smoothed the way to the acquisition of some 28 acres of excellent grass land for the laborers of the village. An admirable instance of energy is afforded by the Parish Council of Belbroughton (Worcestershire). This is a village inhabited mainly by nailmakers, who, in consequence of the rapid increase of machinery, found their old industry of nailmaking by hand could no longer provide them with even the bare living wage that they had been used to make. In 1895 the parish council took a field of 18 acres and accommodated 30 nailers. The next year 16 acres were added; the year after, 109 acres; and, in 1903, a further 34 acres. These 177 acres enable 112 men to obtain a livelihood as market gardeners. No less than 26 horses are employed in ploughing, carting, and carrying the produce to Birmingham and bringing back manure for the land. All this, it is worthy of remark, has been done despite the lethargy of the rural district council and the continued opposition of the chief landowner. In many cases where a landlord's obstinacy has produced a deadlock, the law has been set in motion, and he has been forced to part with some of his land to the parish.*

Here are the names of some parishes where an order has been obtained compelling the landlords to let the laborers have land:—

	Pop.
Asfordby (Leicestershire)	1,062
Ashby (Lincolnshire)	1,845
Beaghall (Yorkshire)	396
Dunsford (Devon)	633
East Rusten (Norfolk)	603
Fosdyke (Lincolnshire)	436
Gamlingay (Cambs.)	1,722
Garthorpe (Lincolnshire)	481
Goxhill (Lincolnshire)	1,174
Holt (Dorset)	820
Kexby (Lincolnshire)	300
Llandyfriog (Cardiganshire)	748
Potter Heigham (Norfolk)	426
Preston (Dorsēt)	664
Tarvin (Cheshire)...	1,093
Tydd St. Mary (Lincolnshire)	821
West Shutford (Oxfordshire)	271

* If a parish council cannot get suitable land by agreement and on reasonable terms, it should lay the case before the county council, who will then draft an order authorising the compulsory purchase or hiring for a period of not less than 14, and not more than 35, years of such land in or near the parish as is specified in the order. This order will have to be confirmed by the Board of Agriculture. If there is any opposition on behalf of the landowners concerned, or of any person interested, a local inquiry will be held, so that the Board of Agriculture may be satisfied before it confirms the order. If there is no opposition, the confirmation must be made as a matter of course. The Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, Whitehall, London, will answer any inquiries on the subject and give all necessary information. By the Lands Settlement (Facilities) Act, 1919, no confirmation by the Board of Agriculture of such order is required up to the 19th August, 1922.

Nearly all the land has been hired by the parish council at as low a rent as it could arrange, and let out to the allotment holders at a rent per pole or per rood just covering all the expenses.

Several parishes have had allotment land purchased for them either by the county council or the rural district council, the parish council in each case having the management. Thus Wigloft, in Lincolnshire, now has six acres, bought for it by the Holland County Council for £900, and paid for by a loan spread over 50 years. The parish council lets the land to 12 tenants, whose rent pays the interest and sinking fund. At the end of 50 years, the parish council will own the land free of any charge. The Parish Council of Keresley got the Warwickshire County Council to purchase 11½ acres in the parish, which the parish council now hires from the county council, and sublets to 18 tenants.

Most of this land is used for allotment gardens, varying in size from a few square yards up to an acre. But in many cases pasture land is let in larger holdings. Thus the Parish Council of Longcott, in Berkshire, has hired 10 acres of meadow which it sublets to four tenants; Shrivenham, in Berkshire, 20½ acres of pasture to three tenants; Weedon, in Buckinghamshire, 16 acres of pasture to one tenant; Clifford, in Herefordshire, four and three quarter acres to one tenant; Glen Magna, in Leicestershire, six acres of pasture to one tenant; Colyton, in Devonshire, 19 acres to three tenants; Witton Gilbert, in Durham, 32 acres to six tenants; Rothbury, in Northumberland, 46 acres to five tenants; and the Trefdraeth Parish Council, in Anglesey (pop. 682) has hired no less than 172 acres, which it has let to eleven tenants, one having about 100 acres.

Although only a portion of the total number of parishes has yet put the law as to allotments in force, more than 30,000 working men now hold land directly from their parish councils.

In many other parishes the parish council has been able, without itself hiring or purchasing land, to induce the landlords to set aside land for allotments. Thus in the parishes of Axmouth, Clawton, and Pyworthy, in Devonshire, the parish councils received applications for allotments, and successfully appealed to the landowners on behalf of the applicants. This happened also at Dunston, in Lincolnshire, Harthill-with-Woodall (Yorkshire), and many other places. The Slimbridge Parish Council (Gloucestershire) got two acres of charity land divided into allotments. Twyford Parish Council (Hampshire) owns two acres of land under an Enclosure Award, and lets this out in allotments. The Cold Ash Parish Council (Berkshire), which similarly owns eight acres let in allotments, reduced the rents to the lowest possible point, and improved the plots by providing new gates and fences. At Nayland-with-Wissington (Suffolk) the parish council got the rents of the existing allotments reduced. The Parish Council of St. Bride's Major (Glamorganshire, pop. 686) borrowed £400, on a 15 years term, in order to provide fences for its allotments on Ogmore Down.

When a parish council has obtained land for allotments, it is very useful to have definite regulations to prevent any abuse. Several

hundreds of parish councils have made such "Regulations for Allotments," and got them confirmed by the Local Government Board,* in London, so that each allotment holder may be protected from annoyance and the parish property from misuse.†

Common Pasture and Grazing Grounds.

A few parish councils have provided common pasture and grazing grounds for their villages. Thus at Soulbury (Bucks.), the parish council rents 21 acres for this purpose; at Hasland (Derbyshire), seven acres. In Yorkshire, the Ashton-cum-Aughton Parish Council rents eight acres; that of Kilham, 21 acres; and that of Beeford, 48 acres—all for the poor man's cow, the cottager's goose, and the horse or donkey of the small dealer or craftsman. And now, by the new Small Holdings Act, wherever allotments are provided and it is thought desirable to attach grazing ground to them, land may be acquired for that purpose.

Cottages.

A parish council cannot build cottages apart from allotments; but it can, without permission from anyone, appoint a committee of inquiry to report on the state of the housing in the parish, and print its report. If this committee reports that the cottages are ill-drained, unwholesome, and unfit to live in, and that new cottages ought to be built to supply the needs of the villagers, then the parish council should pass a resolution calling on the rural district council to build new cottages. If the rural district council neglects or refuses to comply with this request, the parish council can appeal to the county council, which, when satisfied that the need for new cottages exists, can order the cottages to be erected.

Under the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, any four inhabitant householders can appeal to the Ministry of Health if the Rural District Council does not provide all necessary cottages.

Some parish councils have got cottages repaired by complaining to the district or county council. The Parish Council of Suffield (Norfolk, pop. 207) found that the parish contained some cottages which were in very bad repair. It borrowed £100 on a 12 years term, put them in good order, and let them at satisfactory rentals.

The parish of Ixworth (Suffolk, population 856) was the first to get cottages actually built for it by the rural sanitary authority. After many complaints and repeated inquiries, the Thingoe Rural District Council bought four acres of land for £160, and built eight cottages for £1,370, borrowing the money from the Public Works Loan Commissioners at three and a quarter per cent., repayable by instalments extending over 30 years. The cottages are let at £5 10s. each a year, and the surplus land at twopence per rod. This, however, was done in 1890-1893, before parish councils existed. The first case of a parish council building cottages was that of Pens-

* These regulations will now be confirmed by the Board of Agriculture, the Secretary to which will furnish inquirers with all necessary information.

† See also below (p. 9) as to power of parish council to build cottages on allotments.

hurst (Kent, pop. 1,678), and this was due to the energy of a lady councillor (Miss Jane Escombe). Beginning in 1895, it was not until 1897 that she managed to get a county council inquiry; and it took over two years more to get over all the official and other difficulties. But in November, 1899, a site of three-quarters of an acre was purchased from the clergyman for £130; and twelve months later the cottages, six in number (with six rooms each), were completed at a cost of £501 for each pair, covered by a loan of £1,800 at three and a half per cent., repayable in 40 years. At five shillings per week the receipts amount to £78, and the annual charge for interest and repayment is £74 9s. 6d.

Eight more cottages have since been built on leasehold land at a cost of £1,850, and are let at rents from four shillings to 4s. 9d. per week. The loan is repayable in 40 years, and the rate of interest is three and a half per cent.

Bradwell (Maldon R. D. C., Essex). Six cottages have been built, at a total cost of £1,450 inclusive, on an acre of land costing £45. There are on the ground floor parlor, living room, and kitchen eight feet high; and on the first floor three bedrooms eight feet six inches high. They are let at 3s. 6d. each per week. The loans were £1,250 at three and three quarters per cent., and £200 at four and a quarter per cent.

Bratton (Westbury, Wilts). Four houses have been built, at a cost of £887, on land costing £30 for 32 perches (at the rate of £150 per acre), or a whole cost, with architect's fees, etc., of £970. Each house has two rooms and scullery on the ground floor, and three bedrooms on the first floor, and is let at 3s. 6d. per week, tenant paying rates.

Linton (Cambridgeshire). Application was made by this council to the county council on behalf of five parishes in the district, but the others are standing over until Linton has gone through. It is hoped to build for £130 per cottage, then let at 2s. 6d. per week. Land cost £125 for two acres. A loan of £1,500, repayable in 61 years, has been sanctioned by the Local Government Board.

Malpas (Cheshire). A loan of £2,500 was obtained for sixty years, and twelve cottages provided at an estimated annual cost to the rates of £11 per annum on an assessable value of £4,891. Only part of the land has been used, and a rent of four pounds per annum is being derived from the unbuilt portion.

Limpsfield (Surrey, pop. 1,911) is another place which has been very active. In 1901 the parish council found the cottage accommodation in the village to be insufficient and, after very careful inquiry, representations were made to the principal landowner in the matter, with the result that he promised to build immediately twelve additional cottages as an experiment. In 1906 it was found that there was still a scarcity of cottages, and it was proposed that a special report on the matter should be laid before the rural district council. Eventually the parish meeting decided that the work had better be done by voluntary effort, and a building company was formed for the purpose. No difficulty was found in raising the

money, and cottages, which are already begun, will be let at a low rental, paying a small fixed charge by way of interest on the capital outlay.

In Ireland much more has been done than in England. There are now over 15,000 cottages in Irish rural districts, built, owned and let out to tenants by the local public authority.

Lastly, it is important to remember how the Small Holdings Act, 1907, has changed the law as regards building in connection with allotments. Formerly the rural district council could improve and adapt land acquired by it for allotments. Now these powers have not only been transferred to the parish council, but they have been considerably increased by the fact that the parish council is allowed to erect buildings on the allotments which it holds. A parish council may, if it think fit, put up a cottage on any of its allotments which is not less than one acre in extent.

Recreation Grounds.

Many parish councils have secured useful recreation grounds for their villages. Sometimes these have been given free. At Titchfield (Hampshire) five acres have been given; at Nacton (Suffolk) one acre; at Westbury (Wilts.) half an acre. The parish council of Aldenham (Herts., pop. 2,487) had given it half an acre with gymnastic appliances; and has been offered another four acres for a public park. At Mayfield (Staffs.) the inhabitants themselves presented the parish council with one acre for this purpose. In other villages, land has been let to the parish council at a nominal rent, such as a shilling a year. At Roade (Northamptonshire, pop. 691) the parish council has thus secured a recreation ground of half an acre; at Calverton (Notts.) one of two acres; at Bramcote, in the same county, one of four acres; at Harrow Weald (Middlesex) as much as five-and-three-quarter acres; whilst on the other hand the parish council of St. Margaret-at-Cliffe (Kent), having been given a zigzag footpath up the cliff, has got the use for sixpence a year of sufficient land to put seats on. Less fortunate villages have had to rent land for recreation grounds. The parish council of Aston Tirrold (Berks., pop. 289) hires two acres, whilst that of Twyford (pop. 1,106) in the same county, hires ten acres; Wymondham (Norfolk) is content with half an acre, and Clifton (Lancs.) with three-quarters of an acre, whilst Naseby (Northamptonshire) hires 11 acres. Many parish councils (for instance, that of Great and Little Hampton, Worcestershire) have improved the village greens, so as to make them fit places for the children to play on. The parish council of Barrowden (Rutland) has hired seven acres specifically for a cricket ground; that of Norton-under-Hamdon (Somerset) one-and-a-half acres for a children's playground, whilst Barford Parish Council (Warwickshire) went in for five-and-a-half acres for this purpose. Northolt Parish Council (Middlesex) has got one-and-a-quarter acres of land for a village green at a nominal rent of five shillings a year. Sometimes much larger areas are hired by parish councils for the combined purpose of recreation grounds and common grazing. Thus Aberffraw, in Anglesey, rents by its parish council

16 acres; Whittington, in Worcestershire, 20 acres; Chigwell, in Essex, 49 acres; Pelsall, in Staffordshire, as much as 55 acres.

A few parish councils have purchased land for recreation grounds; thus Chulmleigh (Devon) has bought a little ornamental garden of four poles extent; Horndon-on-the-Hill (Essex) has bought one-and-a-half acres; Forest Row (East Sussex) four acres; Horsepath (Oxfordshire) four acres; Wattisfield (West Suffolk) four-and-three-quarter acres; and Ropley (Hants.) as much as seven acres, part of which it devotes to allotments. In such cases the parish council borrows the money to pay for the land. Thus Burwell (Cambridgeshire) borrowed £346 to buy some recreation ground; Willingham, in the same county, £500; Cuddesdon, in Oxfordshire, £160; Winterslow (Wilts) £250; and Caterham, in Surrey, as much as £2,700—all for recreation grounds. Here again the parish council may make bye-laws, which will be confirmed by the Local Government Board, for the regulation of its recreation ground. In 1905-6 and 1906-7 the Board has confirmed such bye-laws made by various councils—Potten (Bedfordshire), Tiverton (Somerset), Willingham (Cambridgeshire), South Normanton (Derbyshire), Combe Martin (Devon), Aldenham (Herts.), Frensham (Surrey), etc.

Public Wharf.

At Acle (Norfolk) a small piece of land by the river, forming a sort of wharf, is rented from the lord of the manor, in order that the inhabitants may have the free right to load and unload boats, independently of the riparian owners and occupiers.

Drying Ground.

At Cummersdale (Cumberland, pop. 615) the inhabitants felt the want of a drying ground, and the parish council rented half an acre of land for common use.

Burial Grounds.

When the parish churchyard gets full, or is too far off from part of the parish, it is a great convenience for the parish to be able to get a new burial ground. This has been done by nearly 700 parish councils. Occasionally the parish council has been able to get the land for nothing, on proving that it was really needed, as at Steeton-with-Eastburn (West Riding of Yorkshire), where the chairman of the parish council presented the council with one-and-a-half acres. In some cases the land has to be hired on a long lease; the parish council of Brisley (Norfolk) has thus rented half an acre. But nearly always the parish council has bought the freehold, obtaining a loan for the purpose. Sometimes, as at Isleham (Cambridge), all that is obtained is an additional half-acre beside the churchyard. At other times much more is bought; the parish council of Dolwyddelan (pop. 1,112), in Carnarvonshire, has purchased nearly eight acres. In a few cases where the landowner could not be induced to sell the necessary land adjoining or near the churchyard, the parish council prevailed on the rural district council to take it compulsorily.

These purchases are made by means of loans. Thus the Curston Parish Council (Norfolk, pop. 986) borrowed £340 to buy land for a new burial place; the Hauxley Parish Council (Northumberland, pop. 1,627) borrowed £381; and the Rainham Parish Council (Essex, pop. 1,725) borrowed £400. In 1905-6 the Local Government Board sanctioned loans amounting altogether to £7,478, and in 1906-7 £6,765 to parish councils for burial grounds.

Mortuary.

The Parish Council of Clifton, a mining village in Lancashire (pop. 3,000), by setting aside a stable at the back of the council offices, has provided a mortuary for common use.

Parish Land Recovered.

Many small pieces of land belonging to the public at large have been "lost" in years gone by for want of anyone to stand up for the public rights. Parish councils have been examining the Enclosure Awards, Tithe Awards, and Lists of Charities for their parishes, and some of this "lost" land has been recovered. For instance, the Askern Parish Council (West Riding of Yorkshire) is now in possession of half an acre of land, including a useful quarry, which had been duly awarded to the parish years ago, but had been quietly usurped by the neighboring landowner. When the village got a parish council to assert the public rights, the present landowner consented to restore the half-acre in question. At Shirland (Derbyshire) the parish council compelled a landowner to disgorge a small strip of land by the high road which he had annexed. The parish council now receives a small annual rent for its use. The Hurley Parish Council (Berkshire) found that the lord of the manor had for years been allowing people, now and then, to enclose bits of the common land, on condition that they paid him a small quit rent. The council complained, and this filching of the public rights has been stopped. At St. Budeaux (Devonshire) the Government had appropriated the village green under some plea or another, but the parish council has now obtained possession of this half-acre, hiring it from the War Office at the nominal rent of a shilling a year. At Pilton (Somerset) the parish council got the lord of the manor to transfer to them free of cost the site of the old parish pound, to be planted with trees and shrubs. At Long Preston (West Riding of Yorkshire) the lord of the manor has transferred the village greens to the parish council free of charge; and at Thundersley (Essex) the same is being done with regard to a large common. Many other village greens, the legal ownership of which has become vested in the lord of the manor, have been let to parish councils at a shilling, or some other nominal rent, so that the people might have a legal right to the use and management of them. By the activity of parish councils many commons and greens have been protected against encroachments and appropriation. Thus at Cellan, in Cardiganshire, the parish council had the common accurately measured, and the public ownership put on record. The Parish Council of Send and Ripley (Surrey, pop.

2,301) has made byelaws regulating the use of its village green and other open spaces. This should be done by every parish council which can prove its title to the green.

The green strips by the side of the high roads are public property, and ought never to be enclosed. In the past many thousands of these pieces of land have been quietly stolen by the neighboring landowners. Now it is the duty of the parish council to watch them, and the duty of the county council to protect them. Many encroachments have been thus stopped. The Parish Council of St. Bride's Major (Glamorgan., pop. 686) successfully fought the Earl of Dunraven, who had tried to make a big encroachment.

Parish Halls or Rooms.

Many parish councils have acquired or built convenient public rooms for the village to meet in, and offices for the parish business. At Charing (Kent) the parish council bought 10 poles of freehold land and built a hall, getting a loan of £286 for the purpose. The Boarhunt Parish Council (Hampshire) did the same thing. Compton (Hants.) bought three-quarters of an acre and built a hall; Hessle, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, half an acre for the same purpose. Dysarth (Flintshire) borrowed £88, and West End (Southampton) £450. The Parish Council of Hawkehurst (Kent) borrowed £625 to build its parish hall, which includes offices for the parish business. But a suitable room can be put up for much less. The Parish Council of Trefriew (Carnarvonshire) only had to borrow £114 to pay for its parish room; and the Parish Council of Underskiddaw (Cumberland) only required £150 for the same purpose. The Parish Council of Bovey Tracey (Devonshire) borrowed £400 to provide themselves with a "town hall," but South Stoke (Oxfordshire) was contented with spending £50, and Gunthorpe (Nottinghamshire) with spending £120 on their "parish rooms." At Cheddar (Somerset) the parish council bought a house with a quarter of an acre of garden, and converted it into a public hall and parish offices. This cost about £300, which the parish borrowed for a term of 30 years, during which it will pay interest and sinking fund, and after that will have the house and building free of charge. The Parish Council of Clifton (Lancs., pop. 3,000) bought two cottages for £500, and uses one for the parish offices, while the other is let to a tenant.

Schools.

Parish councils have no direct authority over the schools, but by means of the school manager whom they elect, or by making representations of their needs to the proper authority, they may add materially to the welfare of the scholars. A school manager appointed by the parish council should be required to give a report to the parish council of what has passed at the education committee. The report would, of course, be confined to such matters as are of public interest and not confidential. Another matter in which a parish council might usefully bestir itself would be to urge the county council to provide facilities for technical education in the

village. The Parish Council of Yarm (Yorkshire) secured for their village the services of an excellent horticultural lecturer from the North Riding County Council as a result of which a very promising horticultural society has been established there.

The Preston-on-Tees Parish Council (Durham, pop. 800) finding that the distance from the homes of many scholars to the existing school was too great to allow of their attending regularly, made representations to the Durham County Council, and a new school was started for the children in the outlying parts of the parish. At Limpsfield (Surrey) the school manager appointed by the parish council personally started a canteen, which fed 60 children who came from a distance at a charge of one penny each per day. The plan has been continued for a second season.

Charities.

In many parishes the parish council has reformed the charities by appointing some of its own members as trustees. Sometimes, as at Burley-in-Wharfedale (Yorkshire), the rents of parish land or cottages have simply been taken by the overseers in aid of the poor rate (and so helped to pay the rates of the squire, the parson, the innkeeper, etc.!). This was promptly stopped, and the money given to the deserving poor. Then the poor were no longer compelled to come up publicly to claim their doles, but arrangements were made for paying them quietly in their own cottages.

Sanitation.

It is, properly speaking, the business of the rural district council and the county council to see that every parish is in a proper sanitary condition; that every cottage has a good supply of pure water; that no stinking ponds, foul ditches, or other nuisances pollute the air or water; and that every cottage has decent sanitary conveniences. The parish council can, however, itself attend to small matters. At Marske-by-the-Sea (Yorkshire) the sanitation left much to be desired. An expert, who was called in, prepared an elaborate scheme; but the parish council found it too expensive, and so set themselves to remedy matters by giving a thorough attention to the sewers and sewage outlets, disconnecting of all rain-pipes from the drains, and so on. But, generally speaking, where the parish council comes in is in the power of making complaints to the rural district council, without any man running the risk of displeasing his landlord or his employer. Many parish councils have successfully used this power. They have pestered the rural district council with complaint after complaint, until the nuisances have been done away with. In Hurley (Berks.) the parish council found some of the cottages without any proper water supply, and using an infected source. It complained to the district council, got this source analysed and condemned, and compelled the cottage owners to provide a better supply. Sometimes the parish council has had to appeal to the county council, which has stirred up the district council and made it move. Where the county council has a medical officer (as every county council ought to have), the parish

councils have found it very useful to send him their complaints, and to get him to inspect the parish. If neither the district council nor the county council will help the parish, then the parish council can appeal to the Local Government Board in London. The Parish Councils of Threapwood (Cheshire, pop. 305) and Hildenborough (Kent, pop. 1,407) complained to their district councils time after time about the unhealthy state of their parishes, owing to the bad arrangements for drainage. Finally they appealed to the Local Government Board in London, and the district councils have been told that they must provide proper drainage for these villages. The village of Holcot (Northamptonshire, pop. 343) was always suffering from bad illnesses because there was no drainage. When the parish council complained to the Local Government Board, the district council was ordered to put the village into a sanitary state at once.

In 1905 there was a complaint against the rural district council of Dunmow that the want of a proper water supply in the village of Felstead was injuriously affecting the health of the inhabitants. The Local Government Board directed a local inquiry to be held, and eventually issued an order requiring the district council to carry out their duty within six months. The district council, however, did not comply with the order, and so in August, 1907, a mandamus was obtained from the High Court of Justice to compel them to do so.

In many parishes the parish council has itself dealt with small nuisances, and got them stopped. At Clifton (Beds.) the village suffered from a filthy pond, illegally polluted by drains and itself polluting an open ditch. To put this right meant an expense of £50 or more, and no one could tackle it. When the parish council was established it took up the job, cleaned out the pond, stopped the drainage into it, and scoured the ditches. It cost for one year a special rate of 4½d. in the £, but it improved the health of the village. The Mundesley Parish Council (Norfolk) has hired half an acre of land as a dumping ground for parish refuse. The parish council of Chesterton (Staffordshire) has done well in getting a sewage farm of its own of 140 acres.

Water Supply.

Although the provision of a new water supply on a large scale is a matter, not for the parish, but for the rural district council, the parish council has power to improve any existing supply within the parish. This power has been exercised in many hundreds of parishes, to the extent of making small but extremely useful improvements. Thus the parish council of Great Stambridge (Essex) found that the village badly needed better water. It obtained as a free gift from the landowner a few square yards of land, on which a well was sunk, a pump and horse-trough erected, and the whole covered by a neat roof. Kilmington (Wilts.) wanted a new parish pump ; one pole of freehold land was given free of charge by the owner to the parish council, and a pump erected for the use of the public for ever. At St. Tudy (Cornwall) the parish council had the drinking water

analysed, and, finding it unsatisfactory, got the supply improved and increased. At Gaydon (Warwickshire) the parish council was given a good supply of water, so that it should be for ever maintained in good order for the village. The parish council of Humshaugh (Northumberland) has bought the freehold of a small piece of land, one pole in area, so as to secure for ever a public watering place. The Churchstanton Parish Council (Devon) successfully asserted the public right to certain springs of pure water, and laid down pipes to supply the neighbors. At Thundersley (Essex) there is a good water supply, but the owners of some cottages neglected to lay it on to them. The parish council took the matter up and compelled them to do their duty. But the best work of that parish council was its standing up to a village tyrant. A local landowner filled up and destroyed an ancient spring, which the public had used from time immemorial, and put up barbed wire and tar to prevent the cottagers approaching it, whilst the county policeman was sent round to frighten them. The parish council raised a subscription to fight the case, and by an action in the Court of Queen's Bench (Reynolds *v.* Lincoln) in May, 1899, compelled the landowner to clear out and re-brick the spring, and remove all obstructions to the public use of it. The Ashton Parish Council (Northamptonshire) had an instructive experience. When the churchyard was enlarged, it became necessary to divert an old line of pipes supplying water from a spring to the village well, and the clergyman took upon himself to run the supply to his own house, allowing the village only the overflow from his tank. The parish council (which consisted of a grocer, a gardener, a platelayer, a signalman and a carpenter) then took steps to protect the village, and commenced to put down pipes connecting directly the well with the spring. Thereupon the steward to the local landowner (Duke of Grafton) came down on the parish council, and declared that the pipes, and even the water, belonged to the duke, because it ran under the public high road. At first he tried to stop the work; then he claimed the ownership of the new pipes which the parish council was paying for; at last he offered that the duke should pay the expense, but said he must own the pipes. The parish council stood firm, and said that the parish was determined to possess its own water supply, which they and their forefathers had enjoyed from time immemorial. Finally, the duke, by his steward, made an awful threat. He would appeal to the Government Auditor, and get the amount "surcharged," upon which, as his agent explained, those parish councillors who had ordered the expenditure would have to pay it out of their own pockets. He actually tried to carry out this threat, but his agent fortunately mistook the day, and appeared twenty-four hours too late. So the parish council triumphed, and now enjoys its own good and abundant water supply. This happy result was largely due to the wisdom of the parish council in engaging a good man as clerk. Instead of getting their work done for nothing, and having it done badly, the council pays a salary of £6 a year, and shares with two other parish councils the services of a competent officer.

Public Lamps and Lighting.

Upwards of a thousand parishes have adopted the Lighting and Watching Acts, which enable the parish council to put up lamps and light the village streets and roads at night. The Parish Council of Elmswell (West Suffolk) is one of those that have done this; that of Menstone (West Riding of Yorkshire) is another (it borrowed £200 to pay for the lamps, and did the thing hand somely). The Parish Council of Treeton (also in the West Riding of Yorkshire) spent £140 on public lighting at starting; and Brampton (Cumberland) borrowed £100 for this purpose, and Seaton Delaval (Northumberland) £138. But usually much smaller sums suffice. The annual expense of lighting is paid for by a separate lighting rate on the parish, which is usually only a half penny or a penny in the pound. The Lighting and Watching Act involves a separate rate and a somewhat cumbrous procedure. Other parishes have asked the Local Government Board to confer on the rural district council the power to light the village; and then got the rural district council to delegate this power to a parochial committee.

Assessments and the Parish Finances.

Some parish councils, like that of Bradfield St. George (Suffolk, pop. 417) have formally adopted section 3 of the Poor Rate Assessment and Collection Act, 1869, and so made the owners of all cottage property themselves pay the rates. This is found a boon to the poor.

Before the parish council came into existence there was very often no one to see that the churchwardens and overseers did their work fairly as to the assessment of property and the collection of rates. When the parish of Penalt (Monmouthshire) got a parish council, it was discovered that some houses had for years been left out of the assessment, so that the owners of them escaped their share of the rates; and that a large balance was owing to the parish by a former overseer. The parish council insisted on this being made right, and so saved the parish in one year more than the whole amount of its expenditure since that time. At Barford (Warwickshire, pop. 689) the parish council found that the three great houses of the parish were scandalously under-assessed, and got them put up by £200. This at once reduced the rates by a penny in the pound.

At Blackshaw (West Riding of Yorkshire) the parish council thought that the parish was unfairly treated by the county council in being assessed at too high a sum towards the county rate. The parish council twice appealed against the county rate basis, and was successful in getting it considerably reduced, saving the ratepayers of the parish a large sum annually. Similarly, when the neighboring town of Todmorden became a municipal borough, it strove to put upon Blackshaw parish the maintenance of some roads which were in a bad state of repair. The parish council stood up for its rights and got compensation for the parish.

Markets.

Some parish councils manage little markets or annual fairs, and take the profits in aid of the rates. At Bawtry, in Yorkshire, the parish council rents the market place from the lord of the manor, and receives the market tolls. At Bardney, in Lincolnshire, the parish council maintains the village green and, with the consent of the lord of the manor, lets it out on the occasion of the annual fair, and uses the rents for parish purposes.

Roads, Paths, and Bridges.

Many parishes have, through their parish councils, got their footpaths and little bridges put in order, and sometimes new ones made. Thus, quite small parishes, such as Welford (Berkshire, pop. 791) have gravelled their footpaths and repaired their footbridges, so that the children can go to school without getting their feet wet. The Parish Council of Snape (Suffolk, pop. 529) finds it convenient to have its own gravel-pit for footpath repair, and so rents a quarter of an acre of land and digs its own gravel instead of buying it. The Parish Council of Orrell-with-Ford (Lancs., pop. 2,104) is properly proud of having "name-plated all the roads, finger-posted all the footpaths, and twice cleaned out the boundary brook." The Parish Council of St. Tudy (Cornwall, pop. 495) agitated for and got built a new footbridge over the river; and the Parish Council of Clifton (Lancs.) has put several footbridges over streams and over the railway. The Parish Council of Weston Turville (Bucks.) took in hand a dangerous corner of a road, and bought a strip of garden to widen the highway. The West Mill Parish Council (Herts.) fenced the road off from a bog with white-painted posts. At Timperley, in Cheshire, there was a footpath leading to a level crossing over the railway. This was a cause of serious danger and occasional accidents. As it proved to be impossible to get a railway bridge, the parish council made an exchange of land and diverted the footpath so as to obviate the dangerous crossing. At Newstead (Nottinghamshire) a new road was needed, and the parish council has rented altogether five acres of land in order to lay this out. Lower Dylais (Glamorganshire) wanted a new footpath and made it, formally hiring the narrow strip of land on a long lease. Whitwell (Derbyshire) was in the same case, but was able to hire the strip at a nominal sum. The Parish Council of Blaenpenal (Cardiganshire) made a new cartway, but was able to buy the freehold of the little bit of land required. At Ockbrook (Derbyshire) the parish council devoted its attention to improving the streets and highways. It adopted the Lighting Act and erected lamps (rate threepence in pound for this), gave names to the roads and streets and put up name-boards, made up and repaired the footways and approaches, and removed nuisances.

Motor Cars.

Many villages suffer very serious inconvenience and danger from careless and "scorching" motorists. Every parish council should petition the county council, as the Limpsfield Parish Council (Surrey)

has done, through the district council to get the Local Government Board to enforce the limit of ten miles an hour in dangerous parts of the roads. And the county council itself, without the intervention of the Local Government Board, ought to put up sign-posts at all dangerous corners, cross-roads and steep hills.

Fire Protection.

More than 500 parish councils have taken steps to protect their villages against serious fires. Sometimes, as in the cases of half-a-dozen parishes near Bedford, the councils subscribe towards an efficient fire brigade maintained by a neighboring town. More usually, the parish council organizes a volunteer fire brigade of its own, and provides appliances. At Tempsford (Beds., pop. 434) the parish council pays the engineer's salary; at Burnham (Bucks., pop., 3,245) the men are paid for drills; elsewhere, as at Malpas (Cheshire, pop. 1,139), the men are paid for attendance at fires. At Flimby (Cumberland, pop. 2,482) the members of the parish council themselves act as a fire brigade. Other parishes have borrowed money for fire brigade purposes. Thus Walgrave (Northampton) borrowed £60, Easton (Northampton) £100, and Bishopstone (Wilts) £70 for fire engines, etc.; Dagenham (Essex) £378 for fire extinguishing appliances; and Hornchurch (Essex) £368 for engine house and appliances.

Railway, Post, and Telegraph Facilities.

Many parish councils have succeeded in getting better service from the Post Office. Thus the Parish Council of Broadhempston (Devon, pop. 445) got a second, or evening, postal delivery; that of Hadley (Salop) got several additional pillar boxes and an afternoon postal delivery; that of Churchstanton (Somerset, pop. 581) obtained a money order office; those of East Claydon (Bucks.) and Elwick (Durham) have given a guarantee against loss and so secured a telegraph office. Newick (Sussex, pop. 953) and Eaglescliffe and Preston-on-Tees (Durham) got better train services from the railway companies; St. Bride's Major (Glamorgan, pop. 686) made the company put up bridges and stiles; while the Parish Council of Clifton (Lancashire) got the railway company to replace a level crossing by a footbridge.

Libraries and Reading Rooms.

In many villages a reading room is now maintained by the generosity of the clergyman or the squire. Often these are just what the village desires, but sometimes they are not. In one parish reading room in Surrey no Liberal or Radical newspaper is allowed. In one Sussex parish the clergyman gave his copy of the *Times*, but refused to let the *Daily News* be presented, on the ground that it was a "party organ"! But in a few parishes the parish council now maintains a free public library and reading room, where the inhabitants can read just what books and newspapers they please, without being beholden to anyone. At Corwen (Merionethshire, pop. 2,723) the library was opened in 1896; it has a newsroom open 78 hours a

week, and 250 books; it pays its librarian nine pounds a year; costs altogether £80 a year; and is managed by a committee of six parish councillors and six others, whom the parish council co-opts. Halkyn (Flint., pop. 1,389) opened its library in 1898; already has 700 books and a newsroom open 72 hours a week; pays its librarian £25 a year; and co-opts four persons to serve with five parish councillors as its library committee, which has an income of £63. Sometimes, as at Colwall (Hereford, pop. 1,892), the parish council gets a library building provided by private endowment. What can be done by a tiny village is shown at East and Botolph Claydon (Bucks., pop. 336) where a library was opened by the parish council in 1897, which now contains over 600 books. The squire has built and placed at the disposal of the council, at a nominal rent, a parish hall, reading room, library, and caretaker's rooms. The library work is done gratuitously by a lady, who attends every Saturday afternoon. In the neighboring parishes of Middle Claydon, Grandborough, and Water Eaton (Bucks., pop. of each between 200 and 300), a joint library is maintained by the three parish councils, largely through the help of Sir Edmund Verney, whose daughter gives her services as librarian. It is open 18 hours a week, and contains over 2,300 volumes, with a printed catalogue. The management is by a committee of five parish councillors; and the total cost is about £18 a year, of which only £10 comes from the rates. In all these cases the parish council levies the full library rate of one penny in the pound, and ekes this out with such receipts as sales of old newspapers, fines, and subscriptions.

Bathing Places.

A score of parishes have adopted the Baths and Washhouses Acts, and now provide swimming baths. Sometimes, as at Betchworth (Surrey, pop. 1,789) and Alveston (Warwick) the parish council has merely put up sheds, screens and platforms, so as to enable the river to be used in comfort, and made regulations, confirmed by the Local Government Board, as to the times for women and men respectively. At Ibstock (Leicester, pop. 3,922) the parish council built a bathing tank 6ft. deep, with corrugated iron fences; costing £90; supplied with water from the brook; and looked after by an old man at 7/6 a week. A penny is charged for admission, or two shillings for a season ticket. But the most successful bath seems to be that at Snitterfield (Warwick, pop. 727). Here an old brick tank, 70ft. by 30ft., that had been long unused, was obtained by the parish council on lease from Lady Trevelyan at a nominal rental. The council spent £40 in putting it in order, fencing it round with tarred matchboarding, and providing a comfortable dressing-room and diving-pier. The water is supplied by a spring and is constantly changed. The bath is open free five days a week, certain hours being set apart for women and girls. One hour a week may be reserved on the sixth day by season ticket holders paying a small subscription. The nearest cottager and his wife act as caretakers for 30s. a year, and the total annual cost is only about £5. The vicar has gratuitously taught the boys to swim. He offered to teach the girls if the

parish council would provide bathing dresses for them, but the council (consisting of a "gentleman," a doctor, a farmer, and two hurdlemakers) declined to do so (though bathing dresses are provided out of the rates in London baths). During the summer 30 or 40 persons use the tank daily. Many children bathe regularly every noon; and the bath is highly appreciated by the parish. Swimming baths have also been established by the parish councils of Snodland (Kent, pop. 4,136), Shere (Surrey, pop. 2,184); and Blaby parish council (Leicestershire, pop. 1,842) hires a few square yards of land for a bathing station.

It is to be regretted that so few parishes have yet followed these examples. The whole capital cost of a good open-air bath need not be incurred at once. The bath may be made one year, cemented the next, enclosed the next, and so on. The annual cost of maintenance need only be trifling.

No parish council seems yet to have provided hot-water baths for individual use, though these would be a great boon to every mining village. Nor has any parish council had the enterprise to provide a laundry for public use, in spite of the great success in London and elsewhere of this convenience to small households.

Some Typical Parishes.

The following account of the work of the parish council in four separate parishes in different parts of England, shows what has actually been done.

Kingsteignton (Devonshire).

Population in 1901, 1,942. Area, 3,975 acres. Number of parochial electors, 370. Rateable value, £14,280.

This parish has throughout taken considerable interest in its parish council elections. The council has had from the first a Liberal majority, about evenly divided between Church and Dissent; but the elections have turned more on "village politics" and personal preferences, than on Imperial politics or religion. The council (13) now consists of one clergyman, three farmers, two schoolmasters, two builders, one mine-owner, one shopkeeper, and three wage-earners. The council has appointed trustees of the charities, and set on foot inquiries about them which have done good; it has regularized the assessments; it has preserved one footpath from a threatened encroachment; it obtained the tithe-map from the vicar and transferred it to its own custody; it hired two fields, comprising five-and-a-quarter acres, and let them out in 33 allotments; it moved the district council to provide a new water supply for the parish at a cost of £2,000, and built a new reservoir capable of holding 85,000 gallons and costing £1,800, which (though hotly opposed) is now appreciated and used by nearly all the parish; it has organized a parish fire brigade, providing £50 worth of fire-hose and other appliances; it has obtained from the district council its own appointment as a parochial committee for sanitary purposes, and has got nuisances stopped; it has cleaned out the village leet (or water course) which was in a dangerous state; it has repeatedly moved the district council

to improve the drainage, obtaining more frequent flushing of sewers and good ventilating shafts, and causing steps to be taken to prevent floodings and storm damage. It owns three houses, bringing in a small sum towards the expenses, which are rigorously kept down. It has a division under the Newton Abbot Corps of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade, with full uniform and equipment for dealing with accidents and removal to hospital. It has taken gas from Newton Abbot for street lighting purposes, and is without doubt the best lit village in the country.

Aylesford (Kent).

Population in 1901, 2,678. Area, 4,057 acres. Number of parochial electors, about 550. Rateable value, about £15,981.

In this parish (which includes two villages, one old and proprietary, the other modern and manufacturing) there has never been any active fighting in the elections; and though the meetings have been well attended, they have lately not been seriously contested. The parish council has always been elected by show of hands without a poll, and only once has any old member been rejected. The council (12) now consists of a sand merchant, a manager and assistant manager of a cement works, two doctors, two grocers, the cashier and secretary of a brickworks, a lime merchant, a farmer, and an engineer; mostly Conservative in politics; partly Church, partly Dissent. The council has done useful work with regard to the charities, putting representatives on the board of some important almshouses. It has stopped at least one job, by which it was proposed to reduce to a nominal sum the rent paid for a way-leave. The council appealed to the Charity Commissioners against it, and got a substantial rent fixed. It has encouraged revision of the assessments, and got raised those (especially of licensed houses) that were too low. It has prevented unwarranted diversions of public footpaths, even when desired by the dominant landowner. It has increased an already considerable supply of allotments by hiring three and a half acres, let to 40 tenants. It has obtained two recreation grounds, one of three and one of nine acres. It negotiated with a neighboring water company, and got considerably better terms of supply. It has provided fire hydrants. It has greatly improved and extended the lighting of the village by gas lamps. It helps the county council to provide the parish with technical classes every winter. It has an excellent sewage arrangement, which cost nearly £20,000. The expenditure (other than than that for lighting) is covered every year by a penny rate, except in the year that the recreation grounds were laid out, when it amounted to threepence in the pound.

Horsford (Norfolk), St. Faith's Union.

Population in 1901, 691. Area, 4,249 acres. Number of parochial electors, 151. Rateable value £2,560.

This is a good sample of a purely rural parish, where the parish council, though not brilliantly successful, has been of real advantage. The first election (1894) excited great interest, and there was a fierce

contest and a poll. An active Radical majority was elected, which got some things done, but found more difficulties than it expected. The next three elections were decided by show of hands, and Conservative majorities were elected. Later on, in the same way, eight Liberals and one Conservative were elected, and these have gone steadily to work in a quieter way than the first council. The councillors long included four tenant farmers, three farm laborers, one brickfield laborer, and one agent (a townsman). The council, since 1894, has secured a useful footpath against possible diversion; hired eight acres of land for allotments; got the county council to hold a public inquiry into the overcrowded state of the village and need for more cottages—the inquiry attracted so much attention that the worst evils got remedied—obtained a letter-box where needed from the Post Office, and got a savings bank branch opened in the parish, by guaranteeing the cost; stirred up the district council about a wet and dirty lane which had never been repaired within living memory—this caused the landowners to remedy their neglect. Perhaps the most striking result has been the care of the parish land. These 208 acres of heath had been neglected for years, and the neighboring landowners and occupiers were quietly establishing a right of way across it. The parish council elected trustees to manage this charity, and these fenced in its land from the road, enclosed and drained eight acres, which are now let for grazing; and, after a hot discussion with the squire, maintained its fence against his claim to a right of way. The district council now owns and lets the shooting on the watering pits, gravel pits, and other odds and ends of land belonging to the parish under an Enclosure Award of 1810; and the rent is credited to the parish for the maintenance of roads. When land is wanted for allotments, the landowners are quite willing to let it to the parish council. But the real value of the parish council here is much more its intangible results on the village life and character. All classes are brought together to discuss their common business, and the laborers have been taught to look the squire and the parson in the face, and to realize that the best men of their own class make as good and trustworthy councillors as landlords and farmers. "Everyone," it is now said, "has become independent." They know that any real grievance in the village can now be remedied, and the council serves as a vent-hole for complaints and suspicions that would otherwise have smouldered dangerously for years.

Newick (Sussex).

Population in 1901, 953. Area, 1,977 acres. Number of parochial electors, 200. Rateable value, £4,876.

One grave defect of the parish council, as it is usually administered, is its failure to attract any public interest. It is not enough to put up a notice on the church door. It is better to do as the Parish Council of Orrell-with-Ford (Lancs., pop. 2,104) has done, viz., to meet regularly every six weeks on fixed dates. The lack of public interest is partly due to the neglect of the councils to let the parish know what they are doing. An admirable example to the

contrary is seen at Newick (Sussex), where the parish council presents an annual report, which is printed in the local newspaper. As the report for 1899-1900 gives a vision of the work of an active parish council, it is here printed in full.

ALLOTMENTS.—The committee have now a prospect of securing land and having nearly completed their proposals, the council hope shortly to have before them a definite and complete scheme.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—Copies of further Acts of Parliament have been added.

BUILDING BYE-LAWS.—In view of the continued construction of insanitary dwellings in the parish, the council have urged on the authorities the necessity of enacting building bye-laws for this district. The response has not been favorable, but, looking at the importance of this question, the council will probably feel it their duty to press it further.

CHARITIES.—The council having inquired as to the existence of any parochial charities, have received from the Commissioners an opinion that there are none, but further inquiries remain to be made.

DISTRICT ROADS.—The council, having persevered in their former course, find that there has been some improvement. They have also obtained from the highway authority an undertaking to repair the Rough, which has, however, not yet been acted on. The council have resolved not to apply for powers over the district roads under section 15 Local Government Act, 1894, but unless such roads are better managed in future to seek to obtain the transference of such management to the county council under section 16 of the above Act, or otherwise.

EDUCATION.—Two classes for women and girls under the county council have been carried out by Mrs. Gravely with satisfactory results. It remains to arrange technical or other classes for men and boys, and the organizing secretary (Mr. Young) has consented to address a public meeting shortly to that end.

FINANCE.—Considerable progress has been made. All payments under the authority of the council, whether of accounts or of extra remuneration to officials, have been systematically examined by the finance committee, who have also ascertained the causes of the rise in the poor rate in May, 1898. They have also established the right of ratepayers to examine the district council minute book. The drainage committee have partly explained the heavy special drainage rate and will further report thereon.

FIRE BRIGADE.—An ineffectual communication was made to the Bonfire Boys' Society. It remains to decide whether to repeat that communication next year or what other attempt to make, if any. Inquiries should be made of those parishes who have already successfully completed their arrangements.

FOOTPATHS.—The committee have collected much information as to the history of the more important footpaths with a view to determining the liability for their repair. They are waiting legal advice as to preserving the testimony they have collected. Meanwhile no further expense has been incurred.

ISOLATION HOSPITAL.—The council have supported an application to the authorities for an isolation hospital for the district, which is likely to be acted on.

PARISH DOCUMENTS.—The committee was re-appointed but have been unable to proceed for want of the required directions from the county council, whose attention will probably have to be recalled to the subject.

POSTAL FACILITIES.—The council have secured from the General Post Office the promise of a new pillar-box at Cornwell's Bank for outgoing letters. An application for the despatch on Sundays of letters posted at the railway station was not granted.

REPRESENTATION ON DISTRICT COUNCIL AND BOARD OF GUARDIANS.—The memorial presented by the council in 1898 has resulted, not in an increased representation for Newick, but in a proportionate increase in rural representation on the board of guardians at the expense of urban.

SEWAGE.—The committee appointed by the council have devoted much attention to this subject, and have furnished the council with considerable information. There has been some alteration in the methods of the sanitary authority in providing super-

vision and in cultivating the irrigation area. It remains to ascertain how far the present methods are adequate for the improvement of the drains or the relief of the ratepayers.

STEAM ENGINES ON HIGHWAYS.—The county council have acted on the suggestion of the parish council for the publication of the conditions under which steam traffic on highways is permitted. The issue of the new regulations of the county council is now awaited.

TRAIN SERVICE.—Among other railway business transacted the council, having been informed by the railway company that the late train run the previous winter between Lewes and Newick had been worked at a loss, requested the company to extend the train to East Grinstead, a request in which they were supported by the councils of East Grinstead, West Hoathley, Horsted Keynes and Danehill. The company, however, preferred to run the same train as before, but on Saturdays, an experiment which seems to have paid better. The council also obtained through the Brighton United Football Club a reduction of fares in connection with the Saturday train. Further information is likely to be furnished by the company shortly.

VOLUNTEER EQUIPMENT FUND.—At the instance of the Lord Lieutenant the parish council undertook to support and collect for this fund, and have arranged for the sum of £14 9s. 6d. to be sent to the treasurer.

VILLAGE GREEN.—Some progress has been made in pursuing the necessary inquiries, but some time must elapse before the council assume effective control, because the legal difficulties are exceptionally technical and intricate.

WATER SUPPLY.—The last-named consideration applies to the water supply, so far as it is connected with the Green.—*East Sussex News*, 13th April, 1900.

The Parish Meeting.

In those parishes which are too small to have a parish council, there is always a parish meeting, which has nearly the same powers as a parish council. It was intended that all the house or cottage occupiers and other electors in these small parishes should meet now and then in the evening to discuss the parish affairs and decide what ought to be done. They could appoint committees for special purposes, and get new powers conferred on them by the county council. This seems to have been a failure in most places. The parish meeting has been held as a matter of form, to elect a chairman and two or more overseers. But in very few villages have the laborers, or the other electors, had any real discussion on the parish affairs. Very few parish meetings have obtained allotments or grazing land, recreation or burial grounds; hardly any have done anything about the charities, or looked after the footpaths, or improved the water supply. In over 5,000 parishes in England and Wales, where no parish council exists, nothing at all has been done by the people themselves. During the year 1906-7, out of 5,724 parishes without parish councils, only in 385 did the parish meeting spend anything at all.

But a few of these little parishes have done something. Some of them have applied to the county council and obtained the privilege of having a parish council. This should be done by every one of them. A few have asked the county council to group them with neighboring parishes, and so share in their councils.

In a few cases the parish meeting has itself managed the parish affairs, as it was intended to do. Thus the parish meeting of Kempley (Gloucestershire, pop. 210) has hired five and a half acres of land for allotments, which it lets out to seven tenants. At

Barney (Norfolk) the parish meeting managed to get four and a quarter acres for this purpose, which is now let to 15 tenants. So in East Worldham (Hampshire, pop. 272) the parish meeting hires and manages four and a quarter acres, let to 13 tenants; and at Walberswick (East Suffolk, pop. 304) the parish meeting has five acres, let to 12 tenants. In one case, that of Clapton (Gloucestershire, pop. 103), the parish meeting, finding itself unable to get allotments in any other way, applied to its county council and got an order compelling the landowner to let it some land.

Some of these tiny parishes have improved their burial grounds. The parish meeting of Little Hale (Lincolnshire, pop. 270) laid out £92 in providing additional burial accommodation, and borrowed the money on a thirty years term. The parish meeting of South Newbald (East Riding of Yorkshire, pop. 166) borrowed and spent £150 in this way; and those of Wilshop (West Riding of Yorkshire), Gauthrop (North Riding of Yorkshire), North Redditch (Worcester), £68, £40, and £70 respectively.

How Parishes can get Greater Freedom and More Powers.

Nearly everywhere we find the complaint that the parish council has not got enough power. Many things it cannot do at all, such as manage the village school, though it appoints one of the six managers. Many other things it can do only by getting the consent of the rural district council, a body usually made up of farmers, who often object to do anything, however useful it may be, that costs money. But parish councils have actually got many abuses remedied by writing to the rural district council, and this should always be tried. Sometimes (as, for instance, getting compulsory power to hire or purchase land) the parish council has to go to the county council, which is a long way off, and not very willing to listen to a small parish. The law ought to be changed.

But even under the present law there are ways and means by which a parish can get more power and freedom to manage its own affairs. Many parishes have done so in the following ways:—

I.—The Parochial Committee.

The parish council may ask the rural district council to appoint a "parochial committee," and to make the parish council that committee, with, perhaps, the addition of the district councillor for that district. Then the parish council (besides all its own powers) may exercise within its own parish nearly all the powers that the rural district council possesses, if they are delegated to the parish committee. The expenses for sewage and water supply will be kept separate, and will be charged on the parish in the poor rate; but for other matters they will be shared over the whole district, just as if there had been no parochial committee, unless the Local Government Board confers powers specially for one parish. Thus the Croydon Rural District Council (Surrey) every year appoints parochial committees for five of its parishes, consisting in each case of the members of the parish council, together with the rural district

councillors elected by the parish. These parochial committees, meeting in the parishes themselves, practically carry on the government, giving their orders direct to the rural district officials, and making formal reports to the rural district council, which are usually confirmed. The Liskeard Rural District Council (Cornwall) has followed the same plan with regard to all the parishes within its district. Another example is seen in Derbyshire, where the Parish Council of Ockbrook (pop. 2,567) got itself appointed the parochial committee for the parish. Some of the best governed parishes in the Bromley Rural District (Kent) are managed by parish councils acting as parochial committees.

II.—The Urban District Council.

The parish council may apply to the county council to have the parish declared an urban district. The county council will send one or two of its members to hold a public inquiry in the parish, and if it is clear that the bulk of the people wish it, and if the parish is not too small, the county council will probably do what is desired. Then the parish elects an urban district council instead of a parish council, and gets quite free from any control by the rural district council. It can then build cottages, provide sewers and water supply, and manage the roads. It can go in for improving the parish in almost any way it chooses; but, of course, the parish will have to pay the cost in rates. An urban district council has practically the same powers as the town council of a small municipal borough. There are no aldermen, and the chairman is not called a mayor. But he is, during his year of office, a justice of the peace for the county; he can sit as a magistrate at petty sessions, and attend the general quarter sessions. There are many of these so called "urban districts" with fewer than 2,000 population, and quite rural in character. On the other hand, there are a score or two of parishes with between 5,000 and 15,000 population, which are apparently still contented to be under parish councils, and thus subject to the rural district council. There are some hundreds of parishes having more than 2,000 inhabitants in the same case. Every parish with a population or 5,000 or upwards ought to apply to the county council to be made into an "urban district," and so set free from the control of the rural district council.

Conclusion.

The lesson of all this is that "where there's a will there's a way." If there is anything wrong in a parish, the parish council can do a great deal towards putting it right, *if only the right men are chosen.* If anyone wishes for further information on the subject, he should write to the Secretary of the Fabian Society, 25 Tothill Street, London, S.W. 1.

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BY THE

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SOCIALISM AND THE CHURCHES.

AN ADDRESS GIVEN AT THE BAPTIST CHAPEL, FOREST HILL, LONDON, TO THE LONDON BAPTIST ASSOCIATION ON JUNE 30TH, 1908, BY JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D., AND REPRINTED BY PERMISSION FROM THE "WESTBOURNE PARK RECORD."

THE word "Socialism," it will be remembered, came into use about the year 1835—a little more than seventy years ago—as descriptive of the heroic and self-sacrificing efforts of Robert Owen for the improvement of the social and domestic conditions of the workers of this country. It was descriptive of an endeavor to displace the fierce and disastrous competitive methods and conditions of industrial life by the introduction of co-operative and organized action based on justice and intended to promote the general welfare.

Socialism is a movement, and not merely a theory or a set of theories. It is of the first importance that we should regard it in that light, so that we may not be entangled in the various speculations which have sought shelter under the Socialistic label, or be misled by the sophisms and vagaries of some of its advocates, or blinded by the [redacted]s and falsehoods of some of its antagonists.

Primarily, [redacted]movement in the Social State, as "Modernism" is a movement in the Roman Catholic Church, or as Puseyism was an ecclesiastic movement, originating about the same time as Socialism, within the Anglican Church, or as the Evangelical Revival was a religious movement in the eighteenth century. Essentially Socialism was, and is to be judged as, *a movement, a tendency, a pushing forward of the inner soul of humanity towards its predestined goal.*

Now, as a movement it has a governing idea and a practical method, but the vital element is its *spirit.* Socialism is a spirit of justice and charity, of broad sympathies and general goodwill, of universal amity and benevolence, of service to others and not of getting for self. H. G. Wells, in that most illuminating and enriching book, "New Worlds for Old," says: "Socialism, as he understands it, is a great intellectual process, a development of desires and ideas that takes the form of a project—a project for the re-shaping of human society upon new and better lines." It is that; but it is more. It is an ethical and religious effort, proceeding from within the soul of the human race, for pulling down principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, and bringing every thought of man into captivity to the obedience of the teaching and spirit of Jesus Christ, the Savior and Leader of men.

But whereas there is no doubt as to the spirit of Socialism, its working idea is not so easily caught or readily expressed. It is too early in the history of the movement, and its development as an idea is too infantile, for us to define it with accuracy and adequacy. Moreover, the idea takes the form of the political mould in which it is cast, and therefore we have one expression of it in Germany, another in France, and another in England. "The Encyclopædia of Social Reform" just published, after giving a long string of definitions from different authors, sums up the result in which they agree, thus: "Socialism may be said to be *the collective ownership of the means of production by the community* democratically organized, and their operation co-operatively for the equitable good of all" (p. 1,129).

But it is a more English way of thinking to look at an idea as it is embodied in a familiar fact, such as that department of the State called the General Post Office. Englishmen are not theorists, and are rarely captured by theoretical reasoning. We are practical men, and can more clearly understand Socialism as we see it at work at our own doors and in our own streets, than from any lengthened statement.

The Postal Service.

Here we see the Socialistic idea in operation. And first, we note a large number of our fellow-citizens enrolled as servants of the whole community. As children, most of them have been trained in State schools, and at the expense of the State. Then they have passed their examinations and been assigned their posts according to their qualifications. They do their appointed work without seeking to amass great riches. They are fairly content with their wages. They have a moderate measure of comfort. They are not anxious about old age. They have a sense of security; nor do they dread the workhouse, for pensions are secured to them. In London they have their Sundays free for mental and spiritual culture, and if they desire it, for work for the world. Clearly they are animated, not by the spirit of greed but by the Socialistic spirit of service. They own nothing. The buildings in which they labor are not their own; the red pillar-boxes which they empty do not belong to them. There is no private ownership, and yet they do not "dawdle;" they do not waste their time. They are honest and industrious. Our letters come with regularity, and on the stroke of the clock all through the day; and they find their reward in the moderate wage they receive, and the sense that they discharge their duty.

Their home-life is their own. The relations between husband and wife and children are sweetened by the removal of all uncertainty and anxiety as to income; and in all other respects the postman is as much master of his home and of his life as any citizen of the land. At present he pays rent to a private person for his home. In a fuller Socialism that rent will go to the whole community; and in all probability his hours of toil will be fewer, his freedom wider, and his life richer in the things of the mind and spirit.

There you have as in a mirror the idea and spirit of the Socialistic movement. That is what it does. That is what it means. That is what it seeks to do for the individual citizen and for the whole commonwealth. That is what it seeks to achieve of liberty, of contentment, and of widespread serviceableness. The illustration does not tell all that is to be told; but it answers objections, corrects mistakes, and affords a surer guide to the idea of Socialism as a movement than a whole sheaf of definitions.

Socialism Constructive.

Now the Post Office is a constructed State effort. It is a creation of intellect. It springs from the brain of Rowland Hill, and it advances by the State-building efforts of successive Postmasters and others to its present world-wide proportions and immeasurable usefulness. In that respect it is typical of Socialism as a movement. Socialism is intrinsically constructive. It displaces the haphazard labors of an individual by the organized efforts of all. I know it is often said that "England has blundered into greatness." I do not believe it. I know she has "blundered" into misery and cruelty, into perilous wealth for the few, and chains and curses for the million; into debasement and defilement for her daughters, and ruin for her children; and therefore no sign of the times is brighter than that which assures us that the hour has struck in which this "blundering" must stop, and the most direct route be taken from the Tartarus in which so many of our fellows suffer to the Elysian fields of mutual service and general wellbeing.

Hence, Socialism seeks to create a State which shall exist for all and be served by all; a State which shall provide work for all, and reward that work according to the quality and quantity of the work done; a State which shall give liberty and justice, security and comfort to all men, women, and children; a State which shall "fix a definite minimum of welfare below which no one shall be allowed to fall," and yet shall not permit anyone to be defrauded of that to which he is justly entitled; a State in which service and honor, and not mere greed and vain show shall be the chief motives of action; a State in which every facility that the combined action of the whole of the intellect and goodwill of the community can invent or create, shall be offered for the training of the young, the protection of the imperilled, the succour of the weak, the comfort of the aged, the diffusion of happiness, and the increase of moral worth. Socialism will not leave everything to chance or to "good fortune," or to inheritance, or to superior might. It expects thought. It asks for intelligence. It invites science. It combines citizens together, and seeks to bring into a system the whole of the tendencies now working in the heart of the civilized world for the common good.

The Sanity of Socialism.

This movement, as I have said, is still very young: but it is becoming increasingly sane, balanced, manlike, scientific, and

trustworthy. I admit that the "swollen floods of sophism, fallacy, cant, and rant," let loose by the agitation for the "Rights of Man" have not entirely disappeared; but I hold that the impracticable and implacable theorist is no longer representative. Every man who calls himself a Christian cannot be accepted as a sample of the Christian spirit or the Christian method; nor can everyone who wears a Socialist badge and carries a Socialist banner be justly regarded as speaking for the movement. Still less ought the assertions of the man whose one object is to bespatter and destroy Socialism to be allowed any place in the scales of judgment; assertions, for example, made by a man I will not name, that "Socialism is atheism," or that "the very essence of Socialism is that all the ten commandments should be swept away"; assertions based either on the misquotations of opponents or on the wild speech of non-representative men. For it is undeniable that the doctrinaire and cantankerous Ishmaelite is disappearing from the movement. The doctrinaire is far to seek. The mere theorist is at a discount. Few now expect a sudden revolution; most work to hasten a natural and orderly evolution of the Socialistic State. The historic sense is begetting the feeling that to-morrow must grow out of to-day, just as whatever elements we have of order and of progress, of liberty and good legislation, have grown out of yesterday.

Its Catholicity.

Socialism is not a class movement. Labor is in it; but so is science. The democrats of the streets proclaim its ideals, but so do students of the universities. Agnostics confess its obligations, and orthodox Christians are eager to forward its aims. In fact, the feature of the world's life that is the most prophetic of the future is the subsidence of the exclusive dominance of individuality, and the emergence of the social consciousness, of the sense of intimate, I may even say fraternal, relations—relations not only to the denizens of the home, the members of our "set," or of our "church" or profession; but to the municipality, to the nation, and to humanity. The whole sweep and trend of the age is Socialistic. No one is satisfied with the present condition. Everybody admits it has anti-human elements, and the anti-human is felt to be anti-social, irreligious, ungodly, the modern Antichrist. The men of wealth feel its presence, and some of them clutch their gold with a fiercer passion, as though they feared its departure. The men of avarice are aware of it, and publish their "lies" broadcast to keep up their dividends, increase their trusts, and convey the gains of our common life into the pockets of the few. The civilized world is gradually but surely travelling towards Socialism. The good seed sown with weeping and tears by Carlyle and Ruskin, Lord Shaftesbury and Saint Simon, Proudhon and Fourier, Ebenezer Elliot and Ernest Jones, and others, is yielding its harvest in some thirty, in some sixty, and in some a hundred fold. We have socialized transit and illumination, and we are [illegible]ializing hygiene and medicine. Officers for the care of the h[illegible] the public, and district nurses for

ministry to the sick, are becoming part of our civic and political administration. Just as we organize for the defence of our citizenhood by the army and navy, so we are constructing a department for the defeat of disease and the maintenance of health. As we have socialized the teaching forces of Great Britain, so we are travelling towards the organization by the State of a body of highly educated men to watch over the physical health and strength of the nation.

Nor are we limiting the functions of the State to the body. The training of the young citizen for citizenhood has definitely passed out of the hands of blind chance. It cannot be left to individual caprice or bigoted and crippling churchmanship. It is the first duty of the commonwealth to its young. The provision of libraries and museums, of reading rooms and picture galleries, of the recreative ministries of art and of the discipline and order of science, are following. Technical training for industrial life is becoming part of the daily bread offered to the citizen, not on the grounds of individual hunger, but from the necessities of communal growth and progress. Then it is increasingly felt that we cannot leave the worker ignorant of the trade of the world. He must have access to a national bureau of information concerning the changing conditions of labor—the reverses in this department, and the demands in that —so that he may be able to take opportunity when it is at the flood, and may arm himself against a sea of misfortunes. Already we have gone far in these directions. Recently our Board of Trade has taken up the responsibility of mediating in the conflicts of large industries ; and now we have the declaration that a certain amount of the funds of the State is to be set aside for the promotion of international peace and goodwill, in order to provide hospitality and fraternity for bodies of visitors to our shores from other lands.

The civilized world is gradually making room for the Socialist movement. The heathen rage and "Municipal Reformers" say vain things against the march of this Socialist spirit, but it is in vain. Bit by bit, inch by inch, the social conscience grows. The moral and social implications of the fundamental human fact that "we are members one of another," demand legislative adoption. Quietly and slowly, but inevitably, the sway of the sense of social duty rises and rules so that this twentieth century is sure to be the century of a conquering and beneficent Socialism. Professor Dicey, in his "Law and Opinion of the Nineteenth Century," traces the gradual escape of the English people from the fierce antagonism to political and social government which darkened the first four decades of that period, through the hard and selfish individualism of the fifties and sixties and seventies, on to the dawning, in the latter part of the century, of that Socialism which is destined to be the distinction and glory of this.

The Divinity of Socialism.

The fact is, and this is what I want to show, this is the plan of God. Socialism, in the soul of it, is divine. It is of God. He is

behind all, and in all, and through all, working out His great redemption of mankind. God has His plan in every generation, and I cannot hesitate to believe that "the plan of God in this generation connects itself with that irresistible social tide which rises higher and higher against the dry strands of our time, seemingly making ready to inundate all the old moorings of the world, and to give the race entirely new levels of departure forth upon its immense mission. We are weary of endless sociological wranglings, and often deeply incensed with the intolerant Socialisms of our day. And yet, weary or incensed, the tide of a realized common life, a tide which bears on its heaving breast the neglected truth of the world, keeps on rolling in, like that superb Hangchow bore of which Professor Edmunds has been writing so interestingly in *The Popular Science Monthly*—a something invincible to any barriers erected against it, continually destructive of false individualism, and yet a something which bears up with it into the pent places of humanity a mighty saving freshness from the deep oceans of divine purpose. Indeed, the Socialism which makes for fulness and unity of the common life 'spreads undiminished, operates unspent,' and has already covered, and covered to its permanent sway, whole regions of human experience."

It is political, in the sense that it has to get its work done through Parliament; it is civic, because it acts through the municipal and urban councils; it is international, for it seeks to displace the enmity of nations to one another by amity; it is literary and artistic, for it uses all forces that heal and help our suffering races; but in all and over all it is fundamentally spiritual and religious. In the language of John Shorthouse, "The world spirit is often the Christ spirit, and . . . when we begin to see that His footsteps may be traced in paths where we little expect to find them, we shall no longer dare to talk of the secular life," but shall rejoice to recognize that these, too, are the ways by which the kingdoms of this world are becoming the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ.

Still, I do not say that this movement is the *final* form of human society. We do not know, we cannot tell. Finality is a word we cannot place on anything. It does not belong to our vocabulary. But Socialism is the next, the necessary, the vital, the saving movement. Yet, just as the wage-earning period, with its colossal capitalists; its giant plunderers, usurers, and sweaters; its princes of philanthropies; and its myriads of miseries and cruelties, was confessedly an advance in the conditions of slavery; so Socialism may only be a stage in the wonderful evolution of the manifold life of the children of God.

The Churches Awake.

Now since that picture of the spirit, idea, method, and goal of constructive Socialism is demonstrably accurate, is it not a thing incredible that any of the churches of Jesus Christ should be fiercely antagonistic to it, or coldly critical, or haughtily sceptical, or superciliously indifferent?

Indeed, already those moods are passed or passing. The churches are awake to the golden opportunity at their doors. They are beginning to see that this is the hour of their visitation; that they must rise and interpret the revelation given by God in the social Bible of the world's life, and take the fullest advantage of this widening and unifying of the life of men for the establishment of the gracious and redeeming rule of God over the earth. As the Reformers seized the hour of the awakening of the intellect and conscience of Europe for the proclamation of the original Gospel of God, and the assertion of the rights of man against the tyrannies of priests and popes; as Wesley, Carey, and Howard, breathing the new social spirit created by the light which had been cast on the incalculable values of every human soul, made the epoch of the Evangelical Revival, of redeeming philanthropy, and of missionary enterprise: so the churches have already found in the presence of this vast change of social ideas and feeling, that

> "New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth;
> They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of truth.
> Lo, before us gleam her camp fires! We ourselves must pilgrims be,
> Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
> Nor attempt the future's portal with the past's blood-rusted key."

It must be confessed that the churches have been slow of heart to perceive all that God has been teaching. They should have been the first to learn; they have been the last. They ought to have led; they have to follow. Their place was in the van; they are still in the rear; but they are in the rear, and in time will march on to their true place. They have had their vision. To them, as to Peter, sleeping and hungry on the housetop of Simon the tanner, the divine revelation has come. The sky has opened to their view, and what seemed to be an enormous sail has descended from heaven, and in it are seen all kinds of questions and problems, domestic and social, civic and national, questions of strikes and lock-outs, property and rent, sweating and intemperance; and a voice has been heard saying, "Rise, disciples of Christ, face these questions, and help to find the right answer." "On no account, Lord," has been the answer. "We have never yet touched these unspiritual things; they are outside our boundaries, and belong to the secular life of men." Again a second and a third time the voice has been heard saying, "What God has created you must not regard as unholy. His creative acts cleanse all the products of His power. The life of the State is His care. Labor is sacred. It is not for you to call His work unclean, or to restrict the outflow or overflow of His impartial love."

And while the churches have been greatly perplexed as to the meaning of the vision they have seen, men arrive from the Cæsareas of industry and literature asking for an interview, and reporting that they, too, have had a vision of the aid the churches may and ought to render in the present stress; for God, by His own gracious Spirit, has been preparing men, outside the bounds of the churches, to listen to the message they have to deliver concerning the relations of these economic and social questions to the spiritual life of man, and God

says, "Rise, and go without any misgivings, for it is I who sent them unto you."

So the churches are going to Cornelius. Our Free Churches have been sending their Simon Peters for a long time. What changes we have seen in our attitude during the last forty years! How the horizons have been lifted! What new sympathies throb in our hearts! How the compassions of Christ for the multitude move within us!

But the most welcome sign of change is in the Pan-Anglican Congress, for it has devoted, apparently, about three-fourths of its time, and more of its interest, to these vital problems of the world—gambling and intemperance, opium and alcohol, sweating and housing, low wages and unemployment—tracing them through their wide ramifications in the social organism, their destructive effects on young and old, and indicating the means by which these evils may be abolished.

The fact is, Christian men are ceasing to see any incompatibility between a rich and full spiritual life and the effort to reconstruct society on a Christian basis; and nearly all churches agree that in order to save men from sin and sinning they must face the whole life of man, the physical and industrial and social, not less than the life of the conscience and the will, of faith, and of love. They *must* enter into the Socialist movement. Admitted that it leaps up from unexpected quarters, and that our Rabbis have been heard saying with mordant contempt, "Search and look, out of Lanark and Paris ariseth no prophet"; admitted that the bold and adventurous apostles, according to the standard of the "schools," are unlearned and ignorant men, and threaten to overthrow the temples of orthodoxy, and to cast out the priests from the synagogues; yet it has to be confessed that they are inspired and sustained by the Christian conviction of the upward and onward progress of the destinies of mankind, are gripped by the vital truths and quickening fundamentals of the Kingdom of God, and are urged forward in their zealous crusade by genuine good will. Admitted, moreover, that the difficulties in the way of this social reconstruction are enormous; that to substitute a new economic system for the old, however brutal and destructive of human life the old system may be, is a task demanding the concentrated energy of an age, or perhaps of ages; that the institution of private property in land, houses and the like, is mixed up, seemingly inextricably, with the passions and habits and interests of men, and has been for centuries; that rent and interest are apparently as necessary to us as our breathing; admit all, still the churches feel and know they cannot hold aloof from this movement. It is of God, part of His plan, and they must accept it; fall in with it; and face it with courage, and hope, and do their best.

But what is their best?

What the Churches must not do.

That I will attempt to show; and first, let me say with the utmost emphasis, the churches must not imagine for one moment that they have to cease from their simple and unflinching testimony

to their own truths and ideals as fellowships of Christians organized expressly for the preaching of the gospel and the cultivation of the spiritual life. There must be no slackening of devotion to our *primary* work, no lowering of our aims; no submission to the dominion of the flesh and of sense. Soul is supreme in the life of man and will remain supreme. Soul is all, and all in all. Men may deny it. They do, they will, and not altogether without reason considering what poor Christians we are; but in the long run they are confronted and convinced by the irresistible logic of facts. History and present experience alike declare that no other name than that of Christ is given whereby we can have social salvation. Apart from His idea and spirit and work we can do nothing effectively; not even take the accurate measure of man's real need, or the height of his possibility. This work of preaching and living the Christ is primary and fundamental to the actions of the churches in the constructive social movement; and it requires vast reserves of courage and perpetual alertness. The world is always with us, and its maxims and customs and spirit always gravitate towards "compromise." At each stage the question rises how much of this wrong can we tolerate: and we are frequently ensnared by the evil we tolerate into treating it as though our toleration of it has made it good and just in itself. Our duty as churches is to keep the ideal at its highest, *i.e.*, as high as the standard set us by Jesus Christ; to say that the Kingdom of God is within men or it cannot be without; that all national progress depends on character; that the springs of social well-being are in the hearts and wills of men; to insist that a tolerated evil is still evil; that a wrong that is hoary with the weight of years and crowned with the approval of the great, is still a wrong. The churches are to witness against "compromise" even when it endures it, to resist the invasion of the realm of conscience by the magistrate, to assert the moral limits of accumulation, to war against trusting in uncertain riches, to insist that though a "time limit" for an evil system may be extorted, it does not cleanse the evil during the time of its existence, or excuse men from doing battle to end it altogether.

The Churches must care for the Spiritual Element of Socialism.

Nor is this all. The churches must take care that this social movement is not narrowed down to the economic side of life, as though a man had but one side to his nature, and was not a mysterious being with immeasurable possibilities both in time and eternity. It is for the Church to insist upon and secure the *spiritual* quality of Socialism. Owen and Marx have affirmed the economic element. The Fabian Society has illuminated and enforced the historical, and made clear that we cannot bury the old order and start as from creation's dawn. H. G. Wells and others have contended for the rational and ethical element; the churches must add the most important of all, the spiritual. It is this we can give. It is this we must give. Not apart from the economists, but with them; not apart from the evolutionary Socialists of the Sidney Webb school,

but with them and through them; not apart from the professors and teachers of the science of sociology, but with them; informing and quickening the collective mind, and supplying that spiritual momentum which is absolutely requisite so that the constructive Socialism of the State may attain to the fulness of the stature of the perfect manhood of Christ.

This is our place in God's plan. The movement will not advance on sure and solid lines unless it is fed with the intelligence and faith, the patience and love, the hopes and high ideals, the sense and the enthusiasm of *spiritual* brotherhood. Without that aid it will sink into a dull, dead mechanism, or a more or less skilfully constructed machine, and become a mere matter of ballot boxes and suffragists, as if man were only created to "mind" a machine, and women were added only to give pleasure to him when the "minding" was done, and children followed so that the "minding" of the machine might not come to an end.

Let not the churches fear. If they are alive they will be wanted. If they are not alive they had better be carted away and buried. If they are faithful to Christ and His teaching and spirit, they will supply one of the most influential forces for forwarding the great social change. Socialism demands a far higher level of intelligence, of knowledge, of drilled capacity, of freedom and of moral worth than individualism. You cannot re-mould society out of illiteracy, indiscipline, intemperance, and selfishness. The full co-operative commonwealth is only possible where you have the best all-round type of man and woman—educated, drilled, self-reverent, self-controlled, self-sacrificing, free, and brotherly: capable of suppressing greed of gain and finding satisfaction in service. Efforts for the construction of Socialistic conditions break down for lack of character. Men are not yet "moralized" up to the point where a co-operative community is possible. Therefore the churches, made up of disciples of Christ, must give themselves to the work of what Paul calls "edification" or "man building"; they must stir and illumine the conscience, create good and healthy opinion, turn opinion into conviction, and conviction into action, elevate ideals, stiffen will, and fire with enthusiasm, and so supply the character, freedom, and force on which the order and progress of mankind ultimately rests.

The Emancipation of the Churches from Anti-Social Conditions.

Again, the churches should free themselves from every anti-social alliance and anti-social condition. They ought not to have any complicity as churches with politics and practices based on social inequalities, social monopolies, and anti-Christian social distinctions. The Christian society should realize in all its arrangements the ideal of the social commonwealth, and breathe in all its actions the bracing air of liberty and equality and fraternity. It ought not to accept any special favors from the State. It must render to Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar. It is of right the foremost trustee

and chief guardian of the liberties of man; because it has to render to God the things that are God's; to care for liberty of conscience; that liberty which includes and guards the liberty of speech, and of the press, and all the great freedoms of the soul of man. It must not be content with evil conditions because they are inherited, and yield large advantages to itself as a society at the expense of the freedom and rights of other members of the community. It must not hold itself aloof from or averse to change, because it may suffer thereby; but be willing and even eager for the changes that lead to the greater good of all.

Indeed, in the Church of the New Testament we see existent, in principle and in germ, what we expect to enjoy in a perfectly constructed social state. The Church of God in the Acts and Epistles knows nothing of class distinctions—has neither laymen nor clerics. "Ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation," is the description Peter gives of the group of saints to which he belongs. The apostle and the prophet, the teacher, the evangelist and helper are one; all distinctions within the body disappear in the one sacred distinction of being within the circle of the people of God. It knows no separating class arrangements. It is the foe of caste. Mammon worship is swept utterly away by the flowing waters of the Church's generosity. Race antipathy is alien to its spirit, and love is poured out in steady and limitless floods. There, in the ardors and achievements of the first churches, we have set before us what we ought to seek with full purpose of heart for all men.

Study.

Further, the churches must encourage and systematize the study of social facts by their own members. It is fitting that we should know the main current of the whole Socialistic movement, and follow the story of the organization of the masses of workmen into a solidarity of interests; why it is here; why it has come now; what it means and towards what it is driving. Ignorance is the prolific mother of misery. Our young people do not know, and therefore they do not consider, how the bodies of their fellows are stunted, their minds crippled and fettered, and their souls lost by the hardness of economic conditions. The young Socialists outside the churches enquire, and enquiry leads to sympathy and action. The Fabian Society instructs by its literature and discussions. Professors of sociology teach in the schools of economics and political science connected with the University of London; but the churches need to organize and direct classes for this study, so that our young people may be able to analyze and classify the social conditions of the workers; know the civic institutions that affect their life; the legislation as to insurance and pensions, factories and mines; the laws of taxation, and so on; and be led to see these facts in their relation to the deeper realities of the spirit, and from these high considerations seek the abolition of unjust land laws, make war on the causes and sources of poverty and vice; and qualify for high-minded and self-denying service to the State.

Electoral Action.

Nor should the churches fail, at the times when they can control the constructive efforts of the commonwealth, to put men into office who are, by conviction and sympathy, in favor of using the wealth that accrues from our communal life for the good of all; and eager to prevent its being appropriated for the selfish enrichment of the few. They ought to exclude from civic and political work those who juggle with the words "liberty" and "reform," in order that they may the more easily filch from the public purse the riches that belong to all, and return to power only those representatives of the people who will either largely modify or else get rid of laws and institutions that stand right across the path of the social reform—such as the House of Lords, the rule of the land by the few, the swollen tyranny of the drink trade, and the like—and who will be prepared to introduce that better era in which the community shall be administered for the good of all. The churches ought, whilst not, as churches, identifying themselves with Socialist organizations, to take their full share in the gradual reformation and rebuilding of society; to welcome every practicable extension of the Socialistic principle; and inspire their members to give themselves in all humility and lowliness of mind, with much patience and love, to organize our common life on the principles of brotherhood, of social helpfulness, and of the laws of the kingdom of God.

And assuredly the churches can and ought to keep the minds of men alert to note every existing wrong in the framework of society, to feed the courage and patience that battles with that wrong and tries to rid the world of it, and to inspire that passion of the Cross by which men will be ready to toil and fight and suffer for that full redemption and regeneration of the individual and of the world which Jesus Christ came to effect.

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BY MRS. HYLTON DALE.

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CHILD LABOR UNDER CAPITALISM.

The Industrial Revolution and Child Labor.

AT the end of the eighteenth century England ceased to be predominantly agricultural and became the most important manufacturing country in the world.* Child Labor being regarded by the manufacturers as absolutely essential to the speedy piling up of fortunes, the morality of which no one questioned, it was universally employed in the cotton mills and factories which suddenly sprang up in the land. Manchester, specially the seat of the cotton trade from its earliest days, was the greatest employer of Child Labor, and became wealthy and populous. In ten years—from 1780-1790—the population almost doubled, owing to the inrush from the country of people, who were tempted by high family earnings to barter their infinitely healthier existence on the land for life in crowded slum cities. A positive majority of the workers in the cotton mills were young children.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century spinning and weaving had been done in cottage homes with the simple hand looms which had altered but little from primitive times. But with the introduction of elaborate and costly machinery into factories the work changed its character. New methods, new buildings, new modes of life superseded those of the rural life of the English peasantry. The latter at first refused to allow their children to work in the factories and mills which had been built by their streams and rivers from which was derived the water-power which worked the machinery. The parents at first considered it derogatory and degrading work for young people. But to procure the cheapest form of labor was considered not only justifiable but almost a mandate from heaven. The wealth that poured into the country, notably into the pockets of the manufacturers, was regarded as a reward from God for industry and self-help. Unfortunately in the workhouses of London and other large towns manufacturers easily found the cheap material they required. Shoals of unwanted children of all ages, even as young as five and six, were transported from workhouses and sent as parish apprentices to remote districts wherever their labor was wanted. The parish authorities, whose callousness was equalled by the manufacturers, were only too anxious to be rid of the burden of rate-supported children, and they actually stipulated — so little did humanity and pity rule their hearts—that a due proportion of feeble-minded children must be taken as part of the contract. As far as is known no further interest by the overseers was shown in the fate of these hordes of victims of ungoverned industrialism.

* *The Inaustrial Revolution*, by Arnold Toynbee; *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, by W. Cunningham; *Capital*, by Karl Marx.

No one can tell how many thousands died unknown and untended over a long series of years. No records were kept. It was no one's business to see after such children. Employers for the most part regarded their apprentices as of less value than their machines, which at any rate were kept clean and carefully preserved. The masters themselves were frequently men of low type, with little or no education, who had often come from the ranks of manual labor themselves, and who were intoxicated with their own sudden wealth. They had little sympathy for the class from which they had sprung. Children worked side by side with adults and for the same length of time. They worked all day and sometimes all night ; they were cruelly beaten if fatigue overcame them at their work ; they worked in bad air without ventilation or sanitation, and with no regard to cleanliness or decency (the two sexes being herded together at night in huts) ; they received no personal care morally or physically, no education, no love. Many were living skeletons, some almost gibbering idiots. They died off like flies from various diseases, especially pneumonia, fostered by the sudden changes of temperature from damp heat in the mills to cold outside. Malignant fevers decimated them from time to time, and of those who survived many were in poor health, ignorant of the commonest things, and destitute of all education, secular, religious or moral.*

The work in the mills was, perhaps, not in itself hard. It consisted of piecing together the broken threads of cotton, of removing obstructions from the machinery, and of cleaning its parts. But accidents were not infrequent. And the children of all ages stood at their work the whole day through (often from twelve to fifteen hours at a stretch, with one and a half hours' interval for meal times), under pitiless taskmasters.

The conscience of society gradually became aroused to the evils of the system when the sins committed upon the hapless children reacted upon itself. When infectious fevers, originating in the dens where the little apprentices festered, were caught by children and adults outside, it was brought home to people that some foul wrong existed somewhere.

In 1784 the Manchester magistrates requested a committee of medical men, led by Drs. Percival and Ferriar, to investigate an outbreak of fever in the Radcliffe cotton factories. Dr. Percival, F.R.S., President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, had had his attention specially called as a medical man to the evils and ravages of disease among the Poor Law apprentices in the town.

The first report, from which all subsequent factory legislation sprang, was that presented in 1796 to the Manchester Board of Health by Dr. Percival on the abuses and cruel conditions of life under which all the operatives, and especially the children, lived and died. It was resolved by the Board to invoke the aid of Parliament to establish laws "for the wise, humane, and equal government of all such works."

* *Life of Robert Owen*, by F. Podmore ; *History of Factory Legislation*, by B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison.

Robert Owen.

On the Board sat Robert Owen, cotton spinner, embryo philanthropist, and pioneer of factory legislation. He and his two partners subsequently purchased the cotton mills of New Lanark belonging to David Dale (whose daughter Owen married), and who was one of the few instances of a humane and enlightened master of that period. Owen carried on the work at New Lanark in the same humane spirit as his predecessor, and instituted a series of reforms in Child Labor. He raised the minimum age of the workers to ten, and refused to take any more Poor Law apprentices, preferring to gather in as employés children who lived at home with their parents. He established infant schools where children from one year old were kept in a very superior crêche and kindergarten combined. In his schools for older children he established co-education, and had dancing, military drill, natural science, botany, arithmetic, geography, history, singing and music taught. He allowed no punishments of any kind. The whole atmosphere of his schools was one of love. He, more than any educationist before or since, recognized that children are like plants, in that they want more than care and attention ; they want love.

The First Factory Act.

In 1802, Sir Robert Peel the elder, himself an owner of cotton factories, inspired by what he knew of his own mills at Radcliffe and the report of the Manchester Board of Health, introduced and got passed the first Factory Act known as " The Health and Morals of Apprentices Act." By this Act the hours of labor were limited to twelve a day, and the children were forbidden to work at night. They were to go to church once a month, and were to be taught reading, writing and arithmetic. Girls and boys were not to sleep in the same apartment. The factories were to be ventilated and periodically whitewashed. All this seems little enough to the modern sense, but it called the attention of right-minded people to the subject, and raised a standard of humanity which has never been lowered, and from it came, slowly it must be confessed and after fierce struggle, all subsequent factory legislation.

Employment of "Home" Children.

One result of this Act, which dealt solely with Poor Law apprentices, was the substitution for them of children who lived at home, on whose behalf the law had not interfered. The evils of excessive work were now transferred to the "home" children, and continued to be borne by them for many long and weary years. Steam power, after 1802, having replaced water power, factories were built in towns, and, as the children lived with their parents, many of the ghastly and horrible outrages on health and decency disappeared. But the hours of work were just as terrible. Seven was the age at which children began to work in the mill, but cases of even six and five were not uncommon, and they worked twelve hours a day—thirteen hours at a stretch with an interval for dinner

only, breakfast and tea being snatched while at work. No seats were provided, and the children stood the whole day through. Many had to clean the machinery on Sundays.

The Cotton Mills Act of 1819.

In 1819, through Robert Owen's influence and ceaseless endeavor, Sir Robert Peel the elder got passed the Act known as the "Cotton Mills Act" of 1819. Although shorn of all the chief provisions dear to Owen's heart, for which Sir Robert Peel himself had striven, "The Act of 1819," as Mr. Podmore says in his life of Robert Owen, "marks the first and the most important step in the long procession of Factory Acts. Under it for the first time the State assumed the rights of parent and guardian to the children of the free, and took upon itself to prescribe the hours of work and the general condition of their labor."* This Act referred solely to cotton mills. The minimum age of employment was fixed at nine. The hours of labor were to be twelve per day. No provision was made for education, although this had been most strenuously urged by Owen.

The Acts of 1833-44.

It was not until 1833 that provision was made by the Act of that year for the appointment of paid Government inspectors. The hours of children's work were restricted to nine per day. But this Act failed to work satisfactorily, and the Act of 1844 was passed, enacting (1) that children from eight to sixteen must not work without a medical certificate; (2) that factories were to be inspected and registered; (3) that children under thirteen might only work half time. Extensions and amendments of this Act were made in 1867, 1874, 1878, 1883, 1891 and 1895.

The Coal Mines Regulation Act.

In 1887 the "Coal Mines Regulation Act," amending the statute of 1872 (which had replaced that of 1842), forbade girls and women and boys under twelve to work in any mine below ground and forbade it for boys from twelve to sixteen for more than ten hours a day or fifty-four hours a week.

The Factory and Workshops Act of 1901.

But the twentieth century has seen the most vital changes of all, the most important respecting Child Labor since Robert Owen pleaded nearly a century ago, viz., the consolidation and amendment of all the previous Acts into "The Factory and Workshops Act of 1901."

Child Labor To-day.

It comes as a surprise to the majority of present day people to learn that Child Labor still exists all over Great Britain, and for the most part to a highly injurious extent. This is more flagrantly the case in Yorkshire and Lancashire, where the "half time system" is

* *Life of Robert Owen*, by F. Podmore, p. 208.

in full play. According to the Report of the Board of Education for the year 1906-7 there were no fewer than 82,328 of these half timers or "partial exemption scholars"—to give them their official name. In 1904-5 the number was 80,368, and in 1903-4 it was 78,876. So the numbers are increasing.*

The three areas in which the largest number of "partial exemption scholars" are found are the Adminstrative County of Lancashire, with over 11,900, and the West Riding of Yorkshire and the County Borough of Bradford, each with over 8,000. All three areas show an increase in the number of these scholars in 1905-6 as compared with 1904-5. The County Boroughs of Oldham, Sheffield and Burnley also show noticeable additions to the number of "partial exemption scholars."

These half timers are children over twelve years of age who have obtained a labor certificate, and who are then allowed by the law to be sent to work half a day in mills or factories, provided that they are sent to school the other half of the day. Employment in the mill has to be either in morning or afternoon shifts, or on the alternate day system. One set of children begin work at 6 a.m. or 6.30 a.m. and go to school in the afternoon; the afternoon set go to work in the mill at 1 p.m. and end at 5 p.m. or 6 p.m., and attend school in the morning. A child may not be employed in the same shift either morning or afternoon for two consecutive weeks. No child may be employed on two successive Saturdays, nor on any Saturday if he has worked for five and a half hours on any day in the previous week. The maximum time for work for half timers is twenty-seven and a half hours a week.

Many of the children on the first shift rise at 5 a.m. (Mr. J. C. Clynes, M.P., states that he rose about 4.30 a.m. as a half timer); and sometimes they have to walk a mile to the mill in all weathers and be there by six o'clock. They have half an hour for such breakfast as they can afford. At mid-day they walk home to their dinners. At 2 p.m. they are in school.

Is it any wonder these children are worn out and that they fall asleep over their desks; or that the merciful teacher lets them sleep? The education that they receive is of very little use, whilst the injury done to their health by their double work is often irreparable.

Miss Clementina Black, President of the Women's Industrial Council, states: "I shall never forget the impression made on my mind by the peculiar mixture of pallor and eagerness on the faces of the little half timers the first time that I ever went over a weaving mill. The place was light and airy and the work was not hard, and the management considerate; but as to the children, any London doctor or any woman accustomed to the care of children, would have thought their appearance unhealthy and their expression of face abnormal."† Miss Black adds: "Labor in childhood inevitably

* See also the *Report on the Employment of Children in the United Kingdom*, by Constance Smith (British Association for Labor Legislation).

† *Sweated Industry*, by Miss Clementina Black, p. 122.

means, in nine cases out of ten, decadence in early manhood or womanhood; and the prevalence of it among ourselves is perhaps the most serious of national dangers. It is an example of that most cruel form of improvidence described by the French proverb as 'eating our wheat as grass.'"

Bradford, a pioneer town as regards its admirable arrangements for the scientific feeding of the necessitous children at school, is one of the principal offenders in the sin of the half time system.

Miss Adler, a member of the Education Committee of the L.C.C. and Hon. Sec. of the Committee on Wage-earning Children, recently made personal enquiries at two manufacturing centres in the north of England, one having over 5,000 half timers, the other 800. She said the appearance of the children was sickly and pallid owing to the fact that the processes of cotton and wool spinning have to be carried on in a humid and warm temperature. All authorities whom Miss Adler interviewed stated that the children lost 50 per cent. of their education; and she added that "teachers consider their whole moral tone is lowered, and that there is a visible deterioration which is most heart-breaking."*

Is there any plea that can be urged for the continuation of such a system? Yes, there is. This is what the Right Hon. H. O. Arnold-Foster (late Secretary of State for War), writes by way of opposing Socialist reform: "The great cotton industry of Lancashire, the wool and worsted industry of Yorkshire, and many other industries in a less degree, *are at the present time dependent on Child Labor*"; and he gives, as a plea for its justification and absolute necessity—exactly as Nassau Senior did three-quarters of a century ago: "The minute margins of profit and loss" owing to competition; adding: "The fierce competition of the world, especially in those countries in which Child Labor and long hours are prevalent, has to be met."† No statement could be more condemnatory of our present social system based on competition.

Inspectors, managers, teachers, members of education committees are agreed as to the evils resulting from children working during the years that they attend school. Nor do the parents' necessities compel such child-slavery. All who have studied this question testify that, as a rule, it is the children of men earning good wages who are sent to the mills as early as the law allows, in order to gain a mere pittance of 2s. 6d. for twenty-six or twenty-seven hours work a week. One penny an hour is the usual rate of wages for a half time child working at the textile trade in Yorkshire. It is not the very poorest parents who are the greatest exploiters of their children. It is to be noted that all these children and their work come under the jurisdiction of the Factory and Workshops Act; and that, accordingly, their lives for the most part are deliberately regulated and controlled by the State.

* *Chila Workers and Wage Earners*, by Miss Adler.

† *English Socialism of To-day*, by the Right Hon. H. O. Arnold-Foster, pp. 99, 100.

Children not under the Factory and Workshops Act.

As regards children whose work does not come under the jurisdiction of the Factory and Workshops Act, and therefore escapes Government inspection, they may be classed as those employed (1) in shops, or by shopkeepers as errand boys and girls, and carriers; (2) in domestic work; (3) in street trading; (4) in agriculture; and (5) in various miscellaneous industrial employments at home or abroad.

The Parliamentary Committee of 1903 came to the conclusion that there were in England alone (apart from the half timers) 200,000 children thus employed as wage earners. It can easily be seen how such uninspected Child Labor may be exploited, and how extremely difficult, and, in many cases, how impossible it is to supervize and prevent its abuse.*

In London the half time system has been abolished, but there is very little else upon which the Metropolis can be congratulated as regards Child Labor.

Child Labor in Domestic Work.

The abuse of Child Labor in ordinary domestic work is the most difficult of all to control. Miss Bannatyne, a school manager and Acting Warden of the Women's Settlement at Southwark, stated before the Inter-Departmental Committee of 1903 that children are often absent from school one or two days a week on account of domestic employment. The casual labor is bad for the boys' character, and the long hours unfit them for school work. The girls suffer from drudgery in their own homes, which she saw no way of preventing. But if the half days could be prevented and the attendance at school more regularly enforced, she believed that whilst much Child Labor would be prevented it would not affect the family income to any appreciable extent. Thus, a stricter attendance must be enforced at school.

"Ay! There's the rub." If regular attendance at school were really enforced, the parents, knowing the law could not be evaded, would accept the situation. It would be an enormous gain all round; first, to the children, who are now overworked, and whose education is spoilt by irregular attendance; secondly, to the managers and teachers, many of whom are unceasingly worried over this question; and thirdly, it would be a great saving of expense, as a large staff of attendance officers has to be kept under our present system to compel the parents to send their children regularly to school.

Even in the special schools for mentally defective children in Bermondsey, the writer has found cases of girl children who are such pitiful little drudges at home that the officer of the N.S.P.C.C. has had to be sent to "warn" the parents, with the result that the children are worked less hard, but only, it is feared, when closely super-

* The Government has appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee to enquire into the working and result of the half time system. The Trades Union Congress at Nottingham in September, 1908, passed a resolution urging its abolition.

vized by the officer. Another little girl in a special school gets 1d. a week and her tea for going after school to help a neighbor in domestic work and nurse the baby. (This penny she deposits regularly every week with the teacher for her own boot fund).

Of play, so absolutely essential to the proper physical and mental development of childhood, many of these children have next to none. They are old before their time and incapable of joy, and are weighed down by the responsibility of life.

Child Wage-Earners in London and the Provinces.

Miss Adler gave evidence before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Employment of School Children in March, 1901.* In the summary of evidence it is stated that: "For the purposes of the present enquiry Miss Adler had caused about 4,000 London cases and 3,000 cases in the provinces to be investigated. Those employed are about 10 per cent. of the total number of children. Miss Adler put in very voluminous tables, from which it appeared that out of 107 London schools containing 42,097 children, 3,897 were employed —633 in domestic work, 136 as barbers, 723 errand boys or girls, 1,227 in shops, 341 milk carriers, 386 street hawkers, 451 in other miscellaneous employments. Out of 3,527 cases in which the hours were clearly specified, 2,652 worked less than thirty hours a week, fifty-three worked over fifty hours in addition to school. The figures show that it is not the most needy parents who employ the children excessively. Some cases are very extreme; as, for instance, a girl employed sixty hours a week at trouser-making. Saturday work is often excessive. In the provinces returns were collected from some schools in twelve towns, showing out of 67,865 children that 3,049 were employed. The nature of employment and hours worked were much the same as in London, and many cases of excessive hours were to be found. In London the street traders were about one-tenth of those employed. In the provincial towns they amounted to nearly one-fourth of the total employed. Of the employments, domestic work, that is, going in to clean knives and boots, is the least harmful. Street selling is always bad."

Wage-Earning Children in Hoxton and Bermondsey.

In March (1908) the writer accompanied Miss Adler in her inspection of wage-earning children at a boys' school in Hoxton and at a girls' school in Bermondsey. They found 15 per cent. of the boys in the Hoxton school were wage earners. They were employed as errand boys to take out bottles, parcels and papers; at a tea shop, at a coal shop, at an upholsterer's, at a barber's. As street sellers they sold laces, salt, pot-herbs, vegetables, blacking. One "picked over green stuff" for a greengrocer; one ran errands for a maker of doll's arms; one looked after a crippled boy; one helped at a whelk and mussel stall; one made capsules, one cardboard boxes, one sticks; whilst one covered steels.

* Minutes of Evidence taken before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Employment of School Children in 1901, pp. viii. and 70-73.

At the girls' school in Bermondsey some ran errands, some minded neighbor's babies, some sold vegetables in the streets, or helped at coster stalls, some played with neighbors' children, some sold alone in the streets, which is illegal. The boys' occupations are the most varied and interesting. Those of the girls' are often very heavy, tiring and dreary. "Bright girls," Miss Clementina Black truly says, "are put to work far too soon, and they become apathetic, listless women at thirty-five who might be fifty."

Mrs. Hogg's Report.

Nine years have passed since the evils of Child Labor were brought officially to the notice of our rulers, and that by a woman. Mrs. F. G. Hogg (Secretary of the Education Committee of the Women's Industrial Council), made a special study of the subject and organized a deputation to Sir John Gorst, then Vice-President of Committee on Education, respecting it. A Parliamentary enquiry was instituted, and the facts brought to light were so terrible and unexpected that Sir John Gorst in the House of Commons called it "a perfectly sickening document which threw a lurid light upon the social conditions of a large part of the population." One manager stated: "Without exaggeration I can truthfully assert that there are to-day in our National and Board schools thousands of little white slaves."

This Parliamentary report stated that 144,000 boys and 34,000 girls worked regularly for money out of school hours, but nothing was said of casual or seasonal work. Of the children regularly at work, 131 were under six years of age, 1,120 between six and seven, 4,211 between seven and eight, 11,027 between eight and nine, and 22,131 between nine and ten. One little boy peeled onions twenty hours a week for 8d. a week. A milk boy received 2s. a week for twenty-eight hours labor a week—less than 1d. an hour. One boy received 6d. for twenty hours work a week. A little boy engaged in pea-picking received 3d. a week. A little girl under six carried milk for thirty-five hours a week for her parents, and earned no wages. Another under six was a nurse girl who worked for twenty-nine hours a week for 2d. and her food. A boy of ten worked seventy-two hours a week for a farmer for 3s. A newspaper boy worked 100 hours a week, including Sundays (over fourteen hours a day), and received 3s. 6d. a week and his meals. One girl of twelve was employed before, between and after school for six and a half hours a day for 3d. a week. Another girl of twelve got 9d. a week and her food for carrying out parcels for six and a half hours daily during the intervals when she was not at school. A greengrocer's boy of twelve started for the London market every day at 2.30 a.m. He returned at 9.30 a.m. and then went to school!

One would have thought that after such revelations as these were officially made known to Parliament it would have bestirred itself to remedy the evil. But the usual delays occurred.

The Inter-Departmental Committee on the Employment of School Children, formed in 1901, represented three of the great

Departments of State—the Home Office, the Board of Education, and the Board of Trade. As a result of this, in 1902, a Bill to deal with Child Employment was introduced, but, as Sir John Gorst says,* "was not proceeded with, the time of Parliaments being occupied with subjects more interesting to the governing classes. It was introduced again in 1903, and, by great good luck, became law on January 1st, 1904; but in 1906, in most places, in spite of the Act of January 1st, 1904, the deliverance of over-worked children is still a long way off. The local authorities belong, to a very great extent, to the governing class, and are not much under the influence of working-class opinion."

The Need for a Socialist Party.

Sir John Gorst winds up his chapter on "Overworked Children" thus: "The story of this attempt at reform illustrates the impotence which threatens our social system, and the incapacity of the governing classes to carry out the simplest measure of social reform, even one which does not affect their interests, and on the necessity for which they themselves are agreed. It seems to justify the people in revolting against the parties into which the governing classes have divided themselves, in forming independent labor parties and in endeavouring to take the regulation of Society into their own hands. The present holders of power, according to the view of the rising party of the people, have had their opportunity; they have failed to avail themselves of it, and the carrying out of necessary reforms must now pass into other hands." Moreover, as Sir John Gorst adds: "Had the counsels of women been more sought after and attended to, many of the lamentable blunders that men have made in the treatment of children would have been avoided."

Bye-Laws to be Framed by Local Bodies under Act of 1903.

After all these delays, the Employment of Children Act of 1903 conferred powers on the London County Council and the councils of other counties and boroughs to frame bye-laws to regulate Child Labor. Mrs. Alden, M.D., states:† "The Act contains regulations which, if they were enforced, would have great value. The failure to enforce the regulations is due largely to the laxity of local authorities, who have neglected to frame bye-laws, and who have failed in some cases to put into operation even the statutory provision of the Act."

Bye-laws were framed by the London County Council in 1905, but only now, in 1908, are they at length to be enforced. The employment of children under eleven is forbidden. If attending school, children are only to be employed in industrial work at home between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m., or on other days between 9 a.m. and 12 noon, and between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m., or on Sundays. Three and a half hours are to be the maximum of work if attending school, and eight hours a day when the school is not open. If attending

* *The Children of the Nation*, by Sir John Gorst.
† *Child Life and Labor*, by Mrs. Alden, M.D., p. 110.

school they are not to be employed outside the home between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m., or before 6 a.m. or after 8.30 p.m. Street trading is regulated for all children under sixteen. Girls under that age are to trade only when accompanied by a parent or guardian. Boys under sixteen are to wear on the right arm a badge provided by the Council. On Sundays children are not to be employed for more than three hours and between the hours of 7 a.m. and 1 p.m.

But the enforcement needs more officers than are at present employed. A school attendance officer recently told the writer that in addition to his ordinary visiting (he has 3,200 children to look after), owing to these bye-laws, he has to be out in the streets until midnight on Saturdays in order to prevent children being employed beyond the legal hour—8 p.m. in the winter and 9 p.m. in the summer months.

In a return to the House of Commons dated June 25th, 1907, it is stated only sixty-six local authorities in England and Wales (out of more than 300), twenty-six in Scotland and five in Ireland had framed bye-laws.

The Prevention of Cruelty Acts.

The Act of 1894, among other useful provisions for the protection of children, made their employment in theatres or other places of entertainment conditional on the obtaining of a magistrate's licence, to be granted only when the magistrate is satisfied that the child is physically fit for the work and that proper provision has been made for its health and kind treatment. This Act has been amended and extended in the Act of 1904 and the Children's Act, 1908. The dangerous training of acrobats is subject to regulation.

The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906-7.

This Act authorizes the levying of a halfpenny rate, if necessary, for the feeding of necessitous children, by any county, borough, or urban district council in England and Wales which is an education authority under the Education Acts of 1902-3. The Act, being permissive, has, in London, lamentably missed fire so far. Although members of the London County Council were moved to tears in the autumn of 1907 by Mr. Crooks' eloquent speech on behalf of the feeding of poor children, a majority of them voted against the levying of the halfpenny rate to buy food, for fear of placing additional burdens on the ratepayers. The London County Council, so far as concerns the feeding of necessitous children, contents itself with co-operating with private agencies and charitable societies, which are, in many cases, far from satisfactory. In Bermondsey the children have often to be given a penny by the head teacher and sent to the cook shops, as no provision can be made for them at the schools. The food provided by the caterers is often most unsuitable for children, especially for those who have delicate stomachs. Even if parents are able to provide food for their children in the slum districts, it is often of the most unwholesome kind, such as fried fish (bought cold), eels, meat pies, coarse parts of meat (especially pork), bloaters, cheap jam

and bread, vinegar and pickles, whilst tea is a universal drink. (The tea being more of the nature of a "stew" can hardly be called tea at all.) Milk porridge, bread and milk, and milk puddings are almost unheard of, whilst maccaroni is unknown. The children's taste is vitiated by the strong flavored viands which they are given; and at first it is often difficult to get them to eat food suitable for their age and delicacy. Children fed at home are not infrequently sick over their desks in school. It is, of course, far easier for many parents to buy cooked food than to cook in their own poor rooms, with an impossible firegrate, no oven, no water supply, no sink, and no dustbin for vegetable refuse. To cater properly for the children, a system such as that prevailing in Bradford must be organized. In the matter of feeding the children England expects every city to do its duty at least as well as Bradford.

In the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904, Dr. Eichholz, one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, estimated the number of underfed children in London at 122,000, or 16 per cent. of the whole.

Up and down the United Kingdom there are at least as many children at school hungry as in London. Dr. W. L. Mackenzie, Medical Member of the Local Government Board for Scotland, said that in the slums of Edinburgh a large proportion of children were half starved. Dr. Kelly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross, stated in 1904 that in the South of Ireland it was commonly the case that children came to school underfed.

Medical Inspection under Section 13 of Act of 1906-7.

This Act provides for the medical inspection of all school children. But though medical inspection is of the utmost importance, it is of little use without medical treatment and proper feeding. It is believed that half the children in the mentally defective schools are thus defective, or backward, owing to improper feeding or semi-starvation. Their brains are anæmic, their eyes are often sore, their ears deaf, their teeth ache, their heads and bodies are verminous. Such children, when grown up, swell the ranks of the unemployed and unfit, and will continue to do so until the scientific feeding of school children is undertaken.

There is no more instructive reading respecting the physique of children than the *Report by Dr. W. Leslie Mackenzie and Captain A. Foster on a Collection of Statistics as to Physical Condition of Children attending the Public Schools of the School Board of Glasgow*, which was issued by the Scotch Education Department.

This Report gives the results of the most extensive investigation ever undertaken in Great Britain as regards the physique of the children. The heights and weights of children in seventy-three schools in Glasgow were dealt with. Returns were obtained for 72,857 children in seventy-three schools, which were divided into four social groups, representing, among other things, the distribution of one, two and three or more roomed homes.

At each age from five to eighteen the weight of the children was found to be uniformly below the standard of the average of the

population as ascertained by the Anthropometrical Committee of the British Association. Up to the age of fourteen the children were distinctly below the standard.

Boys and girls in Group A, the poorest districts, fell very much below the anthropometric standard. At the age of ten the boys' average weight was 10·8 pounds below the standard, and the average height 2·9 inches below. At thirteen the average weight was 11·1 pounds below the standard, the average height 3·1 inches below. The facts were practically parallel with regard to the girls.

As surely as boys or girls came from Group A, the one-roomed group, the children were always on an average distinctly smaller and lighter than the children from the two-roomed group; and those from the two-roomed group were smaller and lighter than children from the three-roomed group; and those from the three-roomed group than the children from the four-roomed group. The Report says: "The numbers examined are so large, and the results are so uniform, that only one conclusion is possible, viz., that the poorest child suffers most in nutrition and growth. It cannot be an accident that boys from two-roomed houses should be 11·7 pounds lighter on an average than boys from four-roomed houses and 4·7 inches smaller. Neither is it an accident that girls from one-roomed houses are, on an average, 14 pounds lighter and 5·3 inches shorter than the girls from four-roomed houses."

Now, many of these undersized children are employed as wage-earning children. It is fair to assume that if as comprehensive a report were made of children in London as in Glasgow, the results would be equally startling.

Pernicious Effects of Street Trading.

As regards street trading, all the witnesses before the Inter-Departmental Committee and all inspectors, managers, members of education committees, and clergymen, are agreed that its influence on children is entirely pernicious. Mr. Chilton Thomas, who was for ten years Hon. Manager of Father Berry's Roman Catholic Homes at Liverpool, stated: "The more we have to do with street trading, the more baneful we find it. Would that it could be abolished. I do think the street trader is such a social leper that he ought to be kept quite apart from the errand boy who has some sort of trade for his after life." In 1892, Mr. Chilton Thomas said they had a home for these street trading boys. He had 3,000 of them pass through his hands; but they had to shut up the home, as they found it did not do the boys a bit of good without regulations by the City Council (now in force in a measure), and without the care of parents or guardians. He also said the hours of labor on Saturday were terrible.

As regards street trading for girls, Miss Florence Melly, formerly a member of the Liverpool School Board, stated: "Our day industrial evidence would go to this, that no girl remains good after fourteen years of age who has had street trading. 'Chip girls' and 'step girls' should be included, as they go from house to house and come in contact with anyone who opens the door."

Mr. Alderman Watts, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Watch Committee of Liverpool, said: "To have a pleasant looking child in the streets is flying in the face of the greatest possible danger. I have a strong opinion that if girls are kept out of the way of temptation during the earlier period of their lives, they will grow up respectable women; but if the temptation is thrown in their way, as it must be in the street, the danger is very great indeed. Liverpool a few years ago was, perhaps, one of the worst cities in this respect—as bad as London, in fact—but you will not find it here now. The death rate," Alderman Watts continued, "amongst children is abnormal and awful. Children cannot be exposed in the streets or elsewhere without very serious danger to their lives. Nine out of ten of little girls are of delicate frame."

Mr. Alderman Rawson, Chairman of the Watch Committee of Manchester City Council, said: "We are quite certain that the trading by girls in the streets leads to loose life. We have illustrations to that effect of a very painful character. The selling of newspapers and matches by girls in the streets is often a mere cloak for solicitation. There are girls that come from homes so bad, from parents so dissolute, that we believe the selling is simply a pretence, and that parents send them out knowing it is a pretence."

So much for the efficacy of parental control, guidance, and care under certain conditions of life. All the Councils of Liverpool, Nottingham, Birmingham, and Manchester were in favor of the total prohibition of street trading for girls.

But why only for girls? Sir Lambert Ormsby, President of the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin, bore witness before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904 to the miserable physique of the little street traders in Dublin and the frequent cases of pneumonia among them in the children's hospital, the death rate being quite abnormal.* And there is a concensus of opinion that it is from street trading boys that spring most of the unemployed, the casuals, the loafers, the gamblers, and many others who form the most difficult problems of modern society.

As a matter of fact, it is found that child labor and unskilled labor go hand in hand. For, in the first place, child labor is itself unskilled labor, and unskilled labor of a kind very attractive to certain employers. It is cheap; fresh supplies are always ready to hand; and, most important of all, it is intelligent unskilled labor, at any rate until the training of the school has lost its effect. Secondly, it leads to a supply of unintelligent unskilled labor. The child who is working cannot be learning, and the child whose mental development is checked is the child who becomes in later years the laborer too stupid to employ except at the lowest wages. Finally, even if he could escape from this dreary fate, he has no desire to do so. The bent has been given to his tastes; he has been taught to regard earnings, and not prospects, as his sole goal in life, and to sacrifice the last for the sake of the first. †

* *Juvenile Wage Earners and their Work*, by Miss Adler, p. 4.
† See *The Town Child*, by Reginald Bray, L.C.C.

As regards the general employment of children, the Head Master of the Anglesea Place Board School of Bristol declared that the evils of employment have shown themselves over and over again in the following ways:—

1. The boys are often late for school, some habitually so.
2. They come to school utterly worn out.
3. There is a grave moral deterioration.
4. Their mental power is diminished. It is very rarely a wage-earning boy does his school work well. The injury done to children is very great.*

In the Michael Faraday School in Walworth, Mr. Marshall Jackman said that, out of 227 wage-earning boys in his school, only 61 were in really good health. Dr. Thomas, the Medical Officer of the L.C.C., examined 2,000 children in schools, and he found that, out of 384 wage-earning boys, 233 showed signs of fatigue, 140 were anæmic, 131 had nerve signs, 63 per cent. showed nerve strain, 64 were suffering from deformities from the carrying of heavy weights, 51 had severe heart signs, 27 had severe heart affection, and 72 per cent. of barbers' boys were anæmic.†

Mrs. Pankhurst, at one time a member of the Manchester School Board and member of the Board of Guardians, stated that wage-earning by children was "demoralizing," and that "it would be distinctly an advantage to the parents in the long run that the children should be withdrawn from these employments. The more intelligent artizan does not believe in sending out his children to work for wages. . . . . It competes with adult labor."

Child Labor in Agriculture.

In the agricultural districts the attendance at school is constantly evaded. It frequently happens that the local magistrates and county councillors are landlords or farmers, who must have cheap labor, even at the expense of the children's well-being. The children are employed in milking and tending cattle, in picking up stones off the land, in weeding, in picking strawberries (often at 3 a.m. in the season in all weathers), in hop picking, and in minding and leading horses. The work is extremely fatiguing. There is still in this twentieth century a wearing struggle between the educationist and the child exploiters, although it is not as bad as it used to be. In certain country districts 75 per cent. of attendances—instead of 95 per cent.—is still considered high.

The Childrens' Act of 1908.

But there are signs everywhere now of the awakening of the public conscience to the infamy of Child Labor. Although this Act does not deal directly with the labor question, there are, under it, to be established Juvenile Courts, in which all charges concerning the welfare of children will be heard, including applications for committal to industrial schools and reformatories.

* Report of Inter-Departmental Committee, Appendix No. 32.

† Barbers' shops in London are now, by bye-law, barred to boy workers.

The Immediate Reforms to Work for.

The evils disclosed are grave. Leaving aside for the moment all schemes of social reconstruction, what immediately practicable reforms will bring prompt, if only partial, remedies? There is a vast amount to be done by mere administration of the existing law. It may safely be said that no local authority yet makes anything like full use of its powers under the Education Acts, the Shop Hours Acts, the Children's Act, etc. An enormous amount of good would result if members of education committees and of town or county councils could be induced merely to put the existing laws fully in operation. But amendments of the law are urgently required. In agreement with practically all those who have studied the question, we recommend :—

1. That for children under five for whom adequate home care is not available, there should be a sufficient provision of small day nurseries, under the administration of the local health authority, where these infants can remain all day, either gratuitously or at fees representing only the cost of the food supplied.

2. That attendance at school of all children between five and fourteen be rigorously enforced (the poorest parents being adequately assisted to enable them to let their children attend), an adequate supply of suitable efficient schools being everywhere provided under due public control, including special schools for sub-normal children of various kinds, "open-air" schools and vacation schools.

3. That children in attendance at school be not permitted to be employed for hire under any pretence whatever.

4. That in order to ensure the welfare of the coming generation of citizens the responsibility for the care and maintenance of children of school age, being destitute, be transferred from the Poor Law to the local education authorities.

5. That it be made obligatory upon the local education authorities to organize throughout the whole year a system of providing, at the expense of the rates and under direct public control, suitable meals of a simple kind for all children found at school in an underfed condition; such meals to be provided under skilled and salaried supervision with the amenities of civilization.

6. That it should be made obligatory for every public elementary school to have attached to it a "Children's Care Committee" of members whose duty it should be to take cognizance of every child attending school in a neglected or necessitous condition; to visit its home and discover what is amiss; to afford such friendly help as may be required; and to bring to light any cases of ill-treatment which call for criminal prosecution.

7. That in all cases in which a child is provided for by what is now Poor Law relief, reports should be obtained upon its adequacy and the character of the home; and that where it is not considered expedient to grant to the parent enough for the full maintenance of the child, or where the child is found, in fact, to be suffering from lack of nourishment or lack of care, the child be sent to a day industrial school, where it will receive meals and care during the whole day.

8. That where it is found that the parents are of such vicious life and character as to be wholly unfit to have the care of children, the guilty parents should be criminally prosecuted for their neglect, and the children sent to residential schools, so as to secure their proper upbringing.

9. That the minimum age at which children may leave school to be employed in industry at all be raised at once to fourteen, and as soon as possible to fifteen (as in Switzerland).

10. That in view of the need of securing effective technical and domestic training for all boys and girls, the "half time" provisions of the Factory and Workshops Acts be extended for all industries up to the age of eighteen, no boy or girl under eighteen being allowed to be employed in industry for more than thirty hours per week.

11. That provision be made for the compulsory attendance of boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen at technical institutes for a combined course of physical training, technical education and continuation classes, absorbing the thirty hours per week which they will no longer give to their employers.

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RENT AND VALUE.

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ADAPTED BY MRS. BERNARD SHAW FROM
"THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM"
IN "FABIAN ESSAYS."

"There is nothing *specific* in Socialism except its economics. . . . . There is absolutely nothing peculiar to it except its economic demonstration that private property produces the phenomenon of privately appropriated economic rent and all the consequences of it."—G. B. S.

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RENT AND VALUE.

ADAPTED FROM THE FIRST OF THE "FABIAN ESSAYS IN SOCIALISM."

PART I.—RENT.

SOCIALISTS, protesting against the present state of society, have lately been often met by two somewhat contradictory assertions. We are told that too much stress has been laid upon figures, statistics, and "dry" things such as political economy: that what is wanted is a "great wave of emotion," "genuine religious feeling," a "change of heart"; that these and these only will rectify the cruelties and injustices of the present state of society. And in the same breath it will often be illogically maintained that "you can't change human nature"; and that as human nature has brought about the present state of things it is no use trying to make any radical alteration.

Now I propose to shew that human nature, whether it can be changed or not, did not bring about the present state of things; but that it was rather the present state of things which brought about human nature; that the existing conditions of society are the result of economic laws which work inexorably, indifferent to the weal or woe of the human race, and unconscious of its existence. I also propose to shew that should the human race become conscious of the existence of such economic forces, and capable of directing them, these laws can be made to subserve man's welfare as powerfully as, left to themselves, they have been working for his destruction. A change of heart, if it be in the right direction, seems incidentally desirable; but by itself, and unaccompanied by the requisite knowledge of economic laws, it will be as useless as would be a wireless telegraphy station sending messages into space were there not somewhere a receiver to collect those messages.

The Origin of Rent.

Picture then to yourself a vast green plain of country, virgin to the spade, awaiting the advent of man. Imagine the arrival of the first colonist, the original Adam. He drives his spade into, and sets up his stockade around, the most fertile and favorably situated patch he can find. Metaphorically Adam's little patch is a pool that will yet rise and submerge the whole land. Other Adams come all sure to pre-empt patches as near as may be to the first Adam's, partly because he has chosen the best situation, partly for the pleasure of his society and conversation, and partly because where two men are assembled together there is a two man power that is far more than double one man power. And so the pool rises, and the margin spreads more and more remote from the centre, until the pool becomes a lake, and the lake an inland sea.

But in the course of this inundation that specially fertile region upon which Adam pitched is sooner or later all pre-empted and there is nothing for the newcomer to pre-empt save soil of the second quality. Also, division of labor sets in among Adam's neighbors; and with it, of course, comes the establishment of a market for the exchange of the products of their divided labor. Now it is not well to be far afield from that market because distance from it involves extra cost for roads, beasts of burden, and time consumed in travelling thither and back again. All this will be saved to Adam at the centre of cultivation, and incurred by the newcomer at the margin of cultivation.

The Establishment of Rent.

Let us estimate the annual value of Adam's produce at £1,000 and the annual produce of the newcomer's land on the margin of cultivation at £500, assuming that Adam and the newcomer are equally industrious. Here is a clear advantage of £500 a year to Adam. This £500 is economic rent. For why should not Adam let his patch to the newcomer at a rent of £500 a year? Since the produce will be £1,000, the newcomer will have £500 left for himself; that is, as much as he could obtain by cultivating a patch of his own at the margin; and it is pleasanter to be in the centre of society than on the outskirts of it. The newcomer will himself propose the arrangement, and Adam may retire (not in consequence of any special merit of his own, any extra industry or brain power, but simply because he was fortunate enough to get the best place at the right moment) as an idle landlord with a perpetual pension of £500 of rent. The excess of fertility of Adam's land is thenceforth recognized as rent and paid, as it is to-day, regularly by a worker to a drone.

The Origin of the County Family.

So Adam is retiring from productive industry on £500 a year; and his neighbors are hastening to imitate him as fresh tenants present themselves. The first result is the beginning of a tradition that the oldest families in the country enjoy a superior position to the rest, and that the main advantage of their superior position is that they enjoy incomes without working. Nevertheless, since they still depend upon their tenants' labor for their subsistence, they continue to pay Labor, with a capital L, a certain meed of mouth honor; and the resultant association of prosperity with idleness, and praise with industry, practically destroys morality by setting up that incompatibility between conduct and principle which is the secret of the ingrained cynicism of our own time.

According to our hypothesis, the area of cultivation has now spread into the wilderness so far that at its margin the return for a man's labor for a year is only £500. But it will not stop there; it will at last encroach upon every acre of cultivable land, rising to the snow line on the mountains and falling to the coast of the actual salt water sea, but always reaching the barrenest places last of all, because the cultivators will not break bad land when better is to be

had. But suppose that now, at last, the uttermost belt of free land is reached, and that upon it the yield to a man's year's labor is only £100. Clearly now the rent of Adam's primeval patch has risen to £900, since that is the excess of its produce over what is by this time all that is to be had rent free.

Dual Ownership.

Adam has yielded up his land for £500 a year to a tenant. It is this tenant accordingly who now lets Adam's patch for £900 a year to the newcomer, who of course loses nothing by the bargain, since it leaves him the £100 a year, with which he must be content any way. It has, in fact, come to this, that the private property in Adam's land is divided between three men, the first doing none of the work and getting half the produce; the second doing none of the work and getting two-fifths of the produce; and the third doing all the work and getting only one-tenth of the produce. Here is private property in full swing, produced (let us emphasize the fact) not in the least by "human nature," but by the natural working of economic laws of which the settlers were unconscious. Probably if the first colonists when they were still on their original patches had been asked "would you tolerate a state of things in which there should be not only loafers, but in which the loafers should be the richest people in the country," they would have repudiated the idea with profound and genuine indignation.*

All this, however, is a mere trifle compared with the sequel. When the total cultivable area has reached its confines; when there is nothing but a strip of sand round the coast between the furrow and the wave; when the very waves themselves are cultivated by fisherfolk; when the pastures and timber forests have touched the snow line; when, in short, the land is all private property, there appears a man in a strange plight: one who wanders from snow line to sea coast in search of land, and finds none that is not the property of someone else. On the roads he is a vagrant: off them he is a trespasser: he is the first proletarian.

Rent of Ability.

Now it may be that this second Adam, the first father of the great proletariat, has one of those scarce brains which are not the least of nature's gifts. If the fertile field yields rent, why not the fertile brain? Here is the first Adam's patch still yielding its £1,000 to the labor of the tenant who, as we have seen, has to pay

* The reader will observe that, to avoid complications, no mention has been made of capital as such. The monopoly of land produces the monopoly of capital. All capital begins as spare money, no matter what it may finally be turned into: mines, railways, canals, houses. In the first instance the possession of capital always means that some individual has received more rent than he desires or chooses to spend. Colloquially, one property with a farm on it is said to be land yielding rent; whilst another, with a railway on it, is called capital yielding interest. But economically there is no distinction between them when they once become sources of revenue. Shareholder and landlord live alike on the produce extracted from their property by the labor of the proletariat.

£900 away in rent. How if the proletarian were boldly to bid £1,000 a year to that man for that property and contrive—invent—anticipate a new want—turn the land to some hitherto undreamed of use—wrest £1,500 a year from the soil and site that only yielded £1,000 before? If he can do this, he can pay the full £1,000 rent, and have an income of £500 left for himself. This is his profit—the rent of his ability—the excess of its produce over that which it would yield to ordinary stupidity.

Origin of the Proletariat.

But in due replenishment of the earth there follows upon the footsteps of this first proletarian another who is no cleverer than other men, and can do as much, but not more, than they. For him there is no rent of ability. What is to be his fate? It is certain that by this time not only will the new devices of the renter of ability have been copied by people incapable of inventing them, but division of labor, the use of tools and money, and the economies of civilization will have greatly increased man's power of extracting wealth from nature. So that it may well be that the produce of land on the margin of cultivation, which, as we have seen, fixes the produce left to the cultivators throughout the whole area, may rise considerably.

Scarcity Value.

This rise has nothing to do with the margin of cultivation. It is not the difference between the best and worst land. It is not, to put it technically, "economic rent." It is a payment for the privilege of using land at all—for access to that which is now a close monopoly; and its amount is regulated, not by what the purchaser could do for himself on land of his own at the margin, but simply by the landowner's eagerness to be idle on the one hand, and the proletarian's need of subsistence on the other. In current economic terms the price is regulated by supply and demand. As the demand for land intensifies by the advent of fresh proletarians, the price goes up and the bargains are made more stringent. Sooner or later the price of tenant right will rise so high that the actual cultivator will get no more of the produce than suffices him for subsistence. At that point there is an end of sub-letting tenant rights. The land's absorption of the proletarians as tenants paying more than the economic rent stops.

Advent of the Proletarian.

And now what is the next proletarian to do? For all his forerunners we have found a way of escape; for him there seems none, for where is his subsistence to come from, if he cannot get at the land? Food he must have, and clothing; and both promptly. There is food in the market, and clothing also; but not for nothing. Hard money must be paid for them, and money can only be procured by selling commodities. This presents no difficulty to the cultivators of the land, who can raise commodities by their labor; but the proletarian, being landless, has neither commodities nor the

means of producing them. Sell something he must: yet he has nothing to sell—*except himself.*

The first "Hand": "Laborer": "Mechanic": "Servant": "Wage-Slave."

The idea seems a desperate one; but it proves quite easy to carry out. The tenant cultivators of the land have not strength enough or time enough to exhaust the productive capacity of their holdings. If they could buy men in the market for less than the sum that these men's labor would add to the produce, then their purchase would be sheer gain. Never in the history of buying and selling was there so splendid a bargain for buyers as this. Accordingly the proletarian no sooner offers himself for sale in "a new country" than he finds a rush of bidders for him, each striving to get the better of the others by offering to give him more and more of the produce of his labor, and to content themselves with less and less of the surplus. But even the highest bidder must have some surplus or he will not buy. The proletarian, in accepting the highest bid, sells himself openly into bondage. He is not the first man who has done so; for it is evident that his forerunners, the purchasers of tenant right, had been enslaved by the proprietors who lived on the rents paid by them. But now all the disguise falls off: the proletarian renounces not only the fruit of his labor, but also the right to think for himself and to direct his industry as he pleases. The economic change is merely formal: the moral change is enormous. We shall see presently what happens in "an old country" when the rush of buyers of labor becomes a rush of sellers.

PART II.—VALUE.

It is evident that in our imaginary colony labor power is now in the market on the same footing as any other ware exposed for sale: it can be purchased as men purchase a horse or a steam engine, a bottle of wine or a pair of boots.

Exchange Value of Human Beings.

Since human labor therefore turns out to be a commodity, marketable just as a basket of eggs or a woollen shirt is marketable, if we want to know what is going to happen to our proletarian in a state owned by private individuals, as our colony is owned, we must proceed to find out what fixes the price of commodities in general (since his price will be fixed in the same way); and what causes the series of arrangements between buyers and sellers which have been named "supply and demand," for our proletarian is now supplying *himself* in answer to a demand.

Contradictions and difficulties soon show themselves.

It would seem on the surface that the selling value, or exchange value, of anything must depend upon its utility, for no one will buy a useless thing. Yet fresh air and sunlight, which are so useful as to be quite indispensable, have no money value; whilst for a

meteoric stone, shot free of charge from the firmament into your back garden, the curator of a museum will give you a considerable sum. A little reflection will show that this depends upon the fact that fresh air is plentiful and meteoric stones scarce.

Scarcity Value.

If by any means the supply of fresh air could be steadily diminished, and the supply of meteoric stones, by celestial cannonade or otherwise, steadily increased, the fresh air would presently acquire an exchange value which would gradually rise; whilst the exchange value of meteoric stones would gradually fall, until at last fresh air would be supplied through a meter and charged for like gas, and meteoric stones would become as unsaleable as ordinary pebbles. The money (or exchange) value, in fact, decreases as the supply increases; or, in other words, as the supply pours in the demand falls off, until finally, if the supply continues to pour in, the demand ceases altogether and what is left of the supply is valueless.

How Exchange Value is Fixed.

But besides this fact of the exchange value of any commodity being dependent upon the amount there is of it in any market at any one time, another equally important fact must be carefully mastered, viz., that the value of our commodity is fixed not by the rarest and most useful part of the stock of it, but by the least costly and least useful. This can be explained quite simply by an illustration. If the stock of umbrellas in the market were all alike and sufficiently large to provide two for each umbrella carrier in the community, then, since a second umbrella is not so necessary as the first, the instinctive course would be to ticket half the umbrellas at, say 15s., and the other half at 8s. 6d. But no man will give 15s. for an article which he can get for 8s. 6d.; and when people came to buy, they would buy up all the 8s. 6d. umbrellas. Each person being thus supplied with an umbrella, the remainder of the stock, though marked 15s., would be in the position of second umbrellas, only worth 8s. 6d. It may very likely occur to the reader that if he was the seller of umbrellas, he would charge 15s. all round and put away half his stock until the number of umbrellas actually and immediately necessary to his fellow townsmen was sold. But a moment's reflection will remind him that there will be other tradesmen in the town who sell umbrellas. In the next street will be a shop where umbrellas can be purchased for 10s. 6d., and near by another where they can be had for 7s. 6d.; so that, granted all the umbrellas are of the same quality, the customers will go to the shop where they are to be had for 7s. 6d., and my reader's 15s. ones will remain on his hands unsold.* The only limit to this "competition" is obviously the actual cost of the manufacture of the umbrella. One more illustration of a different kind. You want to get and sell

* There is indeed another way. The reader might buy up all the umbrellas in the town and arrange that none should be brought in from anywhere else. This is to "corner" the market—but that is another story.

coal. You begin by going to the point where coal is on the surface —where you can shovel it up with ease. But when that supply is exhausted, you must sink a shaft; you must burrow under ground, eviscerate mountains, tunnel beneath the sea, at an enormous cost in machinery and labor. Yet when you have made your greatest effort, another man may still be in possession of a mine near the surface where he gets his coal for half, a quarter, a tithe of the labor you expend upon yours. In spite of this, when you both bring your coal to market and offer your supplies for sale, you cannot say "I have been at great expense to get mine and I will charge 20s. a ton." Your rival is offering his for 15s. a ton, and you must sell at the same price or you will get no customers. Let us suppose that it has cost you 18s. per ton to get your coal, and that it has cost him 5s. per ton to get his, the whole difference between the 5s. and the 18s. is economic rent gained by him, not by superior industry or ability (for it is you who have had these), but by the fact of his privately owned coal mine being in a more advantageous situation than yours. In this manner the exchange value of the least useful and least costly part of the supply fixes the exchange value of all the rest.

The Law of Indifference.—Final Utility (Marginal Utility).

Technically this is called the Law of Indifference. And since the least useful unit of the supply is generally that which is last produced, its utility is called the *final utility* of the commodity.

Total Utility.

The utility of the first and most useful unit is called the *total utility* of the commodity.* The main point to be grasped is, that however useful any commodity may be, its exchange value can be run down to nothing by increasing the supply until there is more of it than is wanted. The excess, being useless and valueless, is to be had for nothing; and nobody will pay anything for a commodity so long as plenty of it is to be had for nothing. This is why air and other indispensable things have no exchange value, whilst scarce gewgaws fetch immense prices.

These, then, are the conditions which confront man as a producer and exchanger. If he produces a useless thing, his labor will be wholly in vain: he will get nothing for it. If he produces a useful thing, the price he will get for it will depend on how much of it there is for sale already. This holds good of the whole mass of manufactured commodities. Those which are scarce, and therefore relatively high in value, tempt men to produce them until the increase of the supply reduces their value to a point at which there is no more profit to be made out of them than out of other commodities. And this process, unless deliberately interfered with, goes on until the price of all commodities is brought down to their cost of production.

* Some economists, transferring from cultivation to utility our old metaphor of the spreading pool, call final utility "marginal" utility.

Cost of Production.

But here is a new question. What does the *cost of production* mean?

We have seen that, owing to the differences in fertility and advantage of situation between one piece of land and another, cost of production varies from district to district, being highest at the margin of cultivation. But we have also seen how the landlord skims off as (economic) rent all the advantage gained by the cultivators of superior sites and soils. Consequently, the addition of the landlord's rent to the expenses of production brings those expenses up even on the best land to the level of those incurred on the worst. Cost of production, then, means cost of production at the margin of cultivation, and is equalized to all producers, since what they may save in labor in favorable situations is counterbalanced by the greater amount of rent they have to pay in those situations. So far from commodities exchanging, or tending to exchange (as some economists allege that they do), according to the labor expended in their production, commodities produced in the most favorable situations, well inside the margin of cultivation, with the minimum of labor, will fetch as high a price as commodities produced at the margin with the maximum of labor. *And all the difference between the two goes to the landlord.* So man's control over the value of commodities consists solely in his power of regulating their supply. Individuals are constantly trying to decrease supply for their own advantage. Gigantic conspiracies have been entered into to forestall the world's wheat and cotton harvests, in order to force their value to the highest possible point. Cargoes of East Indian spices have been destroyed by the Dutch as cargoes of fish are now destroyed in the Thames, to maintain prices by limiting supply. All rings, trusts, corners, combinations, monopolies, and trade secrets have the same object.

The Vital Point.

Now we have come to the most important part of this paper: the part which will explain why we Socialists are attacking this private monopoly system—this capitalist system—this *laissez faire* system—with all our strength and ingenuity. Go back to our proletarian. We found that he had come to our colony when all the land, from the sea to the snow line was occupied and owned; when the utmost rent of ability had been screwed out of it; and when its scarcity value had been exploited to the last penny. It was therefore impossible for him to produce any of the commodities by the sale (or exchange) of which men live. But we found that he had one commodity the sale of which he could effect with ease—the sale of himself. We found that men ("laborers," "hands," "mechanics," "working men," "servants"—how expressive words are!) were in the market, and traffic in them could be carried on precisely on the same terms as traffic in any other commodity.

Now reflect for a moment upon the laws we have been examining which regulate the exchange of commodities. We found that "if

the supply continues to pour in, the demand ceases altogether, and what is left of the supply is valueless." We also found that, by the Law of Indifference, "the exchange value of the least useful part of the supply fixes the exchange value of all the rest." What will be the result of the action of these laws upon the human commodity we have called a proletarian? The commodity he deals in is one over the supply of which he himself has practically no control. True, at first there is only one of him in our colony; but others pour in, population increases by leaps and bounds, soon there are twenty, one hundred, one thousand, five thousand, and men continue so to multiply that their exchange value falls slowly and surely until it disappears altogether. This is the condition of our English laborers to-day: they are no longer even dirt cheap: they are valueless. The proof of this is the existence of the unemployed, who can be had for nothing.

You will immediately say "no labor can be had for nothing": you will very likely add that you "wish it could," and instance the high wages given to "hands" and "servants." The answer is deplorably simple. Suppose horses multiplied in England in such quantities that they were to be had for the asking, like kittens condemned to the bucket. You would still have to feed your horse—feed him well if you used him as a smart hunter—feed him and lodge him wretchedly if you used him only as a drudge. But the cost of his keep would not mean that the horse had an exchange value. If you got him for nothing in the first instance, if no one would give you anything for him when you had done with him, he would be worth nothing, in spite of the cost of his keep. That is just the case of every member of the proletariat who could be replaced by one of the unemployed to-day. Their wage is not the price of themselves, for they are worth nothing; it is only their keep. If you have to give your footman a better allowance than your wretched hewer of wood, it is for the same reason that you have to give your hunter oats and a clean stall instead of chopped straw and a sty.

The Capitalist System Guilty.

This, then, is the economic analysis which convicts private property of being unjust from the beginning, and utterly impossible as a final solution of the problem of the distribution of wealth. All attempts yet made to construct true societies upon it have failed: the nearest things to societies so achieved have been civilizations which have rotted into centres of vice and luxury, and eventually been swept away by uncivilized races. It is sometimes said that during this grotesquely hideous march of civilization from bad to worse, wealth is increasing side by side with misery. Such a thing is eternally impossible; wealth is steadily decreasing with the spread of poverty. But riches are increasing, which is quite another thing. The total of the exchange values produced in this country is mounting, perhaps, by leaps and bounds. But the accumulation of riches, and consequently of excessive purchasing power

in the hands of one class, soon satiates that class with socially useful wealth, and sets it offering a price for luxuries. Luxuries are not social wealth: the machinery for producing them is not social wealth: labor skilled only to manufacture them is not socially useful labor: the men, women, and children who make a living by producing them are no more self-supporting than the idle rich for whose amusement they are kept at work. It is the habit of counting as wealth the exchange values involved in these transactions that makes us fancy that the poor are starving in the midst of plenty. They are starving in the midst of plenty of jewels, velvets, laces, equipages, and racehorses; but not in the midst of plenty of food. In the things that are wanted for the welfare of the people England is abjectly poor. Yet private property, by its nature, must still heap the purchasing power upon the few rich and withhold it from the many poor.

Conclusion.

Now Socialism claims to have discovered in this private appropriation of land the source of those unjust privileges which the Socialists seek to abolish. They assert that *public property in land and the means of production is the basic economic condition of Socialism.* How the economic change from private to public ownership can be brought about with the least suffering to individuals does not come within the scope of this paper; but if we have got as far as an intellectual conviction that the source of our social misery is no eternal wellspring of confusion and evil, not the depravity of human nature or the hardness of human hearts, but only an artificial system susceptible of almost infinite modification and readjustment—nay, of practical demolition and rearrangement at the will of man, then a terrible weight will be lifted from the minds of all except those who are clinging to the present state of things from base motives. It is to economic science—once the dismal, now the hopeful—that we are indebted for the discovery that though the evil is enormously worse than we knew, yet it is not eternal—not even very long lived, if we only bestir ourselves to make an end of it.

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THE CASE FOR SCHOOL NURSERIES.

School Attendance of Children under Five.

TILL quite recently it has been the practice in England and Wales for children between three and five to attend school if their parents so desired and for school authorities to make regular provision for such children. "During the fifteen years previous to 1907 at least a third of all such children were on the registers of public elementary schools."* Soon after the passing of the Education Act, 1902, however, the question as to whether school attendance for very young children was desirable began to be much discussed. It was pointed out that the compulsory age limit was lower in England than in any other country, and that the methods employed in most of our infant schools were unsuited to the needs of such very young children. Enquiries were set on foot by some of the new education authorities and by the Board of Education, with the result that in the Code for 1905 the following clause was inserted :—

"Where the Local Education Authority have so determined in the case of any school maintained by them, children who are under five years of age may be refused admission to that school."

Accordingly no obligation rests at present on local education authorities to provide for children under five. There are in England and Wales three hundred and twenty-seven such authorities, and of these thirty-two wholly exclude children under five from their schools, one hundred and fifty-four retain all children between three and five who are sent to school, while the remaining one hundred and thirty-six take a middle course, retaining some and excluding others.†

Reasons for Excluding Children under Five from Elementary Schools.

The reasons given for this exclusion are of two kinds ; some have reference only to the ordinary infant school as it exists at present in England, others to any kind of public provision whatever. Among the former may be mentioned :—

1. THE VENTILATION DIFFICULTY.

It has been urged that under existing conditions of air space proper ventilation is almost impossible, and that the air has been actually found to be more impure in schools than in the dwellings of the poor.‡ It is argued that in the case of older children the risks

* Report of the Consultative Committee upon the School Attendance of Children below the age of Five (Board of Education, July 2nd, 1908), p. 12.

† Ibid. Appendix I. and V. ‡ Ibid. Appendix III.

from bad air are less while the advantages of education are greater, that it is a heavy and needless risk to herd very young children together in bad air. Such objectors take for granted that the present unsatisfactory conditions as to ventilation are to be looked on as inevitable, but, "it certainly seems anomalous, to say the least, that elementary schools should be allowed to remain as the classical example of bad ventilation, and that children should thus be taught by practical example to tolerate foul air."† It must be remembered, too, that the bad smell and intolerable stuffiness of the ordinary schoolroom, which are the outward and sensible sign of injurious air conditions, are due rather to dirt than to actual deficiency of air. "Far more could be done by cleanliness than by ventilation. The floors and walls should be capable of being properly cleansed, and the children themselves and their clothes kept clean and tidy."* Now in the nursery school cleanliness would always be specially insisted on, would indeed take the very first place among subjects of instruction, so that it may be hoped that the air would in them be less laden with impurities than in the ordinary elementary school. It must be noticed, too, that the children in such schools ought to spend a large part of their school time out of doors, and that no day nursery or nursery school is complete without ample playgrounds, both roofed and open, with facilities for resting out of doors in good weather.

2. The Danger of Infection.

"In proportion to the number of children, the spread of infectious diseases caused by school attendance is greater before five than after; but it must be remembered that if more escape *before* five, the greater will be the incidence of the disease *after* five." * It is also noteworthy that "with the better training of teachers on the hygienic side and the appointment of school medical officers, a state of things will arise, and, in fact, is arising, in which attendance at school will become a means of decreasing the diseases (more especially diphtheria and scarlet fever)." †

3. The Danger of Premature Mental Strain.

"The question of overpressure has been rather exaggerated. Practically it does not exist in infants' schools, except in the case of children with defects to start with, children highly nervous or badly nourished, for whom the work is too much. At the same time, much of the instruction now given is without doubt unsuitable. . . . Play is the best way of educating young children; let them follow their natural instincts as in the nursery. . . . Above all, avoid any idea of enforcing discipline. Fine muscular movements (as of the eye or fingers in reading, writing, or sewing, etc.) should be post-

* Ibid. Appendix III. Memorandum by Dr. Haldane on the air in schools.

† Ibid. Evidence of Dr. James Niven, Medical Officer of Health, Manchester, pp. 80 and 81. Dr. Niven has since furnished statistics showing that over a period of five years in Manchester the case mortality was substantially the same amongst children attending and those not attending school.

poned until the child has obtained a fuller control over its muscles. . . . Drill is very important, and should consist of 'coarse' movements as contrasted with the 'fine' movements mentioned above. Organized games can be made into a very severe lesson; their value is much exaggerated." * This danger of overstrain through unsuitable treatment is of the utmost importance; and it is the special claim of the nursery school to avoid it by providing just that atmosphere of freedom and kindly encouragement which a sensible mother gives to her child, avoiding alike over stimulation and needless restraint.

But, in addition to these special and more or less avoidable dangers, general objections are raised against making any public provision for little children which would facilitate their removal from home. There is, for instance :—

4. The Danger that Parental Responsibility may be Weakened.

Experience has shown over and over again that the parental burden is too heavy. All observers agree that children attending school are better looked after by their parents, kept cleaner and tidier, than they would be if they stayed at home. A marked difference may be noticed in almost any poor district in the appearance of the children on Saturdays and during the holidays. It would be much nearer the truth to say that any arrangement which involves the child's being periodically submitted to outside inspection would raise the standard of parental responsibility, and that this influence would be greatly increased by teaching and illustrating what the needs of young children really are. The hollowness of this objection is apparent when one considers that the wealthy ladies who think it so dangerous to relieve the hardworked mother of any of her duties to her little ones find it necessary to depute all such duties in their own case to a nurse. This fact furnishes an answer also to another objection which is often urged, viz., that little children require such constant individual and loving attention that they are better looked after by their mothers than by anyone else. Let us look at the facts. How does the rich mother who has free choice in the matter act? Does she keep her three year old child constantly with her when she is reading, writing, talking to her friends, or eating her meals? No; she devotes, perhaps, a few hours in the day to it when she can give it a fair share of attention, and for the rest of the time she places it with a skilled attendant either out of doors or in an airy, sunny apartment, where it can play about freely under due supervision. What does the poor mother do? If she is able to remain at home, she will allow her three year old to crawl about the kitchen floor or play in the street, or, perhaps, if he be a venturesome child, will tie him to the leg of the table, so that he may not tumble into the fire, while she is busy with the dinner, the housework, or the family washing. If, on the

* Ibid. Evidence of Dr. Kerr and Dr. Hogarth, Medical Officers of the Education Department of the London County Council, pp. 63 and 64.

other hand, she has to go out to work, she will leave him with a "minder," usually some old or feeble person who is not able to do more active work, or, if she can manage to hoodwink the attendance officer, with an elder brother or sister kept at home for the purpose. Can it be seriously alleged that it would be a disadvantage to the child to be removed from the minder, or even from the home kitchen and the tail of his mother's eye, to a nursery resembling that which the rich mother provides for her own child, but shared with a number of little neighbors of its own age? It is just because little children require constant and watchful attention that collectivist nurseries are so much needed. One capable, motherly, experienced woman, with a suitable number of trained assistants, can superintend the tending and training of a large number of infants; while one woman with a house to clean, a family to feed and clothe, and the washing to do, cannot properly care for one.

5. The Danger of Encouraging Bottle Feeding.

But though this dread of lightening the responsibilities of motherhood may for the most part be dismissed as sentimental, yet there is one aspect of it, affecting our dealing with infants of only a few months old, the importance of which cannot possibly be exaggerated. The right place for a suckled infant is with its mother, and in a well ordered State no woman would be allowed to undertake work away from home until her child was nine months old; but any legal prohibition of this kind seems, unfortunately, a long way off, since it would necessarily imply State maintenance for nursing mothers. Meanwhile, as long as husbands are liable to be underpaid or unemployed, mothers who should be nursing their babies will accept laundry work or charing; and when this happens the unfortunate baby will fare better in a crèche, where it will receive pure milk, suitably diluted, out of a clean bottle, than with the casual minder. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the crèche baby should be hand fed. After the first few months, when the feeding has become less frequent, it is quite possible for nursing mothers to visit the crèches at suitable intervals. In French and Belgian crèches a room is usually set apart for this purpose.

The Need for Public Provision for Children under School Age.

It seems clear, notwithstanding all difficulties and objections, that public provision must be made for some children under school age. Even if we decide with the Consultative Committee* that the proper place for such children is at home with their mothers, yet we are bound to admit, as they do, that the home surroundings of large numbers of children are not satisfactory, and that children from these homes should be sent during the daytime to places specially intended for their training.* No responsible person in London, for instance, is prepared to recommend that the children under five now at school should be turned into the streets.

* Ibid. P. 57.

Kind of Provision Required.

We have already said that of actual teaching, in the ordinary sense of the word, children under five ought to receive very little. Information should be given very sparingly and only in response to awakened curiosity. Restraint, compulsion, and punishment should be almost unknown ; but there is one kind of education which must take place in these early years if at all, and on which health and efficiency in after life largely depend, I mean the formation of physical habits.* People are apt to forget that breathing, walking, eating, speaking and sleeping have to be learnt, and that there are right and wrong ways of doing each. They are all difficult arts to the baby learner, and he may be much helped in acquiring them by an expert and watchful guardian. As soon as a child is born one may begin to teach him regularity and periodicity in sleeping, eating and the evacuations of the body, and by the time he is a year old he is ready for one or two new lessons. Every year a little more may be done in the way of checking injurious habits and encouraging useful ones ; and it must be remembered that these nursery lessons are not less but far more important than the reading, writing, and counting that are taught in the ordinary infant schools. If we consider what are the differences that distinguish a well-bred person from an ill-bred one, we shall find that they depend for the most part on habits acquired in babyhood, modesty, refinement, consideration for others shown in such everyday matters as eating, drinking, and moving about, accurate and distinct utterance, and little points of personal cleanliness. Training of this kind should find a place in the crèche and the nursery school, while it is almost impossible that it should be given by the overworked mother in a workman's home.

Children must be Taught:

How to Wash.

Cleanliness is, perhaps, the most important aspect of the question. The wish to be clean is not born with us. It has to be taught and trained. If a child can be induced to feel uncomfortable when he is dirty, a great step has been taken towards civilizing him and towards the establishment of a higher standard in living for the next generation. This is a point that needs emphasizing, for there is no doubt that we rank lower in regard to cleanliness of clothes and person than other European countries. One's nose testifies to this fact if, after travelling in crowded workmen's trains in England, one does the same thing in France or Germany.

* "Habits, whether they be born in us or are subsequently acquired, constitute man's whole nature, and they are the results of experience or education. Our education does not begin when we commence to learn to read or write, nor does it commence when we learn to breathe or suck. It has been steadily going on ever since our first foundations were laid in the immeasurable past. The education of the infant consists in teaching it how to acquire good and useful habits which are not born in it, and which will enable it to live a complete life, and take full advantage of the opportunities of its surroundings or environment."—"Infant Education," by E. Pritchard, M.A., M.D. (Oxon.), M.R.C.P. (London).

In England the crusade for cleanliness in the schools is only just beginning. The first step was taken when nurses were appointed to examine the children's heads. Some teachers insist on clean hands and faces, but investigations have seldom proceeded further. Now that medical inspection is at length instituted, terrible disclosures are being made of verminous bodies and diseases engendered by dirt. Now cleanliness is a lesson that can be taught. Few lessons are easier to teach, provided that necessary appliances are at hand, and none bring to the pupil a more immediate and obvious blessing. None certainly are more important if the first aim of our schools is to extend to the children of the poor the opportunity of leading a decent life. But this important lesson is not one that can wait for the school age. The evil results of dirt affect the health of a young child even more than of an older one. A child of two or three years old preyed on by parasites is an object so deplorable that nothing could be more absurd than to permit children to remain in this condition till they are five years old and then expend large sums on teaching them the three R's, often without any cleansing process at all.

In any public nurseries which may be established in England the bathing apparatus would have to play a very important part, and clothing would have to be rigorously inspected and, when necessary, replaced. A time may come some day when English mothers, like French ones, may be required to provide clean underlinen twice a week for their children and a clean pocket handkerchief every day; but to anyone familiar with our schools in poor districts such a time seems remote.

How to Sleep.

The children of the poor suffer almost as much from want of sleep as from want of food.* The regular midday rest, which is such an important feature in the régime of the nursery, is a luxury of the rich, and in a two roomed household it is almost impossible to put the little ones to bed early enough at night. Undisturbed sleep at regular intervals is in itself invaluable, especially as the means of forming a periodic physical habit which will last a lifetime. Any schools for children under six should be provided with suitable and sufficient sleeping accommodation. "The babies must be allowed to sleep when they want to, and should all be trained to sleep during the day."*

How to Eat.

Another very important nursery lesson is the right way to eat. Recent experience in organizing school feeding has amply proved the need for it. That we teach children to read and write before they know how to eat is an example of our topsy turvey methods. If we instructed them early in the use of their teeth, and were careful to provide suitable materials for that instruction, we should need to spend less later on in dentistry. The dinner table, too, with its code of manners, founded on consideration for others, pro-

* Report of the Consultative Committee upon the School Attendance of Children below the age of Five, pp. 90-96.

vides an admirable field for moral instruction and for laying the foundations of civilized life.

How to Talk.

Second only to the importance of learning to wash, to sleep, and to eat, is that of learning to talk. Speech, the widest and most distinctively human of the arts, must begin in the nursery; and much depends on whether it begins there well or ill. Nothing is more noticeable and more distressing to the visitor in our schools than the inarticulateness of the children. One has to delve deep to reach a response. To receive an answer prompt, fearless, and distinct is so rare as to be absolutely startling. There are many reasons for this, but the most obvious is an actual difficulty in utterance. The children have never been taught to speak, and most of them make very clumsy attempts at it. Of course, they soon acquire a code of half articulate sounds, which serve to express their more urgent needs and emotions; but their ears are not trained to recognize nice distinctions of sound, and as they grow older the possibility of such discrimination is lost. The vocal organs, too, having no demands made on them, lose their flexibility and become unmanageable. Bad habits of breathing, too, pass unnoticed, which are difficult to cure and have very bad results.

To impart some familiarity with spoken language, the child should be taught to pronounce very simple words correctly and delicately; and his vocabulary should be extended gradually as his field of observation widens. This should be the chief educational aim of the nursery school. No child can think to much purpose till he can speak, or make any real use of information till he can frame his thoughts into sentences. The power of expression is absurdly neglected throughout our schools. We proceed to teach children to read while they are still, to all intents and purposes, dumb, which is like forcing food on a sick man who can't digest.

But though speech is the most important of the nursery arts, it is not the only one. Much can be done to assist that long, unwearied, ingenious campaign which any healthy child will devise and carry on for himself, and which has for its unconscious aim the control of his own nerves and muscles.

Limit of the Nursery Period.

It is impossible to make hard and fast rules as to the dividing points in a child's life. One child will be more developed at four than another at six, and it is difficult to decide at what age the sort of training sketched above should give place to ordinary school methods. There is much to be said, however, for fixing the break at six or seven rather than at five; and in this we may, perhaps, be guided by the practice in well-to-do households, where children migrate from nursery to schoolroom at about that age. For it is well to bear in mind that what we are pleading for is, after all, a peculiarly English institution. Those very advantages, unfortunately, on which the English middle class specially pride them-

selves, they are the least eager to share with their poorer neighbors. We boast of the playing fields of Eton, and of the admirable training in self-control and esprit de corps to be gained in them, and leave our elementary schools with a wretched square of asphalte, where nothing can occur but a disorderly scramble. We are proud of our English cleanliness and our cult of the daily morning bath, and yet we are content to allow our school children to remain the most filthy and ragged in Europe. So though England is the home of the nursery (the word being untranslatable), and the wealthy mother in Russia or Italy makes a point of securing an English nurse for her children, yet a nursery for the children of labor is a notion of foreign growth, and we must turn to France, to Belgium, and to Hungary to see anything like an adequate realization of it.

In all these countries the school age is six, and provision is made for children below it in two separate institutions, the crèche and the école maternelle or école gardienne, as it is called in Belgium.

The following account of these institutions is compiled from reports published by the Board of Education :—

The Crèche in England and France.*

In Paris the first crèche was opened in 1844 by private enterprise and supported by charity. Mothers paid twopence a day per child, emphasis being laid on the intention of helping those who were obliged to earn their living, rather than merely of feeding and sheltering the children of the indigent. In 1847 the Society of Crèches was inaugurated at the Hotel de Ville, and in 1869 it was recognized as an institution of public utility. In 1904 Paris, with a population of two and three-quarter millions, had sixty-six crèches accommodating two thousand four hundred and ninety-one children under three years old. It is instructive to compare these figures with those for London, where, with a population of four and a half millions in 1904, there were fifty-five crèches, accommodating one thousand six hundred and ninety-three children under three. "In other words, London had crèche accommodation for one child in every two thousand five hundred, Paris had crèche accommodation for one child in every thousand. The crèches in London are private, with no aid from State or municipality, while those in Paris have received both since 1862. London has no registration or system of State inspection. Paris has both, the crèches being inspected daily by doctors. Lastly, the London crèches are distributed quite irregularly, some of the poorest boroughs having none at all, while Paris crèches are evenly distributed among twenty arrondissements. Even more startling are the differences outside the capitals. France, not including Paris or the Department of the Seine, has three hundred and twenty-two crèches. England, not including London, or greater London, has nineteen."†

* Report of Miss M. B. Synge, published by the Board of Education in July, 1908, together with the Report of the Consultative Committee previously quoted.

† The French statistics are taken from the Report of the Chief Officer of Public Control.

English crèches, or day nurseries, are, for the most part, organized by committees of ladies. They are mostly parochial and supported entirely by voluntary contributions. Few of them are in houses built for the purpose: most are in adapted premises.* Any private person may open a crèche in England without leave from any public body; crèches are unregistered and under no inspection.

The crèche in France, though not State supported, is generously subsidized. In the year 1904 Paris crèches received from the Minister of the Interior £1,468, from the Ville de Paris £67,045, and from the Conseil General des Départments £1,376.

No crèche may be opened in Paris without leave from the prefect of the department. In order to receive a grant it must be subject to inspection, conform to certain rules, and be administered by a council presided over by the mayor of the locality.

At the head of every crèche is a directress. Under her there is a berceuse to every six children and a gardienne to every twelve children under the age of one and a half years. In a large crèche there are also a cook and a laundry maid.

Each crèche has twenty or thirty "dames patronesses" or managers under a lady president. They are appointed by the mayor. Each lady has certain days or weeks in the year allotted to her and is definitely responsible for certain duties of management.

Children are admitted at the age of fifteen days and kept till the age of three. The mother is requested to bring the child clean. While she is feeding it herself she must come regularly to the crèche at least twice a day. She must pay her contribution, twopence for one child, threepence for two, every morning, and she must show that she is obliged to go to work or is incapable of attending to the child at home.

Illegitimate children are admitted after due investigation.

The cost per day per child at the Paris créches averages about one shilling, so that the mother's payment covers only one-sixth of it.

The children are supplied with clothes. These are changed when they arrive and again at night.

There are usually seven or eight doctors attached to a crèche, one of whom visits it every day. In many cases these doctors, who give their services entirely free, form a committee to decide all questions connected with hygiene.

To some crèches is attached a "School for Mothers," to which infants not in the crèche are brought for weekly inspection, and tables are kept of the weight and progress of each child.†

The forty-five crèches in Paris receiving municipal grants are subject to inspection. In addition to the ordinary inspectors, a lady inspector of crèches has recently been appointed.

* A movement towards a better condition of things has been recently made by the National Society of Day Nurseries, founded in, 1906 with the object of assisting local committees and affiliating existing nurseries.

† For further details consult "The Nursling" (see Bibliography, page 19), Lecture X., and translator's preface.

All the Paris crèches can be visited by anyone who is interested in them without introduction.

The Crèche in other Countries.

The chief characteristic of the Belgian crèche is that it is nearly always run in connection with an école gardienne or nursery school, which admits children up to the age of six.

The crèche system is not by any means so widely developed in Belgium as in France (outside the capital the only town at all adequately provided being Liège, which has six crèches), but in the poorer suburbs of Brussels there are one or two crèches admirably installed and managed which far surpass anything of the kind in England.

Crèches or Krippen exist in most German and Swiss towns,* and are usually separate from the kindergartens or nursery schools. The krippe admits children from six weeks to three years, and is intended only for the children of mothers who are out at work. It is open from 5.30 or 6 a.m. till the factories close in the evening, or sometimes till 8 p.m. The charge is usually about twopence a day; sometimes, to nursing mothers only, one penny a day. Illegitimate children are not excluded. Krippen are, as a rule, in the charge of Sisters (Catholic or Protestant), with voluntary helpers, who have nearly always been trained in the management of infants. The krippen are not municipally organized or supervized, but they receive in many towns municipal grants varying a good deal in amount. The cost varies from sixpence to tenpence a head.

Nursery Schools.

Between the crêche and the elementary school there is obvious need for a half-way house. This is already supplied, after a fashion, in some parts of the country by the baby class in the infant school, but nowhere in England is it sufficiently recognized that what is needed is not a school at all in the ordinary sense. Children under five (or, as I should prefer to say, under six or seven) should receive little or no definite instruction. They need plenty of freedom for spontaneous activity among wholesome surroundings under the guidance and supervision of attendants who have been trained in matters relating to health, to conduct, and to the growth of intelligence. Large rooms, well lighted, well aired, well warmed, and a pleasant open air playground where, if possible, plants and animals can be watched and tended, not too much interference, but the constant care of kind and watchful nurses; these are the requisites for a nursery school. In England, although a kindergarten here and there comes near to this ideal, no attempt has been made to supply the need for them all over the country. For anything of the kind on a national scale we must turn to France, Belgium, or Hungary.

* See Report by Miss May published with that of Consultative Committee.

The Ecole Maternelle (France).

Yet it is consoling to our national vanity when we look up the history of the French écoles maternelles, from which we have now so much to learn, to find that in their origin they owe a good deal to an Englishman and a Socialist.

For their first germ, indeed, we must go to Switzerland and to the year 1771, when Pastor Oberlin started his first école à tricoter in the Vosges. Mme. Pastoret transplanted the idea to Paris in 1801 when she opened a salle d'hospitalité, where the children of working mothers could be taken in and cared for; but it was not till 1826 that anything approaching the modern maternal school was opened, and by that time Mme. Pastoret had learned all she could about the infant schools which had been started by the English cotton manufacturer, Robert Owen, in 1812.

It was in the blackest hour of English child slavery that these schools appeared like a dawn of hope, an illusory dawn unfortunately. Robert Owen, roused by the pitiable condition of the poor children collected together from public charities and poor houses in order to work in the cotton mills, put a stop in his own mills to the practice of employing them from the age of six, and persuaded the parents to send them to school at two and keep them there till ten. Of these eight years the earlier were, in his opinion, even more important than the later. His reasons for thinking so are to be gathered from the very interesting evidence which he gave in 1816 before the Select Committee of the House of Commons to Enquire into the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis. In describing the treatment of the infants, he says:—

> They were perpetually superintended, to prevent their acquiring bad habits, to give them good ones, and to form their dispositions to mutual kindness and a sincere desire to contribute all in their power to benefit each other. . . . In fine weather the children are much out of doors that they may have the benefit of sufficient exercise in the open air. . . . The children were not to be annoyed with books, but were to be taught the uses and nature or qualities of the common things around them by familiar conversation, when the children's curiosity was excited so as to induce them to ask questions. . . . All rewards and punishments whatever, except such as nature herself has provided . . . are sedulously excluded. . . . A child who acts improperly is considered an object not of blame, but of pity. . . . No unnecessary restraint is imposed on the children. . . . The dress worn by both boys and girls is composed of strong white cotton cloth of the best quality that can be procured. It is formed in the shape of the Roman tunic, and reaches in the boys' dresses to the knees and in the girls' to the ankle. These dresses are changed three times a week that they may be kept perfectly clean and neat. The parents of the older children pay threepence a month. Nothing is paid for the infant classes. . . . The infants, besides being instructed by sensible signs—the things themselves or models or paintings—and by familiar conversation, were from two years and upwards daily taught dancing and singing.*

Owen had some difficulty in finding teachers who would adopt his views and could carry them out.

> I had therefore [he says] to seek among the population for two persons who had a great love for, and unlimited patience with, infants and who were thoroughly tractable and willing unreservedly to follow my instructions. The best to my mind in

* "An Outline of the System of Education in New Lanark," published, 1824, by Robert Dale Owen (Robert Owen's son); see "Life of Robert Owen," by F. Podmore (London: 1906).

these respects that I could find in the population of the village was a poor simple hearted weaver, named James Buchanan, who had been previously trained by his wife to perfect submission to her will, and who could gain but a scanty living by his now oppressed trade of weaving common plain cotton goods by hand. But he *loved* children strongly by nature, and his patience with them was inexhaustible.

This man was afterwards sent to London to superintend the first English infant school, which was opened in Westminster under the patronage of James Mill and other distinguished men. Owen gives an amusing account of his disappointment on the occasion of a surprise visit to this school:—

On entering the school, the first object that I saw was Mrs. Buchanan, whom I had never seen in the New Lanark school, brandishing a whip and terrifying the children with it. Buchanan I saw in another part of the room without authority or influence, and as much subject to his wife as the children.

Owen was full of ideas, and none of them were more original and valuable than those as to the education of infants; but, as one may judge from the above extract, he does not seem to have had the knack of gathering round him the people who could satisfactorily carry out those ideas and render permanent the institutions which sprang from his warm heart and fertile brain. But England was deep in the trough of laissez faire, and one need not wonder that here Owen's preaching fell on deaf ears and produced no permanent results.

France, quickened by a stirring of revolt and intellectual awakening, offered more hopeful soil; and there, as we have seen, the seed germinated when the first salle d'asile (or salle d'essai, as it was at first called) was opened in the Rue du Bac in 1826. Seven years later the salles d'asiles received their first recognition by the State, and in 1837 a commission was appointed to draw up rules for their conduct. These rules were revised from time to time, and a special training school for infant teachers was opened; and at last, in 1881, the old name of salles d'asiles was changed to écoles maternelles, and the rules as to admission and the program were settled and codified.

At the head of every école maternelle is a directress, a certificated teacher, whose salary, paid in part by the State, in part by the commune, begins at one hundred and sixty-eight pounds a year, and rises gradually to a maximum of two hundred and eight pounds, with a right to a pension at the end of twenty-five years. She is helped by a number of assistants (one for every forty children), whose salaries begin at eighty-eight pounds, and rise to one hundred and twenty-eight pounds. There are, in addition, a number of nurses or servants chosen by the directrice and paid by the commune, whose wages vary from forty pounds to fifty pounds.

The directress has various registers to keep, which must be at the disposal of the inspectors.

On the arrival of the children in the morning, she must ascertain by personal inspection that each one is in good health and clean. She also inspects their baskets, and sees that each child has brought a pocket handkerchief. She receives the pence and keeps a list of those who are fed free of charge, and she supervizes the school canteen.

The assistants must be over seventeen and certificated. Each has a separate class, and a great deal depends on the ingenuity and child love of the teacher. They help with the midday meal if required. The school hours being very long, they take it in turns to stay overtime.

The nurses, or femmes de service, are a most important addition to the staff. There is one, at least, in every school; two, if the numbers justify it. Their duties are very various. They sweep out the school every day, and open it at eight in winter and seven in summer for any children whose mothers go early to work, taking charge of the children till the directress and assistants arrive at nine o'clock. The femme de service superintends the children at the water closets every morning and again at one o'clock. This, from a hygienic point of view, is most important and is much neglected in English infant schools. She also washes the children's hands and faces twice a day and, in some schools, gives them a weekly bath and helps to wait on them at the school dinner. As in the case of the crèche, the general superintendence of the school is in the hands of a committee of ladies presided over by the mayor. Members of this committee visit the homes of the children.

The école maternelle is optional and free. Children between the ages of two and six are admitted on producing a note of admission from the mayor of the commune. Mothers are specially asked to bring the children clean and to pack in their school bucket a spoon, a dinner napkin, some bread and wholesome drink.

The schools are entirely paid for out of public funds, the cost being divided between the State, the department, and the commune.

The "Caisses des Ecoles" is a benevolent society subsidized and controlled by the State. It originated in 1849 and has grown into an organization of great importance. It covers much the same ground as our newly established Care Committees, its object being to provide clothing, boots, and food to necessitous children. It also provides for country holidays and vacation schools.

About a third of the children in the écoles maternelles pay for their food and the rest have it free. The list of the latter is kept by the mayor. The food consists chiefly of milk, vegetable purées and other soups, maccaroni, semolina, and tapioca, with very little or no meat.

Many of the large towns in France are spending great sums in feeding the children in the écoles maternelles. Marseilles has made all the feeding in them free. St. Etienne charges three halfpence, for which wine is given.

The écoles maternelles, like the other French schools, are inspected at least twice a month by the medical inspector; but besides these there is a large staff of special lady inspectors.

With regard to medical inspection of Paris schools, it must be remembered that in every district there is, under the caisse des écoles, a free dispensary for children subsidized by the municipality. Here children from the schools can have baths, hair cut and washed,

medical advice with regard to teeth, eyes, ears, etc.; while a free distribution of cod liver oil is made to necessitous children in the winter.

It is difficult to give any idea of the school program in a few words. It includes games, manual work, such as building with bricks or cards and making artificial flowers, the first principles of moral education, knowledge of everyday things, drawing, and lessons on language. Reading is taught to children over five, but not much insisted on. The little talks on familiar subjects are, perhaps, what strike one most. Take this, for instance: "The house, the kitchen. Let the child describe it. What can we see? Kitchen fire, table, etc. The use of each object. What does mother do? Each child? Cat? Children should help their parents without complaining." Or this: "The pocket handkerchief. What is it? What is its use? Blowing your nose, spitting. Each must have a handkerchief. How to use it. Unfold, refold."

Simple, familiar topics, such as these, afford the best opportunities for inducing children to talk; and nothing is more important in dealing with the little ones from neglected homes.

The Ecole Maternelle in Other Countries.

France does not stand alone with regard to nursery schools. In Belgium an école gardienne, as it is called, is attached to every crèche, and is managed on much the same lines as the écoles maternelles.

Germany, Switzerland, Portugal and Hungary all have their maternal schools or kindergartens.

In Hungary* they are excellent. Early in the nineteenth century, a Countess of Brunswick, having been much impressed by the infant schools of Owen's follower, Wilderspin, in England, came back to Hungary, and urged the claims of infant education just at the moment when reform was rife there.

A normal school for training infant teachers was founded so early as 1837, and in 1875 kindergartens were recognized by the State as a definite form of public instruction.

By an Act of Parliament, passed in 1891, attendance at a kindergarten is compulsory for all children between the third and sixth years. These schools were dominated at first by the German idea, but by 1899, when Miss Catherine Dodd visited the country, the language, songs, and games used in them were markedly national in character, showing the influence of Hungarian life and history. One game, for instance, represented the shepherds taking care of their herds on the plains, and guarding them from the wolves which came down from the mountains; while another showed traces of the Hungarian struggles with the Turks. Weary soldiers march to fight the Turks. The village rouses into activity; the baker, the winepresser, the housewife, the tailor, and the shoemaker, all set to work to feed, clothe, and house the soldiers.

* Report on Hungarian Education, Special Reports, Vol. 8, p. 498.

"I visited a village kindergarten this year [she writes]. The village lay among vineyards in a celebrated wine district on the Danube. In front of the building was a large canvas tent covering a great patch of sand, and here, sheltered from the sun, were fifty bare legged mites playing. They played games which were characteristic of the district. There was a wind game, and the children imitated the wind which blew the boats along the Danube. There was a game of making wine casks. Groups of children formed the cask, and the other children walked round, hammering in imaginary nails; while other children cut down imaginary trees to make the casks. There were one hundred and fifty children in this kindergarten. They were all in charge of one qualified teacher and her little maid servant. Everybody admitted that the staff was small, but they urged that it was a poor district. The town kindergartens are well staffed and fitted up with all necessary apparatus.

"I found a class of five year old children, sitting on benches out of doors under the acacia trees, building with Gift III. They smiled at us and cried out, 'Tzten hozta' ('God has brought you'); and they showed the bridges to cross the Danube, the wells to get water on the plains, the mills to grind corn, which they had built.

"All kindergarten teachers play the violin. In the games and songs the teacher is leader. She marches first, playing her violin, and the children follow, singing. . . . I spent a day in a kindergarten training school during the examinations. In the garden we found some twenty girls, with their violins, practising the national songs of Hungary. They marched round the garden, singing and playing in chorus, until they were called in to meet the examiner.

"All kindergartens in Hungary must have open playing places shaded with trees. Children under three may be admitted, but, as the regulation quaintly states, not in swaddling clothes."

Though Hungary is the only country where the attendance of children under five is compulsory, yet we have seen that in all, except England there is some recognition of State responsibility with regard to children below school age; and it is clear that something must be done in this direction before long. It is, therefore, most important that the question should be thoroughly ventilated.

The proposal made in the Minority Poor Law Report that the entire supervision of maternity and infancy, and the administration of whatever public provision is made for these services should be in the hands of the local health authority has, of course, a very important bearing on it. This proposal would, if fully carried out, remove entirely from the domain of the education authority any public day nurseries or nursery schools which may be decided on. The common sense view seems to be that throughout the life of the child its interests should be guarded both by the education authority and the health authority; but that the province of the latter, which would at first cover the whole field, would become gradually more restricted. At the stage when health considerations are predominant, the local health authority must undertake the administration, making use of the teachers of the education authority as required; at the stage when educational considerations are predominant, the administration must be in the hands of the education authority, making use of the doctors of the health authority as required. In the crèche there should be, as in France, daily medical inspection, and the management should be chiefly in the hands of doctors; but even here questions for the educational expert will arise with reference to the qualification of the staff and the training of the older infants. In the nursery school, the medical inspection required will be almost as frequent, but the educational point of view will need to be rather more adequately represented in the committee of management.

How this joint action of the local health authority and the local education authority can best be attained, at all stages of the child's life, is a question of administration with which we need not meddle here,* but it seems desirable that there should be no sudden break at any age. The establishment of public crèches, under the direct control of the local health authority, would be an invaluable supplement to the system of combining the work of health visitors, either paid or unpaid, with that of the medical officer of health and his staff. This system, already successfully established in many parts of London, aims at keeping under observation every infant from the time of its birth by means of friendly visits of advice. As things are at present, a health visitor is often harrowed by the hopeless conditions into which a baby is born, and feels that her advice is little better than a mockery. Mothers are often quite unable, either from poor health or from the dire necessity of bread winning, to nurse their babies or attend to their constant needs; but there are worse cases still where, from sheer lack of any alternative, a new born infant must be left to the tender mercies of a drunken or dissolute mother, whose one precaution is to insure its life.

In cases of this kind, a public crèche, to which the medical officer of health had power to order the removal of any neglected infant, would be a great resource. Such enforced removal would never happen, of course, in the case of any decent home or of any mother who was nursing her child; but as an alternative for the casual minder, the feeble grandmother, or the ten year old sister, it would be invaluable.

The question of payment would have to be settled as in the case of school feeding, after inquiry into the family resources, and need not in any way interfere with the decision of the medical officer. The cases that would come before him may be classified as :—

1. Temporary.

Homes even of the best type are liable to be disorganized from time to time by the disablement of the mother or father, or by some other unavoidable misfortune ; and the temporary removal of young children to a safe refuge affords invaluable help towards tiding over such a period, while it saves them from the evil consequences of neglect.

2. Wage Earning Mothers.

During the first three or four months of an infant's life, the mother might well be restrained by law from going out to work, home aliment being provided in necessitous cases ; but as the child grows older, some mothers will certainly desire to return to their work, and provided that they are not in receipt of public assistance for the children, conditional on their devoting themselves to the care of the children, there seems no adequate reason why they should not do so.

* Cf. Minority Poor Law Report (Official Edition), Note on p. 1224.

3. Homes that have been or ought to be Broken Up.

The widower or deserted husband has no choice at present but to pay a neighbor to look after his children, a service often most unsatisfactorily performed; but there are cases even more piteous. Bad health, bad habits, or merely unemployment on the part of the father, slatternly incompetence, or something worse, on the part of the mother, bring about a gradual and hopeless deterioration of the household which renders it unfit for little children to live in. Under such circumstances, it is essential that the medical authority should have power to order their removal to a public nursery, where they will be entirely under the parental control of the State.*

Reforms to Work for.

1. That the age for compulsory school attendance be raised to six, with a corresponding addition at the other end, making the compulsory period from six to at least fifteen or even older.

2. That the medical officer have power to enforce the attendance at a suitable nursery school of any child under six who is not suitably cared for at home.

3. That every local authority be required to provide adequately for children from three to six in free nursery schools, with sleeping accommodation and ample open air and covered playgrounds, and no teaching of the three R's.

4. That at such schools suitable meals be provided at the expense of the rates, table manners being an integral part of the curriculum.

5. That every local authority be also required to provide boarding schools in the country to serve as convalescent and holiday homes for the children attending nursery schools who are found by the medical officer to need country air, and also for the reception of children removed from their parents by the order of the medical authority.

6. That sufficient accommodation be provided in every district for infants under three in small day nurseries under the control of the local authority, such nurseries to be entirely free.

7. That the feeding of the children at these day nurseries be under direct medical supervision, mothers being encouraged to attend regularly for the purpose of suckling their infants.

8. That in connection with every such nursery there shall be a "school for mothers," or "consultation for nurslings," where babies may be brought by their mothers for free medical inspection and advice, and where pure and suitable milk will be provided free or at cost price.

* Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, p. 825, par. 2.

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* May be consulted at the British Library of Political Science, School of Economics, Clare Market. † May be consulted at the Fabian Library.

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SOCIALISM AND SUPERIOR BRAINS

A REPLY TO MR. MALLOCK

By BERNARD SHAW

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SOCIALISM AND SUPERIOR BRAINS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In January, 1909, Mr. Keir Hardie delivered an address in which he pointed out that the remarkable increase in our national income, of which so much was being said in the controversy then raging between Free Traders and Tariff Reformers, had not been shared by the working classes, who were no better off than before. Immediately Mr. W. H. Mallock wrote to The Times accusing Mr. Keir Hardie of ignorance of political economy, on the ground that an educated man would have known that as the increase had been produced by the exceptional ability of the employers and inventors, there was no reason to claim any share of it for the employee class. Thereupon I lost patience with Mr. Mallock and wrote the following letter to The Times.

MR. MALLOCK'S IDEALS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Mr. Mallock's controversy with Mr. Chiozza-Money over the figures of Mr. Keir Hardie may very well be left to the embarrassed silence in which good-natured people sit when a person of some distinction volunteers an absurd blunder as a contribution to a subject which he has not mastered. The notion that the people who are now spending in week-end hotels, in motor cars, in Switzerland, the Riviera, and Algeria the remarkable increase in unearned incomes noted by Mr. Keir Hardie have ever invented anything, ever directed anything, ever even selected their own investments without the aid of a stockbroker or solicitor, ever as much as seen the industries from which their incomes are derived, betrays not only the most rustic ignorance of economic theory, but a practical ignorance of society so incredible in a writer of Mr. Mallock's position that I find it exceedingly difficult to persuade my fellow Socialists that he really believes what he teaches. They regard me as a cynic when I tell them that even the cleverest man will believe anything he wishes to believe, in spite of all the facts and all the text-books in the world.

However, that is not the point that moves me to utterance on this occasion. If Mr. Mallock does not know the difference between the rents of land and capital and the "rent of ability"—if he is so ignorant of ordinary business and patent law as not to know that the cleverest inventor cannot possibly extract a farthing more from his invention than his stupidest competitor when it has been communized 14 years after its registration—he must not expect the Socialists to educate him. My quarrel with him is deeper than the technics of distribution. Mr. Mallock is preaching an ideal; and I want every gentleman in England to repudiate that ideal, whether he be Socialist, Individualist, Liberal, Free Fooder, Tariff Reformer, or Home Ruler.

The ideal is, not that the greatest among you shall be servants of all the rest, but that whenever one of us discovers a means of increasing wealth and happiness, steps should be taken to restrict the increase to the discoverer alone, leaving the rest of the community as poor as if the discovery had never been made. If Mr. Mallock does not mean this, he means nothing. If he does mean it, what does his University say to him? What does the Church say to him? What does every officer in the Army and Navy say to him? What does every Civil servant say to him, every statesman, every member of the humblest local authority, every professional man, every country gentleman, every man of honor, gentle or simple, who asks no more than a sufficient and dignified subsistence in return for the best service he is capable of giving to his country and to the world? This is not a question of the difference between the Socialist and the anti-Socialist: it is a question of the difference between the gentleman and the cad. Lord Lansdowne is not a Socialist, and Lord Charles Beresford is not a Socialist; but Lord Lansdowne has not asked for the hundreds of

millions he saved Europe by making our treaty with Japan, and Lord Charles Beresford, if the German fleet attacked ours, would not refuse to conduct our naval defence unless the country were to be given to him as prize money when he had saved it. It is true that we have tradesmen—some of them in business on a very large scale both here and in America—impudent enough and base enough to demand for themselves every farthing that their business ability adds to the wealth of their country. If these *canaille* were surgeons with a monopoly of a capital operation, they would refuse to save a patient's life until they had extorted his entire fortune as a fee. If they were judges, they would sneer at a judge's modest £5,000 a year, and demand the total insurance value of the protection they afforded to society. If they were lifeboat coxswains or firemen, they would bargain for the kit of a drowning sailor or the nighty of a child in a burning house before they would throw a lifebuoy or mount a ladder. They are justly despised by men of Mr. Mallock's profession and education; and when Mr. Mallock challenges the right of our workmen to a share in the increased product of industry by asking whether their labor "has become more productive in respect of the laborer's own exclusive operations," he not only lays himself open to the obvious counter-question as to whether the "exclusive operations" of our employers could produce anything more than the exclusive operations of our laborers, but, what is far more serious, he seems to be lending the credit of his reputation, his education, and the high social and intellectual prestige of his class to the most abandoned sort of blackguardism that is still outside the criminal law.

It is fortunate for us that few of our tradesmen are so vile or so silly as the commercial theory by which theorists attempt to justify them. The man who has "made" £20,000 a year for himself knows very well that his success does not afford the smallest presumption that his services have been more important than those of a police-constable with 24s. a week. He does not dream of posing as the superior of the captain of a battleship with a modest income of three figures. Mr. Carnegie "divides up" his surplus millions, and makes wildly Socialistic proposals, never for a moment suggesting that he is 50 times as clever as Mr. Mallock because he is 50 times as rich. I am not supposed to be an exceptionally modest man; but I did not advance the fact that I have made more money by a single play than Shakespear did by all his plays put together as a simple proof that I am enormously superior to Shakespear as a playwright. Our millionaires unload—awkwardly and unwisely sometimes, it is true, but still they unload—and do not talk nonsense about being 650 times as clever or as sober or as industrious as a dock-laborer because they have 650 times his income. The man who pretends that the distribution of income in this country reflects the distribution of ability or character is an ignoramus. The man who says that it could by any possible political device be made to do so is an unpractical visionary. But the man who says that it ought to do so is something worse than an ignoramus and more disastrous than a visionary: he is, in the profoundest Scriptural sense of the word, a fool.

In conclusion, may I confess that nothing is so terrifying to the Socialist to-day as the folly of his opponents? There is nothing to keep the inevitable advance steady, to force the rank and file to keep their best men forward. A paper called The Anti-Socialist is brought out with a flourish of trumpets. I open it, and find *vers de société* and a caricature of myself by a French artist, who depicts me in a French frock-coat, a Grand Old Man collar, and the countenance of Henri Rochefort. A Belgian navvy is labelled "Ramsay Macdonald": an American knockabout from the *café chantant* is carefully marked "Keir Hardie." Is it worth while to spend so much money to provide our Socialist debaters with footballs? If the Socialists did not know the difficulties of Socialism better than their opponents, and were not therefore far sterner Tories than the tariff reformers and far sounder Liberals than the free-traders; if all decent men were not nine-tenths Socialists to begin with, whether they know it or not; if there were any possibility of controversy as to the fundamental proposition of Socialism that whoever does not by the work of his prime repay the debt of his nurture and education, support himself in his working days, and provide for his retirement, inflicts on society precisely the same injury as a thief, then indeed the prospect would be black for civilization. As it is, I will continue to back the red flag against the black one; and with that I leave the Anti-Socialist League to sweep up the fragments of Mr. Mallock and produce their next champion.

Yours truly,

Feb. 2. G. BERNARD SHAW.

Mr. Mallock made two replies to this letter. The first was sent to The Times, the readers of which had had my letter before them. It is practically a surrender without a blow. The second was sent to the other daily papers, the readers of which had not seen my letter. It is an attempt to retreat in fighting order.

The Times letter is as follows.

MR. BERNARD SHAW ON MR. MALLOCK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—If Mr. Bernard Shaw cares to look into the pages of my "Critical Examination of Socialism," he will find the opinion or "ideal" which he attributes to me stated with the most minute precision and emphatically repudiated. So far as I myself am concerned, his long letter is absolutely without relevance.

I am your obedient servant,

February 5. W. H. MALLOCK.

The letter to the other papers ran thus:

MR. MALLOCK AND G. B. SHAW.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING ADVERTISER.

Sir,—Mr. Shaw, although in his letter to the press, published this morning, he diverges into a variety of details, says that his main object is to criticise an opinion, or an "ideal" which he imputes to myself. The ideal translates itself into the doctrine that whatever increment of wealth is produced by ability as distinct from labor ought to be entirely appropriated by the gifted individual producing it, and that nobody else should receive from it any benefit. I have no right to demand that Mr. Shaw should read my writings, but it is reasonable to demand that he should read them before he attempts to criticise my opinions or "ideals." If he had taken the trouble to read my "Critical Examination of Socialism," he would have found that the particular ideal or opinion which he imputes to me is described in that book with the utmost precision, but is described only that it may be in precise terms repudiated.

On page 202 he will find the following passages:—"If, therefore, the claims of labor are based on, and limited to, the amount of wealth which is produced by labor itself . . . what labor would receive would be far less, not more, than what it receives to-day. . . . Is it, then, here contended, many readers will ask, that if matters are determined by ideal justice, or anything like practical wisdom, the remuneration of labor in general ought henceforth to be lessened, or, at all events, precluded from any possibility of increase? . . . If anyone thinks that such is the conclusion which is here suggested, let him suspend his opinion until we return to it, as we shall do, and deal with it in a more comprehensive way." This question is taken up again, page 283, as follows:—"Is it, then, the reader will ask, the object of the present volume to suggest that the true course of social reform in the future . . . would be to bind down the majority to the little maximum they could produce by their own unaided efforts? The object of this volume is the precise opposite. It is not to suggest that they should possess no more than they produce. It is to place their claim to a surplus not produced by themselves on a true instead of a fantastic basis." Mr. Shaw may be left to read what follows if he pleases.

With regard to two other definite points, he touches farther on what he calls my opinions, or my "rustic ignorance" of economics. One of these relates to the "rent of ability." If he turns to pages 191-193 of my "Critical Examination of Socialism," he will find this question discussed with great minuteness, the truth contained in the doctrine held by himself and other Socialists admitted and endorsed, and an element in the problem, which is yet more important, but to which they are entirely blind, specified. With regard to what Mr. Shaw says about conflagrations and "babies' nighties," he will find this precise point anticipated and dealt with on page 122, "Critical Examination." I have, let me repeat, no right to claim that Mr. Shaw should read a line of anything I have written; but if in attempting to criticise the opinions and "ideals" of a writer, he imputes to him an ignorance or neglect of problems, *e.g.*, the rent of ability, which he has discussed far more minutely than has

Mr. Shaw himself, and attributes to him opinions which he has elaborately repudiated, Mr. Shaw will have hardly added to his reputation as a critic either of economic theory or of anything else. Mr. Shaw writes about myself very much as a man would write who mistook the Book of Genesis for the Koran.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

February 5, 1909. W. H. MALLOCK.

I am usually willing "to build a bridge of silver for a flying foe," but in this case I cannot let Mr. Mallock off without pursuing him to utter extinction. The book to which Mr. Mallock refers as shewing that he has dealt with my argument does nothing of the kind: it reaffirms his error as strongly as he knows how to do it. Even if it contained a recantation, I should still have to deal with his unprovoked attack on Mr. Keir Hardie, and with his "Short Epitome of Eight Lectures on the Principal Fallacies of Socialism," in which he speaks of the Socialist "promise of distributing among the great mass of the population that portion of the annual income *which is at present in the hands of an exceptionally able minority.*"

But the Critical Examination of Socialism contains no recantation. What it does contain is a statement that though everything that men enjoy over and above what a savage can wring from nature with his unaided hands is due to the exceptional ability of the few (represented, Mr. Mallock implies, by our rich class to-day) yet it is not expedient to strip them of everything they possess above that level, as otherwise they would have no interest in civilization, and would revolt. Therefore Mr. Mallock promises to shew, in a future book, how society can be arranged so as to give us all just enough to bribe us to allow the rich to remain in undisturbed enjoyment of their present position. If anyone doubts the fairness of this description of Mr. Mallock's last chapter, the book is easily accessible in the excellent cheap edition published by John Murray in November, 1908. In spite of the extravagance of the fundamental proposition of the book, which is that what a man produces is "that amount of wealth which would not have been produced at all had his efforts not been made" (pp. 206-7), thereby making every necessary laborer the producer of the entire wealth of the world, it is well worth reading, because it happens that any prejudice that may still linger against Socialism is almost wholly based on such childish ignorance of existing social conditions, and defended by such absurd arguments, that Mr. Mallock is forced by his sense of intellectual honor to begin by making a clean sweep of the blunders of his own supporters. In doing so, he knocks the bottom out of Unsocialism as effectively as in his religious polemics he has knocked the bottom out of the vulgar sectarianism that passes for religion in this country. His object is to clear the ground for his own peculiar Individualism and Catholicism; but he has cleared it equally for the Fabian Society, which has the same interest as Mr. Mallock in dispelling ignorance and confusion of thought. Besides, it is as well that the world should know that just as it seems clear to many laborers that the men who walk about in frock coats and tall hats, talking and writing letters,

are not workers at all, and produce nothing, so these very frock-coated men believe, like Mr. Mallock, that the hired laborer is a brainless machine that owes the very fuel and grease that keep it working to the intelligence of the class that exploits it.

However, I need not argue the case with Mr. Mallock now. It happens that in 1894 a wave of discussion of Socialism was passing over the press. Mr. Mallock was then already ventilating his theory that the distribution of wealth in this country into big fortunes for the few and pittances for the many, corresponds to the natural division of the British race into a handful of geniuses and many millions of mediocrities. His diagrams are still extant to shew the lengths to which he went. Mr. Frank Harris was then editing The Fortnightly Review. He asked me could I answer Mr. Mallock. I replied boyishly that any Socialist over the age of six could knock Mr. Mallock into a cocked hat. He invited me to try my hand ; and the result was the following essay, which appeared in the Review in April, 1894. I emphasize the date to shew that Mr. Mallock has had plenty of time to consider my case and answer it. When he put forth his Critical Examination of Socialism and accused Mr. Keir Hardie of illiterate ignorance, he forgot that his own Unsocialism had been critically examined, and that Mr. Keir Hardie had all the classic economists, from Adam Smith to Cairnes, at his back. Mr. Keir Hardie is, in fact, on this subject, demonstrably a better read and better informed authority than Mr. Mallock.

I reprint my arguments as they appeared in 1894. During the fifteen years since, Oblivion has made a few topical allusions unintelligible, and Death has changed some present tenses into past ones. I have dealt with these by a few inessential alterations, and omitted some chaff and some literary digressions; but the case against Mr. Mallock stands as it did.

Socialism and Superior Brains.

Mr. Mallock's general proposition is, that exceptional personal ability is the main factor in the production of wealth, and that the Fabian essayists, by failing to grasp this, have greatly exaggerated the efficiency of mere labor in the production of wealth. Let me see whether the irrepressible smile which this accusation has produced upon the countenances of the essayists can be transferred to those of the public, and finally to that of Mr. Mallock himself.

First, it is clear that such huge populations as ours really do owe their very existence to what Mr. Mallock defines as Ability, and not to what he defines as Labor. The whole advantage of a Transatlantic steamship over a man paddling on a tree-trunk, of a Great Northern express over a pilgrim's staff, of a Nasmyth steam hammer over the lump of stone which St. Jerome uses to beat his breast in the pictures of the Old Masters, or of a power-loom over the plaiting power of the fingers: all this is the product, not of Labor, but of Ability. Give Labor its due, says Mr. Mallock; and it will receive only what it could produce if Ability had never existed. Now this would clearly be much less than enough to support even a fragment of our present population. Therefore, since Labor gets enough at present to keep it half alive or so, it must get more than its due (Mr. Mallock calculates forty per cent. more, though surely several thousand per cent. would be nearer the mark); and the excess is a clear tribute levied upon Ability for the benefit of Labor. I take it that this is an inexpugnable proposition. Far from repudiating it, as Mr. Mallock would seem to expect, I embrace it in the spirit in which Mrs. Gamp asked Mrs. Prig, "Who deniges of it, Betsy?" What on earth use would Ability be to us if it did not lighten our toil and increase our gain? We support and encourage Ability in order that we may get as much as possible out of it, not in order that it may get as much as possible out of us. Mr. Mallock seems to regard this as dishonest. Possibly it is; but it is the sole safeguard for the existence of men of Ability. Give them and their heirs the entire product of their ability, so that they shall be enormously rich whilst the rest of us remain just as poor as if they had never existed; and it will become a public duty to kill them, since nobody but themselves will be any the worse, and we shall be much the better for having no further provocation to the sin of envy.

The Able Inventor.

This does not seem to have struck Mr. Mallock until the first appearance of this article in 1894. He had been preoccupied by the danger of the opposite extreme—that of grabbing the entire product of exceptional ability, and thus depriving it of its commercial

incentive to action. Fortunately, society is not bound to go to either extreme: its business from the commercial point of view is to get the use of ability as cheaply as it can for the benefit of the community, giving the able man just enough advantage to keep his ability active and efficient, if it should really turn out that able men will act stupidly unless they are given extra pay. From the Unsocialist point of view this is simply saying that it is the business of society to find out exactly how far it can rob the able man of the product of his ability without injuring itself, which is precisely true (from that point of view), though whether it is a reduction of Socialism to dishonesty or of Unsocialism to absurdity may be left an open question. Happily we need not dwell on the moral question, since we have long ago adopted the Socialist point of view in every case in which the working of our industrial system admits of it. Take Mr. Mallock's pet example, the inventor. His ability produces untold millions. Machine after machine is invented of which we are told that it has multiplied the productivity of labor twice, ten times, two hundred times, fourteen thousand times, and so on beyond the bounds of belief; and processes are devised by which metals are so strengthened that the formerly impossible is now possible, the gain being consequently incalculable. What do we do with the public benefactors who shew us how to perform these marvels? Do we allow them and their remotest posterity to wallow in the full product of their ability, and so lose all incentive to further exertion? Not a bit of it. We announce to them our intention of making their invention public property in fourteen years time, during which, provided they pay us certain fees for the privilege, we allow them by patent such a power of veto on the use of the invention as enables them to secure during that period a share—and only a share—of its product. If at the end of the fourteen years they can prove to us that their invention has made its way so slowly that they have not been reasonably repaid for their actual expenditure in time and money, we may perhaps extend their privilege for a further short period. But after that comes naked Socialistic expropriation, making the use of the invention free to the stupid and the clever alike.

The Able Author.

To vary the illustration, let us take the case of Mr. Mallock himself. For aught we know, Mr. Mallock's novels may outlive Don Quixote and Tom Jones; and his economic essays may stand as long as Aristotle's. The difference in value between a page of one of his works and the advertisement sheet of a daily newspaper is wholly due to his ability, ability of an order which it is admittedly the highest duty of statesmanship to encourage to the utmost. Yet how socialistically we treat Mr. Mallock! We reward his exertions by an offer to lend him his own books for forty-two years, after which the dullest bookseller in the land will be free to send his works to the printer and sell them without paying a farthing to the author's heirs. And nobody suggests, as far as I know, that

if we were to extend the duration of patents and copyrights to a million years, we should get one book or one invention the more by it.

Now let us suppose that on the expiration of Mr. Mallock's copyrights the cheap bookseller of the period were to make £10,000 by getting out a cheap edition of The New Republic, and were to call his gains the product of literary genius. The statement would be quite accurate; but if he were to go on to claim any special sacredness (say from taxation) for his £10,000 on that account, he would be promptly met by the question, *Whose* literary genius? And when he replied, as he would have to, "Well, William Hurrell Mallock's genius," his fellow citizens would certainly inform him that they were not, if they could help it, going to privilege him because somebody else was a great writer. Now I will not say that any railway shareholder to-day is so absurd as to plume himself on the fact that his dividends are the product of inventive genius, leaving it to be inferred that the genius is his own and not George Stephenson's; but passage after passage in Mr. Mallock's anti-Socialist writings either means that a railway dividend is the reward of the ability which invented the locomotive steam-engine or else means nothing at all. The obvious fact that the interest on railway stock in this country is paid mostly to people who could not invent a wheelbarrow, much less a locomotive, he treats as an ingenious Fabian paradox. And a cool assumption that every child, every woman of fashion, every man about town, every commonplace lady or gentleman who holds shares in an electric lighting company, or a telephone company, or a Transatlantic steamship company, is a Wheatstone, a Bell, an Edison, a Bessemer, a Watt, or a Stephenson, he gravely reasons upon, and takes as a basis for elaborate statistical calculations and startling diagrams, as if it were sober sense instead of the most laughably extravagant bluff that has ever been attempted, even in a controversy on Socialism. I am convinced that Mr. Mallock himself, now that I have placed his argument naked before him, will throw himself on the mercy of the town, and ask whether it is likely that so clever a man as he could have meant anything so outrageous. But there are his figures, graphic and arithmetical, to shew that he meant that interest on capital is the price of exceptional ability, and that profits include payment for every human invention, from the potter's wheel to the marine steam-engine. Let me not here seem to disparage his common sense offensively. I cannot seriously believe that if some relative were to leave him a million of money, he would say to his stockbroker, "I am not satisfied with being a well-known author: I wish to be a great engineer too; so buy me some Manchester Ship Canal stock. I also yearn for fame as an aviator: get me instantly a few shares in the company which manufactured Monsieur Bleriot's aeroplane. As I wish to secure immortality as a great sculptor, I shall call a great statue into existence by my capital: no doubt Monsieur Rodin or some other professional person will put in the mere manual labor for a few thousand guineas. I have also, I must confess, a curious longing to be

remembered as a famous actress: I shall therefore build a theatre and engage Sarah Bernhardt, Eleonora Duse, and one or two other female proletarians, who, without the aid of capital, would be selling oranges like Nell Gwynne." I feel sure Mr. Mallock has far too much ability to go on in any such insane way; and I even believe that if a laborer were to write articles claiming that labor was so mighty that one workman could with a single stroke knead a mass of metal as if it were a lump of dough or slice a bar of steel like a cucumber, Mr. Mallock would smash such idiotic pretensions with the utmost brilliancy. Therefore, as I say, I am loth to trip him up for having advanced cognate pretensions on behalf of the share-holding class. I had rather by far hold my tongue; and I would have done so if only Mr. Mallock would leave the Fabians and Mr. Keir Hardie, who never injured him, unmolested. Why cannot a man write bad political economy without coupling it with an attack on the Fabian Society? The profit is naught; the retribu tion sudden, swift, and fearful.

Ability at Supply-and-Demand Prices.

The facts about "rent of ability" are not so simple as Mr. Mallock thinks. To begin with, the price of ability does not depend on merit, but on supply and demand. Plato was, on the whole, a greater author than Old Moore, the almanack maker; but if he were alive now he would not make so much money by his books. When Ibsen died he was unquestionably the greatest dramatist of the nineteenth century; but he was very far indeed from being the richest. Great philosophers and poets are apt to starve because, as their wares are above the heads of the public, there is no demand and therefore no price, although the commodity offered is very scarce and precious. But when the ability is of a sort everyone can appreciate, or, above all, that can make money or cure illness, there is no lack of demand. Sometimes there is no lack of supply either: for instance, in a modern city the policemen, the firemen, the sewermen, are supposed to save property, life, and health wholesale: yet their ability is to be had without stint for twenty-four shillings a week or thereabouts, because the supply is large. Not so the supply of popular portrait-painters, novelists, dramatists, consultant physicians, special pleaders, and directors and organizers of industry. These popular persons get large sums, not because their talents are more useful to society than those of the policemen, but solely because they are scarcer.

Imaginary Ability.

I say popular persons rather than able persons; for the public is often a very bad judge of ability. For example, there died a short time ago a barrister who once acquired extraordinary celebrity as an Old Bailey advocate, especially in murder cases. When he was at his zenith I read all his most famous defences, and can certify that he always missed the strong point in his client's case and the weak one in the case for the prosecution, and was, in short,

the most homicidally incompetent impostor that ever bullied a witness or made a "moving" but useless appeal to a jury. Fortunately for him the murderers were too stupid to see this: besides, their imaginations were powerfully impressed by the number of clients of his who were hanged. So they always engaged him, and added to his fame by getting hanged themselves in due course. In the same way a surgeon will get a reputation as the only possible man to consult in cancer cases simply because he has cut off more breasts than anyone else. The fact that in all the professions there is one first favorite means no more than the fact that there is only one editor of The Times. It is not the man who is singular, but the position. The public imagination demands a best man everywhere; and if Nature does not supply him the public invents him. The art of humbug is the art of getting invented in this way. Every generation invents great men at whom posterity laughs when some accident makes it aware of them. Even in business, the greatest reputations are sometimes the result of the glamor of city superstition. I could point to railway chairmen reputed indispensable, whom the shareholders and the travelling public might with great profit and comfort to themselves send to St. Helena with a pension of £10,000 a year.

The Ability that Gives Value for Money.

But in business, as a rule, a man must make what he gets and something over into the bargain. I have known a man to be employed by a firm of underwriters to interview would-be insurers. His sole business was to talk to them and decide whether to insure or not. Salary, £4,000 a year. This meant that the loss of his judgment would have cost his employers more than £4,000 a year. Other men have an eye for contracts or what not, or are born captains of industry, in which cases they go into business on their own account, and make ten, twenty, or two hundred per cent. where you or I would lose five. Or, to turn back a moment from the giants to the minnows, take the case of a woman with a knack of cutting out a dress. She gets six guineas a week instead of eighteen shillings. Or she has perhaps a ladylike air and a figure on which a mantle looks well. For these she can get several guineas a week merely by standing in a show-room letting mantles be tried on her before customers. All these people are renters of ability; and their ability is inseparable from them and dies with them. The excess of their gains over those of an ordinary person with the same capital and education is the "rent" of their exceptional "fertility." But observe: if the able person makes £100,000, and leaves that to his son, who, being but an ordinary gentleman, can only get from two and a half to four per cent. on it, that revenue is pure interest on capital and in no sense whatever rent of ability. Its confiscation would set an idle man to work instead of depriving ability of its motive for exertion. When the late Lord Goschen was Chancellor of the Exchequer, he confiscated a half per cent. of the interest on Consols without checking the exercise of

ability in the least. Later on, when the value of even the reduced Consols was further reduced twenty-five per cent. by the South African War, and simultaneously the Income Tax (which is pure confiscation) jumped up to a shilling in the pound, the effect was not to dull our wits but to sharpen them. Raise a tradesman's rent (a very common form of private confiscation) and he works harder, not softer.

Waste of Ability and Inflation of its Price by The Idle Rich.

Let us consider now how far exceptional payments depend really on the ability of the earner, and how far on the social conditions under which they occur. To begin with a striking instance. A famous painter charges, and gets, 2,000 guineas for painting a portrait. Such a price is rendered possible solely by the existence of a class of patrons so rich that the payment of 2,000 guineas inflicts less privation on them than the payment of sixpence to an itinerant photographer on Hampstead Heath inflicts on a courting costermonger. These portraits are as often as not portraits of persons of average or inferior ability. If such persons had to earn the price of their portraits by their own labor, they would not pay two guineas, much less 2,000, for a portrait. On the other hand, the painter demands 2,000 guineas solely because he finds that he can get it, not in the least because his genius refuses to operate under a weaker stimulus. He will paint as good a portrait for £50 as for £2,000 if £50 is the top of his market: greater painting than any yet produced in Melbury Road or Fitzjohn's Avenue has been worse paid than that. The fashionable physician, the surgeon pre-eminently skilled in some dangerous operation, the Parliamentary barrister, all owe the excess of their incomes over that of, say, a cabinet minister, to the competition among enormously rich people or huge companies for their services. In order to state the case in the most foolish possible way, let me put it that modern Capitalism has created thousands of guineas' worth of professional ability where only tens and hundreds existed before. All that this means is that it has raised the price of certain sorts of ability twenty-fold without at all improving their quality. And in enabling idle rich people to buy up the best of this ability, it has greatly wasted and nullified it. The eminent painter paints unmemorable people; the fashionable physician preserves the lives of useless people; the Parliamentary barrister would be more useful to society as an upper division clerk in the legal branch of some public department. Generally speaking, it may be said that our capitalists pay men of ability very highly to devote their ability to the service of Capitalism; and the moment society begins to outgrow the capitalistic system, it is no longer permissible to assume that ability devoted to the service of Capitalism is serviceable to society, or, indeed, that ability which can only flourish in that way is, from the social point of view, ability at all.

Artificial Rent of Ability.

One result of that social inequality which Capitalism produces, and which Mr. Mallock admires as innocently as Pendennis admired Miss Fotheringay, is to produce an enormous artificial rent of ability. Just as high farming increases the yield of an acre of land, so education may increase the yield of a man. But high farming cannot increase the natural rent of an acre, since all the other acres can be high-farmed too; so that the difference between the worst acre and the best (otherwise the "economic rent") can be reduced finally by equality of cultivation until it is no longer greater than the natural difference in fertility. Just so, by educating everybody, the social advantage which the educated man now has over the uneducated one can be destroyed, as it has been in the upper classes to-day. Again, enormous salaries are now paid to men because they add to ordinary business qualifications the habits and "manners and tone" of people who have unearned incomes of £10,000 a year and upward. By doing away with such incomes of idleness, society could make such habits impossible, and such manners and tone ridiculous. If Mr. Mallock will only consider that at present the mass of our population is so poor that any presentable sort of literateness or social amenity, down even to personal cleanliness and a reasonable reticence in the matter of expectoration, has a distinct scarcity value, he may gain some faint suspicion of how much of that £490,000,000 a year which we pay in profits and salaries represents rent, not of natural ability, but of social opportunity.

Artificial Ability.

There is another sort of artificial superiority which also returns an artificial rent: the superiority of pure status. What are called "superiors" are just as necessary in social organization as a keystone is in an arch; but the keystone is made of no better material than many other parts of a bridge: its importance is conferred on it by its position, not its position by its importance. If half-a-dozen men are cast adrift in a sailing boat, they will need a captain. It seems simple enough for them to choose the ablest man; but there may easily be no ablest man. The whole six, or four out of the six, or two out of the six, may be apparently equally fit for the post. In that case, the captain must be elected by lot; but the moment he assumes his authority, that authority makes him at once literally the ablest man in the boat. He has the powers which the other five have given him for their own good. Take another instance. Napoleon gained the command of the French army because he was the ablest general in France. But suppose every individual in the French army had been a Napoleon also! None the less a commander-in-chief, with his whole hierarchy of subalterns, would have had to be appointed—by lot if you like—and here, again, from the moment the lot was cast, the particular Napoleon who drew the straw for commander-in-chief would have been the great, the all-powerful Napoleon, much more able than the Napoleons who were corporals and privates. After a year, the difference in ability

between the men who had been doing nothing but sentry duty, under no strain of responsibility, and the man who had been commanding the army would have been enormous. As "the defenders of the system of Conservatism" well know, we have for centuries made able men out of ordinary ones by allowing them to inherit exceptional power and status; and the success of the plan in the phase of social development to which it was proper was due to the fact that, provided only the favored man were really an ordinary man, and not a duffer, the extraordinary power conferred on him did effectually create extraordinary ability as compared with that of an agricultural laborer, for example, of equal natural endowments. The gentleman, the lord, the king, all discharging social functions of which the laborer is incapable, are products as artificial as queen bees. Their superiority is produced by giving them a superior status, just as the inferiority of the laborer is produced by giving him an inferior status. But the superior income which is the appanage of superior status is not rent of ability. It is a payment made to a man to exercise normal ability in an abnormal situation. Rent of ability is what a man gets by exercising abnormal ability in a normal situation.

How Little really goes to Ability.

If Mr. Mallock will now take his grand total of the earnings of Ability, and strike off from it, first, all rent of land and interest on capital; then all normal profits; then all non-competitive emoluments attached to a definite status in the public service, civil or military, from royalty downwards; then all payments for the advantages of secondary or technical education and social opportunities; then all fancy payments made to artists and other professional men by very rich commonplace people competing for their services; and then all exceptional payments made to men whose pre-eminence exists only in the imaginative ignorance of the public, the remainder may with some plausibility stand as genuine rent of natural ability. But in making these calculations, I would warn him against exaggerating the life incomes of the most envied professional men and skilled workers. It is not for nothing that highly educated and cultivated men go into that part of Socialism which already exists, the Civil Service, and leave the competitive prizes of the professions to be scrambled for by persons who, as a class, are by no means their superiors. In the Civil Service there is status; there is pay from the time you begin work; there are short hours and at least the possibility of good health; there is security; there is a pension; and there is early marriage without imprudence or misalliance. In the professions the beginners are forty; there is no security; health is impossible without the constitution of a thousand horses; work never ceases except during sleep and the holidays which follow the usual breadown two or three times a year; shirking or taking things easily means ruin; the possibilities of failure are infinite; and the unsuccessful professional man is wretched, anxious, debt-crippled, and humbled beyond almost any

other unfortunate who has mistaken his vocation. If the income which a successful man makes between forty-five and sixty-five be spread over the preceding twenty years; if the severity of the brain-work as compared with that needed for any sort of routine be taken into account; and if a sufficient allowance be made for that part of the remuneration which may fairly be regarded as high interest on a frightfully risky investment, I think Mr. Mallock will begin to understand why the State can even now get into its service at moderate salaries men no less able than the professions attract, especially among those who have had a first-rate education, but who have to begin to support themselves immediately their education is finished.

The same care should be taken in estimating those high wages for manual labor which sometimes make the needy gentleman envy the boiler-maker or the steel-smelter. Such workmen, if their physique is extraordinary, can make £8 a week in the prime of life. But the prime of life does not last very long at work that fetches that price. It is as well worth a strong man's while to be a policeman with a sixth of such wages. Mr. Mallock was once greatly struck with the wages earned by the coal-hewers during the boom of 1872-3: he never tired of telling us stories of the dogs fed on beefsteaks, of the pipes with four bowls, and the rest of the evidence that the world is not going to be reformed offhand by giving £5 a week to men who have never had the chance of learning how to spend two. He might have added that mortality statistics bring out coal-mining as a healthy occupation, the truth being that when a miner is past his best working period, he has to fall back on some poorer occupation above ground, so that but few men die coal-miners. From one end to the other of the social scale nothing is more misleading than to assume, in the case of those who are paid competition wages, fees, or salaries, that they receive the top price paid in their profession or trade constantly throughout their whole working life. Further, in estimating the value of large salaries and high fees, it is necessary to take into account how much of it is mere payment of the expenses involved by the social position in which alone they can be earned. A young man building up a fashionable practice as a doctor in London cannot save a farthing out of £1,000 a year, though his personal tastes may be so inexpensive that in the Civil Service he would save £200 a year out of a salary of £400 without the least privation. As was pointed out, I think, in Fabian Essays, the servants in Dublin Castle are better paid than the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, because they can live on their wages, whereas he cannot. Mr. Mallock expresses the greatest scepticism as to the Fabian estimate of £800 a year *real* salary as sufficient to attract men of first-rate ability and education at present. No doubt it seems a trifle when one fixes one's eyes on the men who are making from £10,000 to £20,000 a year at the professions, or on the millionaires of America. But you have only to look in other directions to find men of at least equal ability and character to whom an assured income of £800 a year would be

a fortune. At all events, the hard fact remains that neither in our civil nor military services do we find it necessary to pay salaries equal to the income of a leading financier, contractor, physician, or K.C. As to chemists, biologists, astronomers, mathematicians, economists, poets, and the higher brainworkers generally, no fairly prosperous publican would look at their professional incomes.

Socialism the Paradise of the Able.

It seems to me that Social-Democracy would, in comparison, be the paradise of the able man. Every step that we make towards it takes our industry more and more out of the hands of brutes and dullards. The fellow who in the first half of the nineteenth century (the wicked century, as posterity will call it) could make a fortune out of cotton spinning only on condition that he was allowed to use up nine generations of men mercilessly in one generation, has been driven out of the trade by that pioneer of Socialism, the factory inspector. When the working day in England is reduced to eight hours by law, and the employment of a human being at less than a living wage is made a felony, the incompetents who cannot make their trade self-supporting on these humane and reasonable conditions will simply have to see their business slip from them into the hands of those who can. The sweater will have to go the way of the flogging schoolmaster, or the captain who can only maintain discipline by making his ship a floating hell. Society will keep raising the standard of popular welfare to which industrial management must be adjusted, until an employer will no more be allowed to kill people by overwork or poisonous processes than he is now to kill them by sword or gun. And at every step of the process a fringe of the most selfish and stupid employers will be disqualified and beaten off into the ranks of the employed, their customers going to swell the business of men with ability enough to succeed under the new conditions. If there be any employer who will be "ruined" by having to reduce the hours of labor of his employees from ten, twelve, fourteen, or sixteen to eight, or to raise their wages from four, twelve, or sixteen shillings a week to twenty-four or thirty, then the sooner he is "ruined" the better for the country, which is not benefited by allowing its population to be degraded for the benefit of duffers. Mr. Mallock is right in supposing that Socialism, if it wants ability, will have to pay for it, but quite wrong in supposing that the price will be eight-thirteenths of the national product.

The Highest Work also the Cheapest.

I am by no means sure that an occupation so exceedingly agreeable to the men able to do it well as the organization of industry may not at last come to be cheaper in the market than the manual labor involved by such disagreeable and dangerous tasks as sewerage, foundry work, stoking, certain kinds of mining, and so on. Clearly, if Mr. Mallock or myself had to choose between managing an iron-works for £250 a year and puddling for £500, we should

jump at the £250. In fact, it is already evident that numbers of the occupations now filled by the working classes will eventually have either to be replaced by new processes or else dropped altogether, through the impossibility of finding men or women willing to submit to them. Nobody anticipates any such difficulty with regard to the pursuits of the middle classes. Already, in many manufacturing towns, it is difficult to get even a half-witted domestic servant. The girls prefer the mill to the kitchen. But there is no difficulty in getting matrons for public institutions. How is it that Mr. Mallock, who has himself chosen a profession in which, unaided by clerks, he has to exercise ten times the ability of a stockbroker for perhaps a fifth of what the stockbroker would consider handsome remuneration, seems never to have considered the very first peculiarity of exceptional ability, namely, that unlike mere brute capacity for the drudgery of routine labor, it is exercised for its own sake, and makes its possessor the most miserable of men if it is condemned to inaction? Why, bless my heart, how did Fabian Essays, which Mr. Mallock admires so much, come to be written? Solely because the writers were able to write them, and, having the usual allowance of vanity, would not hide that ability under a bushel, though they knew beforehand that not one of them would ever touch a farthing of any pecuniary profit that might arise from the publication. If an ordinance were issued to-morrow that every man, from the highest to the lowest, should have exactly equal pay, then I could quite understand difficulties arising from every man insisting on being head of his department. Why Mr. Mallock should anticipate rather that all the heads would insist on becoming subordinates is more than I can reconcile with the intelligence for which he is famous. As a matter of fact there would be no novelty about the arrangement. Equal pay for persons of the most varied attainments exists at present within class limits. As to chiefs receiving less than subordinates, a naval captain's salary is smaller than that of many men in subordinate and relatively undignified commercial positions.

The Economics of Fine Art.

I might go on to make many amusing conjectures about the prodigious fortunes which great artists will perhaps make under Social-Democracy by simply putting a turnstile at the door of their studio or music-room, and charging five shillings a head for admission, which would presumably be freely paid by the cultured and prosperous millions of that period. But the economics of Art deserve an essay all to themselves. The difference between the baker, who produces something that is destroyed by the first consumer, and the artist, who produces something that is none the worse after generations of consumers have had their fill of it, is full of matter for the economist. And yet none of our professors have thought of writing a chapter on the Royal Academy turnstiles, which coin shillings in defiance of all the normal laws of production and consumption.

Profits and Earnings versus Rent and Interest.

Mr. Mallock has never got away from that unfortunate economic discovery of his about the hundreds of millions annually paid as rent and dividends being created by the ability of the recipients. During his lifetime he has seen several thousand millions of it produced by labor and ability, and then handed over gratuitously to "the man who has only to take a pair of scissors and to clip coupons, or to write a receipt for the tenant who pays him rent" (I borrow the phrase from that excellent Conservative, the late Prince Bismarck). Large shares of it pass daily under Mr. Mallock's very nose from adults to infants, from able men to imbeciles, from thrifty men to wasters, from all sorts of persons who might conceivably be producing something voluntarily and without compulsion for the community in return for what it unconditionally gives them, as Ruskin did, to ladies and gentlemen who make no pretence of producing anything. Must I again quote that well-worn passage from the late Professor Cairnes's Some Leading Principles of Political Economy, which formulated the conclusions of the orthodox economy on this subject, and which has never been challenged or contradicted by any economist until to-day, when Mr. Mallock dashes his head against it under the impression that it is a novel and dangerous heresy launched by a few sophistical Fabians? Here is the passage, which I quote with the more satisfaction, as nobody would tolerate such strong language from me:—

> That useful function, therefore, which some profound writers fancy they discover in the abundant expenditure of the idle rich, turns out to be a sheer illusion. Political economy furnishes no such palliation of unmitigated selfishness. Not that I would breathe a word against the sacredness of contracts. But I think it important, on moral no less than on economic grounds, to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper places as drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing.

What is the secret of the difference between the views of Cairnes and those of Mr. Mallock? Simply that Cairnes knew the difference between profits and general earnings on the one hand, and rent and interest on the other; whereas Mr. Mallock has jumped at the conclusion that because ability can produce wealth, and is rare, and men who are rich are also rare, these rich and rare ones must also be the able ones? How else can you account for them? How, indeed, if you happen to be still at the wrong side of that *pons asinorum* of political economy, the law of rent, with all its very unexpected social reactions! The Fabian essayists have done their best to convince Mr. Mallock that if the Duke of Westminster makes 500 times as much as a landlord as Mr. Mallock does as an author, it is not because the Duke is 500 times as clever as Mr. Mallock. But Mr. Mallock is modest, and will have it so; and I will worry him no further about it.

Government of the Many by the Few.

Mr. Mallock is much impressed by the fact that throughout history, from the shepherd kings to the nitrate kings and beef barons, we find the few governing the many. If by this he means that the few have ever been able to raise the many to their own level, then he is blind to the historical tragedy of greatness. But it is true that such organization as the many have been capable of has always been directed for them, and in some cases imposed on them, by the few. And I have no doubt that under Social-Democracy the few will still organize, and that, too, without having to consider at every step the vested interests of moneyed noodledom in "the system of Conservatism." Well has Mr. Mallock pointed out that the evolution of society produces, not anarchy, but new types of ruler, and, I would ask him to add, new forms of government. Once it was the first William with his sword and his barons. Then it was the first Edward, with his commission of *quo warranto*, bending the necks of those barons. But yesterday it was the cotton king with his capital and his ogreish factory: to-day it is the Factory Code bending the necks of the ogre cotton kings. To-morrow it may be —who knows?—an able Labor Ministry, backed up by a bureaucracy nursed on Fabian Essays. But Mr. Mallock's historic generalization will hold good: the few will still organize the many. That great joint-stock company of the future, the Social-Democratic State, will have its chairman and directors as surely as its ships will have captains. I have already pointed out that ships must have captains, even when there is an absolute level of ability on board, just as an arch must have a keystone. I cast back to that now only for the sake of reminding Mr. Mallock that this fact of the direction by the few of the many which he finds involved in all forms of social organization, has no necessary connection with any natural superiority on the part of the few. Indeed, Mr. Mallock will find it impossible to prove that the governing few have ever, in any generally valid sense, been the ablest men of their time. James I. governed Shakespear: was he an abler man? Louis XV. and his mistresses governed Turgot: was it by their superiority in ability or character? Was Mr. Balfour an abler man than Mr. Asquith until the last general election? and has Mr. Asquith been the abler since? Have all the men who have governed Mr. Mallock been abler than he is?

These questions are nonsensical because, as Mr. Mallock himself has remarked, ability is not an abstract thing: it always means ability for some definite feat or function. There is no such thing as the ablest man in England, though there is such a thing as the ablest high jumper, the ablest hammer thrower, the ablest weight lifter, etc. When we come to more composite questions, such as the ablest financier, or strategist, or organizer of some particular industry, we call that man the ablest who has most of the qualities which happen to be supremely important, *under existing conditions*, in finance, strategy, or the particular industry in question. Change the conditions, and quite another set of men will be the ablest. Every year

gives us a fresh example of the fact that a man who has succeeded conspicuously in some enterprise in America may fail ignominiously in it in England, the reason being that he is an able man for the purpose under American conditions, and an incompetent one under English conditions. The Owenite Socialists who had made fortunes in business, failed to make good their reputation even for common sense in their attempts to organize Owenism. Or, to take one of Mr. Mallock's own illustrations, the able man of feudal England was quite a different man from the able man of commercial England. At least, let us hope so. As to Mr. Mallock's exceedingly unhistoric apprehensions that the said able men will refuse to exercise their ability for good pay and pension from Social-Democracy, unless they are also provided with opportunities of investing their savings in order to make idlers of their children, I doubt whether the public will take the alarm. He may depend on it that Social-Democracy, like all other Ocracies, will have a great deal more trouble with its idle and worthless members than with its able ones.

The Incentive to Production.

"Men," says Mr. Mallock, "will not exert themselves to produce income when they know that the State is an organized conspiracy to rob them of it." My impression hitherto has been that the whole history of civilization is the history of millions of men toiling to produce wealth for the express purpose of paying the tax-collector and meeting the State-enforced demands of landlords, capitalists, and other masters of the sources of production. Mr. Mallock might as well deny the existence of the Pyramids on the general ground that men will not build pyramids when they know that Pharoah is at the head of an organized conspiracy to take away the Pyramids from them as soon as they are made. Are not those very rents and dividends over which Mr. Mallock has so ingeniously gone astray, produced to-day by workers of all grades, who are compelled by the State to hand over every farthing of it to "drones," as Professor Cairnes called them? But the Attorney-General does not retire from the Bar because he has to hand over part of his fees to the lord of the plot of English soil on which his private house is built; nor did the factory girl refuse to toil, amid poisonous fumes of whitelead and phosphorus, because from ten to thirty per cent. of what she and the rest of the factory staff produced was taken from them and handed over to shareholders who never saw the factory, and whose original contributions to the cost of its erection had been replaced out of its own produce long before. When the State said, to Attorney-General and factory girl alike, "Submit, starve, or go to prison; which you please," they submitted, that being the most comfortable of the three alternatives. A Social-Democratic State could "rob" (the word is Mr. Mallock's, not mine) in the same fashion if its constituents, against their own interests, gave it a mandate to do so. If "the idle rich" (Professor Cairnes again) were taxed so heavily as to leave them nothing but bare agents' fees for the collection of their incomes and their transfer to the Inland Revenue Department, there is no

reason to suppose that the production of income would be decreased by a single farthing through any sulking of the despoiled spoilers. If a man is producing nothing, nobody can be the worse for a reduction of his incentive to produce. The real difficulty in the way of taxing unearned incomes to extinction, is the impossibility of a seizure of £800,000,000 every year by a Government which, as at present organized, has no means of immediately restoring that sum to general circulation in wages and salaries to employees of its own. This difficulty has been explicitly dealt with in Fabian Essays (page 189, etc.), in a passage which Mr. Mallock's criticisms do not affect.

The Long and Short of the Matter.

The long and short of the matter is that Mr. Mallock has confused the proprietary classes with the productive classes, the holders of ability with the holders of land and capital, the man about town with the man of affairs. In 1894 I advised him to take up the works of the Individualist American economist, General F. A. Walker, who, before the Fabian Society was born, expounded the economics of ability in a manner to which neither Fabians nor Conservatives have raised, or need raise, any objection. He did not take my advice until he went to America and was accused of borrowing from the General by somebody who must surely have understood neither of the twain. But now that he has read him, he can appreciate the following passage from the same author's Money in its Relation to Trades and Industry (London, 1880, pp. 90-91) :—

> The attitude of both laborers and capitalists [during a period of five years industrial depression in the United States] has given the strongest testimony that the employing classes are completely the masters of the industrial situation. To them capital and labor are obliged alike to resort for the opportunity to perform their several functions; and whenever this class, in view of their own interests, refuse that opportunity, capital and labor remain unemployed, incapable of the slightest initiative in production.

There you have your skilled economist. He does not romance about capitalists inventing Atlantic steamers: he shews you the capitalist and the laborer running helplessly, the one with his money, the other with his muscle, to the able man, the actual organizer and employer, who alone is able to find a use for mere manual deftness, or for that brute strength or heavy bank balance which any fool may possess. And the landlord must put his acres into the same cunning hands. The landlord, capitalist, and laborer can none of them do without the employer: neither can he do without land, capital, and labor. He, as the only party in the transaction capable "of the slightest initiative in production," buys his three indispensables as cheaply as he can; pays the price out of what he makes out of them; and keeps the balance as his profit. If a joint-stock company offers him as much by way of salary as managing director as he can make on his own account, he has no interest in refusing the post. If the Government, or a municipality, offers him equivalent advantages as a State or municipal officer, he will not scorn their offer from a sentimental attachment to "the

system of Conservatism." The Fabians have shewn that the situation is changing in such a way as to set our governing bodies, local and central, outbidding the private employer for the services of the laborer, and competing with the private capitalist and landlord for the services of the employer, whilst concurrently confiscating, by familiar constitutional processes, larger and larger portions of the land and capital that has fallen into idle hands. Mr. Mallock, in reply, bids the Conservatives be of good cheer, since he can prove that nearly all wealth is the product of ability and not of labor—no great consolation to those Conservatives who deal in neither, but only in land and capital. And to set at rest any lingering misgivings which his economic demonstrations may have left, he adds that the gobbling up of proprietary incomes by Social-Democracy, on Fabian lines, is not "fundamental Socialism," but only "incidental and supplementary Socialism," which, rightly considered, are "really examples and results of a developing Individualism." This explanation has been of great comfort to the Fabians. Whether it will be equally relished by the Conservatives is a question upon which I am too modest to offer an opinion.

NOTE.—The authorities for the figures given on pages 14 and 22, with many other particulars as to the distribution of income in this country which should be in the hands of every citizen, will be found in Fabian Tract No. 5, Facts for Socialists. Fabian Tract No. 7, Capital and Land, should also be read in this connexion.

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CAPITAL AND COMPENSATION

By EDWARD R. PEASE

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CAPITAL AND COMPENSATION.

SOCIALISM as a modern political force was born of a book, and that book was called "Das Capital" because its author rightly conceived that Socialism is far more closely concerned with capital than with anything else.

The reorganization of society on Socialist lines is necessary because capital has reduced the majority of the people to workers dependent on others for their livelihood, and the chief demand of Socialism is that the powers now exercised by the owners of capital over the lives and liberties of others should be transferred to the community.

Socialism and Capital.

Socialists have opinions on all sorts of subjects, and sometimes sections of them make those opinions parts of their creeds. Socialist societies have taken upon themselves to formulate dogmas on war and peace, religion and materialism, monarchy and republicanism, marriage and the family, the citizenship of women, and the education of children. But on many of these subjects there is hardly more agreement amongst Socialists than there is among Liberals or Tories, or Nonconformists, or any other group of people. On one matter alone are all Socialists all the world over in complete accord, and that subject is what ought to be done with capital.

The chief purpose of all Socialists is to transfer the capital of each nation from the hands of private owners to the community organized as the State.

What "Capital" means.

But what is this capital which we desire to transfer to the community? How many of the Socialists who so often talk about it have a clear idea of what it means?

Unfortunately, the word capital has an endless variety of necessary and yet incompatible meanings, all good and useful and appropriate to particular purposes, but so numerous and contradictory that the wise man will never use the word capital without explaining at the same time exactly what he intends to denote or connote by it.

Here we are concerned with the capital which Socialists desire to nationalize, the capital which yields interest and profits, and enables its possessors, if they choose, to earn salaries out of proportion to the value of the work they do. It is unnecessary, therefore, to consider

whether the skill of a doctor or of a professional billiard player is or is not capital, because clearly it cannot be nationalized by an Act of Parliament. Nor need we discuss the capital value of the English climate, which some economists rate highly, nor of our natural harbors and navigable rivers, nor of the alleged moral and industrial superiority of our race, to which some writers, English and not foreign, attach much value.

Nor need we consider the claims of goodwill to rank as capital, since the goodwill, say, of a soapmaking company, consists for the most part in the advantages, acquired as a rule by lavish expenditure in advertisements, which one concern possesses over other makers of soap; and its existence is bound up in the continuance of a number of competing manufacturers. Under a complete monopoly, whether of a trust or of the State, goodwill ceases to exist.

Capital is Things.

Capital for our present purpose is all sorts of *things* in a certain aspect. Things have different aspects for different people or the same people in different moods. A steamer to the artist may be a color contrast on the horizon; to the engineer it is a means of livelihood; to the passenger a conveyance; to the investor it is so much capital. But although capital is all sorts of things in a certain aspect, its characteristics are chiefly determined by one sort of thing, and that is machinery.

This is a proposition to which Socialists should give ready assent. The capitalist system is recognized by them as an equivalent phrase to the régime of machine industry. The industrial revolution, the growth of the factory system, are their constant subjects of study. Machinery is not only the typical form of capital, but it is that which determines its chief characteristics. Subsistence, the food of the laborer, may be the seed; abstinence on the part of the owner may be a prerequisite; but the thing itself is neither abstinence nor food, but machinery.

Now the first thing to remember is that an aspect of a thing or a quality of a thing cannot exist apart from the thing itself. For instance, weight is a quality of things, and everybody at once realizes that if you want weight as ballast for your boat or your balloon, you have to get *things* that are heavy.

What is true of weight is equally true of capital. All capital, at any rate all that Socialists are concerned with, is *things* that are valuable.

Perhaps this statement may appear obvious and commonplace. Nobody supposed that capital was anything else. But is this so? Does everybody realize that when the London Joint Stock Bank takes up a block of £1,000,000 London County Council Stock, that transaction, represented by a few entries in a ledger, is in fact the transfer from the Directors of the Bank to the London County Council, not of so much gold, or of so much of an abstraction called capital, or of a still more elusive abstraction called credit, but of a claim upon a weirdly miscellaneous assortment of all sorts and kinds

of things—lands and houses, goods in warehouses and on the high seas, locomotives in Australia and elephants in India, in all of which the County Council proceeds to exercise certain possessory rights?

The Parable of a Plough.

Let me explain by a parable. Once upon a time in the Mid-Victorian Age there lived a farmer whom I will call A, an exceptional farmer because he was prosperous and kept accounts, who possessed a steam plough as good as new, which had cost him £100 and was worth to him, as he discovered from his accounts, £20 a year in increased yield from his land after providing for all repairs and expenses. He was so prosperous that he decided to retire, and rather than let his plough lie idle, he lent it to Farmer B for a payment of £10 a year. Farmer B also found that he got £20 a year profit out of the plough, and so he was £10 to the good by the transaction. Next year B thought he could do better still by buying the plough. A was willing to sell. So B borrowed £100 from the Banker C on the security of the plough at five per cent. per annum, bought the plough of A, and paid for it by a cheque on the Banker C. A paid the cheque also into the bank of C, and put it on deposit at three per cent.

Now this simple transaction in fact contains in a nutshell the essence of all finance.

In the first year there was one man owning a plough which yielded £20 of profit, a machine, that is, which produced so much wealth, all going to the owner, A.

In the second year two men were concerned, A, the owner, who still owned the plough, and got £10 a year for lending it to B. B had the use of the plough and netted £10 a year clear profit. Still there was only one plough, yielding one profit of £20.

In the third year things were still more complicated. A had £100 on deposit at the bank, and was drawing £3 a year interest. B had a steam plough, yielding £20 a year, out of which he paid £5 as interest to the Banker C. C, the Banker, had an increase of his deposits of £100 on one side, and on the other a new loan of £100 secured on the plough. He received £5 from the borrower and paid £3 to the lender, so that he had £2 clear profit on the operation. All these men felt rich and prosperous: all were making interest or profits; all could talk of their capital and their loans; and yet all the time there was but one steam plough, yielding as before a profit of £20.

What is true of this steam plough is true of all financial and commercial transactions. In the last analysis loans and bank deposits, stocks and shares, cheques and bills, mortgages and debentures, all are founded on things—real, tangible things like ploughs. Their capital value depends on the value of these things, and the interest that they yield is produced by the things they represent, or, in other words, is due to the fact that the man with a machine, of whatever sort, can produce more wealth than the man without the machine.

Capital: Land: Wealth.

Capital, then, is things and nothing else whatsoever: of course it includes land. For the purposes of this argument no distinction between land and capital is possible. The wealth or the capital of the country (and there is no clear distinction between the form of wealth usually called capital and any other forms of wealth) consists in houses and lands, in machinery and goods, in stone and iron and coal, in cattle and corn and cotton; in gold and a little silver and bronze, all tangible things, and in nothing else at all. This is the capital with which finance is concerned; and this is the capital which we Socialists desire to nationalize.

It is perhaps difficult to realize that the 50 millions of deposits in some London bank, apparently a series of figures in ledgers, all expressed in terms of money, and convertible at longer or shorter notice into gold sovereigns, are in reality not money, or some abstraction called capital, but nothing else than such things as ploughs and the land they plough.

One great reason for this confusion of thought, this idea that capital is something apart from tangible things, is the fact that there is in commercial and general language another and quite different significance of the word capital.

The Capital of a Company.

The capital of a company is not things, and bears no necessary relation to things. When a mining company is started, a number of people who have capital, that is things, contribute (or lend) their things, say fifty each lending £1,000 worth of things to the promoters; and they are allotted shares in the mine in proportion to their contributions. But the promoters allot to themselves for their services, real or imaginary, for their concession, for the mine, and so on, such other shares as they think fit, say another £50,000.

The whole "capital" of the mine then stands at £100,000, and this means that the ownership of the mine and the profits, if any, are divided amongst the shareholders in proportion to their holding of the "capital." Every holder of £1 in shares is to get one one-hundred-thousandth of the profits.

This capital therefore does *not* represent things. And of course the commercial world instantly recognizes this. Once the mine is started the value for buying and selling bears no relation to the capital. The £1 share may sell at £30 or at 6d. Its market price depends on the actual earnings and the valuation attached to the right to these earnings; it depends, that is, on the things which the company possesses.

The value of these things is not in any way affected by the capitalization of the mine. If its net earnings are £10,000, it will pay ten per cent. on a capital of £100,000 or twenty per cent. on a capital of £50,000 or one hundred per cent. on a capital of £10,000.

Railway Stocks.

It is particularly important for Socialists to realize that the "capital" of such concerns as railways is now nothing else than a means for determining how the profits and control of the company shall be divided. A £100 North Eastern Railway Stock is not so called because the original subscriber paid £100 into the company. The capital of a company was often issued at a discount; that is, £100 of stock was given by the company for £70 or £80 or £90 in cash. On the other hand it is sometimes issued at a premium. The North Eastern Railway some years ago sold to the public a quantity of stock at £150 for each nominal £100 of "North Eastern Consols" issued. It does not mean that that part of the property of the railway is now worth £100. Only by a rare and mere chance is £100 railway stock bought or sold for £100. It may be worth anything from £10 to £200.

The capital of a company can be written down or watered up, just as the owners please, and it makes no direct difference to anybody else.

It is not necessary to discuss here various other sorts of company capital, guaranteed, preference and debenture, and so on. Such stocks represent other claims in addition to shares in the property. But these are details not affecting the main argument, which is that the share capital of a company is altogether a different sort of capital from the capital which is the main theme of this paper.

Consols and Municipal Stocks.

There is another sort of capital of which a few words must be said. What relation, it may be asked, have Consols, or Turkish Bonds, or London County Stock to things? The relation is this. The loan of a State or municipality consists originally of things—currency representing things—lent by private citizens to the State. In exchange they receive a charge on the property of the State, which is, for this purpose, the property of all the citizens. In fact, an owner of private property only holds it subject to any claims of the State against it. This is a truth of which passive resisters, whether Free Churchmen or Tax-refusing Suffragettes, are made acutely conscious. The State, central or local, has a claim on, that is in fact owns, a part of the possessions of each citizen. It demands its rates and its income-tax. If the citizen pays its demand, all is well. If he neglects or refuses to pay, the State promptly seizes his silver spoons or any other property it can lay hands on, and sells them at auction. Consols or London County Council Stock represents those things which private persons hold, subject to the claim of the State. The owner of land has to pay one part of its produce to the local authority and another part as land and income taxes to the revenue; and if, on the average, landlords pay twenty-five per cent. of the value of their land to the State, we may properly say that the State owns a quarter share of the land, and that it has transferred this ownership to the holders of Consols and municipal

loans, who are the real recipients of the income-tax and the rates. It is the case of the plough over again. As A, in reality, had not £100, but a plough valued at £100 in his bank, so the holder of Consols possesses in reality the essence, as it were, of the land and the many other things on which his right is secured, and out of the profits of which his interest is paid.

Interest on Capital.

What is true of capital is equally true of interest and profit on capital. That also consists of the things which capital—machinery—adds to the product of labor. The steam plough in the parable, by enabling the soil to be cultivated more thoroughly, produced more grains of wheat, heavier turnips, a greater growth of clover. The value to the farmer of this extra product, after all extra expenses had been met, was £20. The interest, then, even that ultimately paid through the bank to the depositor, was in essence wheat and turnips and clover. The depositor could draw interest because the plough produced larger crops.

All commercial interest is of this character, and all capital can command interest because some capital can always produce things which without it would not exist at all.

It is a common idea amongst some Socialists that there is something rather wicked in interest. Indeed they often say that interest under Socialism would be forbidden. Sometimes they seem to fancy that interest is the same as repayment of capital, and argue that payment of five per cent. for twenty years should be held to pay off the loan. Again, our Anglican brethren quote with much gusto the strong language which the Fathers of the Church used about a very different matter—*usury*, that is, the taking of interest for the loan, not of capital, but of means of subsistence. The Shylocks of old and the modern money lender are quite proper subjects of denunciation by bishops and judges and other superior persons. But that sort of borrowing and lending of money, the pandering to the vices of the dissolute, or the battening on the necessities of the unfortunate, is a quite different thing from the loan transactions of Lombard Street and the great commercial system of borrowing and lending for the purposes of business.

Interest as the yield of industrial capital is an ultimate fact. The man with the plough can raise more wheat than the man with the spade. The woman with a sewing machine can make more shirts than the woman who sews by hand. So long as more machinery is required, until the world has all the machines that anybody wants, the man or the department with a machine will be more efficient than the man or the department without it; and that efficiency, that larger product, is interest. Interest is no more anti-social than rent, and is practically as eternal. What Socialists properly denounce is the *private ownership* of capital and of the interest it yields, just as they denounce the private ownership of land and of the rent that accrues from it.

Capital isolated from Things.

I have said that capital is things and nothing else than things, and that it cannot be separated from things. That is a proposition, like so many in economics, which you have first to get thoroughly into your head and then to get out again.

It is true that Farmer A's £100 deposit in the bank was entirely dependent on the plough. In fact, it was the plough. Obviously there was nothing else but some orders written on paper.

But, none the less, those orders altogether changed the situation. In fact, A possessed not a claim on that particular plough, but equally on countless other things, all temporarily pledged to the bank. Moreover the transaction had, so to speak, extracted and isolated the capital out of the plough, so that A owned the qualities of the plough which are capital, and B owned and administered all the rest.

The whole secret of the financial system of the present day is this divorce between ownership and administration of capital. The banks are great pawnshops, where one set of people deposit as pledges cargoes of cotton and wool and wheat, lands and houses, ships and factories, the profits of which go in part to those who administer them, in part to the banker for his services and risks, and the rest to the depositors in the bank, who in the last resort have a right to them.

Everywhere this system prevails in name or in fact. Nominally the shareholders in a railway or a great joint stock "industrial" control their company through their elected board of directors. In fact, they do nothing at all but cash their dividend warrants.

In the case of bank deposits, municipal and Government loans, mortgages on land and houses, and many other things, the owner of the capital has no control whatever over the use which is made of it. He finds the money, but he does *not* call the tune. All he can claim is his pound of flesh, his half-yearly interest warrant.

Control divided from Ownership.

The importance of this distinction between the administration of capital and the ownership of capital has not, I think, been adequately recognized.

In the gradual transfer of capital from individual to communal ownership and control, it plays a principal part, because the ownership and the control of capital are transferred at different times and by different methods.

When, as recently happened in London, a waterworks company is taken over by the community, and water stock is given to the shareholders in exchange for their shares, the administration of industrial capital is transferred to the community, but the ownership may fairly be said to remain in private hands. London in 1908 was not only no richer, but even poorer than before the change was made. All the profits of the waterworks were needed to pay the interest on the water stock.

The position is exactly that described in the third year of the parable. London has the use of the water plant as Farmer B had the use of the plough, but London has to pay the real owner, the old shareholders, just as Farmer A still drew his share of the profits of the plough after he had sold it to B.

Transfer in Two Stages.

In practice, the transfer of capital to the community is always taken in two stages. At the first stage the State takes over the administration, as of gasworks, tramways, telephones, waterworks, and so on; and at this stage the State always compensates the dispossessed owner by giving him a charge on the profits of the thing transferred or, what is equivalent, by giving him cash.

In these cases compensation is always given because it accords with the sense of justice of the community to pay it; in other words, both parties to the transaction expect this course and are satisfied to take it. The city or community gets its waterworks and the shareholders get, what in reality is all they cared for before, an annual payment of interest and a saleable "stock," that is, saleable documents giving the right to receive this annual interest and an ultimate right to a lump sum.

We "compensate" then when we take over the administration of capital by dividing it into two parts; the State takes the control of the actual things, and leaves to the original owners their wealth producing qualities, that is, their capital value.

But how about the next stage?

We can give water stock in exchange for the plant of water companies, but when we want to take the water stock, what exchange *can* we give? To buy it is of no avail. The purchase by the State of £100 of stock at the market price does not affect the distribution of property. The private owner formerly possessed one sort of capital and later possessed another sort; but the amount he possesses is not altered. Capital in the form of stocks or Consols or cash is interchangeable because it is sublimated and refined till it may be said to be absolutely pure. It has no specific powers; it involves no duties; it requires no abilities. It is simply and purely the right to levy a tax on the labor of the community. It may be beneficial to that community if it is expended in scientific research or the endowment of education, or in the proper support of the old and the sick. But usually it is the means of livelihood of the idle rich.

This distinction* between ownership and administration of capital is the key to the compensation difficulty. It is found convenient to compensate when the administration of capital is transferred; but when the turn comes for the ownership also to be transferred, it will prove not only inconvenient, but impossible, to compensate, except on some such lines as a "time limit," which is not really compensation, but confiscation with notice.

* It is expressed in French by the contrast between "l'usufruct" and "la nue proprieté."

Analysis of Ownership.

Ownership of capital, therefore, is by no means so simple a matter as is often supposed. It may be classified into four categories :—

The first is complete and undivided ownership. Such was Robinson Crusoe's ownership of his hut and his canoe, and even of his man Friday. No law or State Government controlled his power to do what he liked with his own : no landlord or mortgagee, no debenture holder or shareholder or stockholder had any claim on his wealth.

Outside fiction, the British factory owner a century ago, the Southern States factory owner of to-day, and, in practice, it is said, the American millionaire trust owner, is nearly in that position. These men can or could use their capital to achieve their ends as they think fit, and no power on earth or elsewhere holds them in check.

The second form of ownership is when a capitalist may only do with his own as far as the community thinks fit. The owner of a cotton factory in Lancashire or in Germany is subject to a quite stupendous code of laws, which tell him what he may do and what he may not do with his capital. One set of rules lays down how he shall build his factory; another set provides for the sort of machinery he must put in. The hour of opening and of closing is fixed by law, the place where he must pay his hands, and the form in which he is to pay them. Other laws regulate whom he may employ, and how many hours a week he may work children, young persons, and women. A quite other set of regulations is imposed on him by his employers' association and the trade union.

The second pair of categories which divide ownership of capital on a different plane has already been described. Farmer A at first owned his plough right out. All its profits went into his pocket. Except for the claims of the community for taxes, etc., he was full owner. At a later stage Farmer B also owned the plough, but it was charged with a loan from the bank, and part of the profits ultimately came to Farmer A as before. The possession was, in fact, divided ; A owned, B administered.

The Politics of Capital.

The task of Socialism in relation to capital is therefore threefold.

It has to meet and overthrow the ideal of laissez faire, that of the capitalist who can do what he likes with his own. It clips and curtails his power to harm by Factory Acts, Sanitary Acts, Truck Acts, Minimum Wage Acts, Eight Hour Acts, and every other device that can be discovered for restraining his vicious propensities. It encourages trade unions, which regulate what the law cannot yet touch, and co-operative societies, which oust him from his most profitable preserves.

The next step is to seize on the administration of his property. It takes his gasworks and his waterworks, his trams and his tele-

phones and his railways. It no longer allows him to manage them even under the strictest of regulations, but transfers them to itself and pays him a fixed share of the profits as compensation for his property.

But it must here be noted that the share of the profits of capital, usually called *interest* in the narrower sense, which goes to "pure" capital is a small one. In the plough parable the yield of the plough was put at twenty per cent., and the interest received by A when he deposited his plough at the bank was only three per cent. The return on capital embarked in industry is very various, and the risk of its loss has always to be allowed for. But, as a rule, the trader earns between five per cent. and fifty per cent. on his enterprise; and if he uses capital lent to him, through a bank for example, the ultimate owner of the capital only receives three or four per cent.

The transfer to the community of the administration of industrial capital therefore involves the transfer of the administrator's share of the profits, aud this is a large one. The gas and waterworks of our provincial towns, the electric lighting works and the tramways of London, yield very large profits indeed over and above the interest paid to the private persons who hold the municipal stock.

The transfer of the administration of industrial capital to the community is a comparatively simple process. It is going on around us every day. Parliament when it grants franchises for any local monopoly carefully provides nowadays, as French law has long provided with regard to the railways, that it may take place in due time.

We want to speed up the machinery, of course. We want to take over the railways next year and the mines the year after, and then the cotton factories; and we know that it will not be done at that rate. Still it is quite simple, if we steadily bear in mind that this step in the process is, and must be, separate from the step of transferring the ownership; and there is every possible disadvantage in confusing the two.

The last step is the transfer of ownership of capital from private persons to the State, and this the community has hardly yet begun. It has made some attempt to pay off its national debt, which may be regarded as a mortgage, in the first instance, on its industrial capital, such as the Post Office. Local authorities which borrow in order to purchase gasworks and trams, or to build houses or buy small holdings, are required to save out of their rates or their profits in order to repay the loan, that is, to buy out the real owners. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., has made the useful suggestion that local loans should be arranged for short rather than for long terms of years, because the shorter the term the quicker the public authority is compelled to accumulate capital. But all this is the saving of new capital and not the transfer from private holders of existing capital.

If, however, the State constantly accumulates new capital and private persons gradually cease to do so, the share of the capital of the nation in private ownership will gradually decrease.

Quantity versus Quality of Capital.

But there is another consideration. It is commonly believed that the moral validity of the right of private ownership in capital varies according to the quality or kind of that capital. It is thought, for instance, that the moral right to ungotten minerals or mining royalties is highly disputable, since it is obvious that the owner took no part whatever in creating them. The case against private ownership of uncultivated land is scarcely less strong, and all land values are held by many people to belong properly to the State. But against this contention it is argued that all these rights have been bought and sold freely for generations, and since Consols, state obligations whose validity is generally held to be beyond dispute, can be sold and the proceeds invested in mining royalties, it is unfair to penalize the owner of one class of property at a given moment as compared with the owner of another class. In effect the State has guaranteed all classes of ownership equally, and it must not turn round and declare its sanction in one case less valid than in another.

On the other hand, we may have regard to the quantity of property in individual ownership. It has always been held that the rich should contribute more to the State than the poor. Excessive wealth is universally regarded as a public danger. By common consent the objectionable feature of modern civilization, as of that of ancient Rome, is the possession of great wealth by a few, with the accompanying poverty of the masses.

In this connection the kind or quality of the wealth is irrelevant. If some regard the great landlord with special disapproval, others concentrate their hostility on the Stock Exchange financier, and a third set reserve their censure for the trust magnate. This much, therefore, seems clear, that in the measures taken to transfer capital from private to public ownership, regard must be had in the main, not to the quality, but to the quantity, of the property owned by each person. We shall deal with the rich owner as opposed to the poor owner, and not with mining royalties or land values as opposed to steel trust stocks or steamship shares.

Capitalists as Bondholders.

There is another reason for this. We have already explained that whenever the community takes over any particular things—gasworks, tramways, railways—it compensates by giving stocks or borrowing the necessary money on stocks, and thus reduces ownership to a common denominator of annuities payable by the State. As this process goes on, the private owner of capital will become more and more a receiver of a fixed income from the State. The privately owned capital of the future will be gradually reduced to its simplest terms, the payment to individuals by the State of the income, or a part of it, from the property they or their predecessors formerly held, which has been taken over in exchange for water stock, or gas stock, or Consols.

All we shall then be able to consider is the quantity of State obligations held by an individual. Any differentiation between one

class of State guaranteed stock and another, any historical enquiry whether it was given in exchange for mining royalties or for inventions and patent rights, will be impossible.

Capital in Consols.

Consols are properly called Two and a half per cent. Annuities. In reality each £100 consists of the right to receive £2 10s. per annum, with the right *to the State* to redeem that payment by a lump sum of £100. Some stocks give rights to the holders to claim repayment after a term of years, but this right only has value when the market price of the security is below par. When it is above par, the right is useless; and if the company or corporation has the reciprocal right to pay off at par, it becomes a disadvantage. Moreover, public authorities nearly always extinguish their obligations by purchase, if the price is below par. We may therefore disregard the nominal capital amount of State obligations. Their only important feature is the annual payments. The nationalization of the ownership of capital will therefore gradually take the form of the extinction of annual payments made by the State to individuals, and it is easy to see that this will take place in two ways.

Income Tax and Death Duties.

Any deduction made by the State from these annuities is pro tanto an extinguishment of them. A two shilling income tax is a reduction of the State debt by ten per cent. Already the State has begun to differentiate against unearned incomes, and this process will no doubt continue.

The idle rich, the recipients of income which comes to them by inheritance or gift, pensioners of the community on account of ancestral rights to capital acquired under an ancient and abandoned system, will be regarded by our enlightened successors as obvious subjects for the heaviest taxation.

Secondly, there are the death duties. Already the State takes no inconsiderable share of property left at death. The time is not far distant when the right of inheritance will be still more narrowly limited. Before long the principle of the death duty and the super tax will be largely extended.

One millionaire has already enunciated the doctrine that no man should die rich. A simple deduction from this is that no man should live rich, and the habit of regarding millionaires as social pests is rapidly growing. Legislation deliberately directed to penalizing the wealthy in the interests of the community already commends itself to the community. The "vindictive" Budget of 1909 appears to be a popular measure.

Moreover, the right of inheritance and bequest should be closely limited. At present the State only puts in a claim when it has exhausted every effort to discover the remotest cousin of a dead property owner who has been too lazy to dispose of his own fortune. The press and the lady's maid novelists would no doubt deplore a world state in which rich uncles dying in Australia or remote

cousins slain in railway accidents were no longer possible rescuers of the poor but well-born hero, eager to wed the lovely daughter of the haughty earl. But such Ollendorfian occurrences will not be wanted to add zest to a world busy with the thrilling task of social reconstruction on a large scale. The State might well enact in a future not excessively remote that it should be the sole heir of all who die without children.

A third method, already adopted in the case of Indian railways, is to give terminable, or perhaps life, annuities in place of the perpetual annuities which we usually call stock or bonds.

Summary.

The argument is now concluded. It has been shown that the capital which we have to nationalize is exclusively tangible things, but that our financial system, the great structure of credit which economists describe with reverent wonder, consists of isolating the value of these things, so that the ownership can be separated from the control.

We have next seen that the State nationalizes capital in two stages. It first takes over the administration and control, and compensates the private owners by leaving to them the value of the capital in the new form of annual payments of interest. The second step is to transfer the ownership itself. In this distinction we have found the explanation of the confusion on the subject of compensation in the minds of Socialists, who maintain that compensation is both unjust and impossible, although they acquiesce in and sometimes advocate it in any particular instance of the taking over of the administration of actual things.

Compensation, we have shown, is both possible and proper when the State takes over the administration of capital. It is impossible when the ownership (in the sense just explained) is taken over, and therefore it is unnecessary to consider whether it is just or politic.

Finally, we have discussed the methods by which the ownership of capital will be transferred to the State, and have taken the view that no distinction can be drawn between various classes, or kinds, or sorts, or qualities of capital. All we should do is to differentiate between owners of much and owners of little; in other words, between the relatively rich and the relatively poor.

With the wide expansion of social reconstruction which must accompany this transfer of capital to the State we have here no concern. Nor is there space to deal with the new organization of industry which must follow it.

The purpose of this paper has been to indicate the nature of the capital which Socialists desire to socialize and the methods by which it is being and will be emancipated from private ownership and control and transferred to the community for the use and benefit of the whole people.

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WHAT A HEALTH COMMITTEE CAN DO.

"With all deductions the triumphs of sanitary reform, as well as of medical science, are perhaps the brightest page in the history of our century."—W. H. LECKY.

MEMBERSHIP of a Health Committee opens up opportunities for social work of the highest importance. The duty of a Health Committee is a very extensive one. It is to confer on the inhabitants of their borough or district the benefits of Preventive Medicine, the purpose of which, in the words of Sir George Newman, the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health, is "to prevent such disease as is preventable, to lengthen man's life and to make it happier and more effective." Public health administration in the past has done wonderful things in the way of preventing disease and prolonging life. Typhus fever and relapsing fever, which were formerly scourges of the poor, have been swept out of the country; the mortality from typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and tuberculosis has been greatly diminished, and the general death-rate has fallen from 21.8 in 1848 to 12.3 in 1927.

Amongst the many influences which have been at work to bring about these results public health administration has certainly been the most important. But although much has already been accomplished, much remains to be done. The returns from Approved Societies under the National Insurance Acts show that, on an average, insured workers alone lose *fourteen million* weeks work every year through sickness, much of which is preventable. The object of this tract is to show in what directions further progress can and ought to be made.*

A Whole-time Officer of Health.

The Medical Officer of Health is the chief of the Public Health Department, and much depends on what sort of man he is and how he is supported by the Health Committee. It is most important that he should devote the whole of his time to public health work. All areas should have a whole-time Medical Officer of Health (and one or more Assistant Medical Officers) if they have a population of not less than 50,000, and industrial areas of smaller size also require a full-time officer in many cases. Where the local

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*This tract applies more particularly to England and Wales, outside the County of London. In London the Public Health powers are divided between the L.C.C., the Metropolitan Borough Councils, and the Metropolitan Asylums Board.

population is much smaller, neighbouring local authorities should share a full-time Medical Officer. Combined appointments can be made under the Public Health Act, an arrangement which can be carried out with slight modifications in both town and country areas. The most important object to work for is the elimination of the part-time Medical Officer engaged in private practice.* Private practice greatly interferes with his public duties. If he is a capable, energetic and popular man—and a Medical Officer of Health should be all this—he will gain a large private practice and can find little time for his public health duties. The comparatively small salary he receives for part-time work will tend to be regarded as a mere retaining fee, and his work will degenerate to the perfunctory signing of statistical tables prepared by his staff. Moreover, it cannot reasonably be expected that a Medical Officer of Health should expose the insanitary cottages or slum dwellings owned by his own clients. It is essential that every Medical Officer of Health should be specially qualified for his work, and therefore no applicant should be considered who does not possess the Diploma of Public Health (D.P.H.) Moreover, in districts with a population exceeding 50,000, the D.P.H., or similar diploma, is a statutory qualification under the Local Government Act, 1888; and unless a candidate possesses it, the Ministry of Health cannot approve the appointment, and in consequence no grant towards his salary will be paid by the County Council.†

The Health Committee should see that only

Whole-time Sanitary Inspectors

are appointed. Under the Public Health Act, 1925, every Public Health Authority must appoint "a sanitary inspector," who, if not previously in the service, must hold the certificate of the Sanitary Inspectors' Joint Examination. The appointment must be approved by the Minister of Health and cannot be terminated without his sanction. If this step is followed by a substantial increase in the number of *full-time* fully-qualified sanitary inspectors, it should result in a higher standard of housing and public health everywhere. Unfortunately, the low rateable value of most Rural Districts (to be still further reduced under the new Local Government Bill) combined with apathy or opposition to Public Health measures, has resulted, in both Rural and Urban Districts, in the appointment of one officer in a number of different capacities. For instance, in the Borough of Wednesbury with a population of 30,390, and some of the worst housing conditions in England, the office of Sanitary and Housing inspector is, or

*See the Co-Ordination of the Public Health Services. By JAMES PEARSE, C.B.E., M.D., Special Report Series, No. 45, Ministry of Health.

†The Sanitary Officers Order, 1922, lays down certain additional requirements both for Medical Officers and Sanitary Inspectors.

was, combined with five or six other offices, including that of Inspector of Wart Disease on Potatoes. In rural districts the Sanitary Inspector is almost invariably Road Surveyor, and frequently Building Surveyor as well. Rural Councillors being more concerned to improve the condition of roads than of cottages the result is that perhaps the equivalent of one day a week may be spent in housing and sanitary work, the remainder being given to the roads.

How Many Sanitary Inspectors are Wanted?

Although the 1925 Act only makes compulsory the appointment of **one** Sanitary Inspector by each Local Authority, the number actually needed depends upon the population, area, and social circumstances of the district. An industrial district covering a wide area will need more inspectors (among whom there should always be at least one woman) than a residential district of the same population with a smaller area. Furthermore, county boroughs administer the Food and Drugs Acts, which in most of the smaller boroughs and in all urban and rural districts are under the charge of the County Council. As a general rule, a district should appoint not less than one sanitary inspector to every 10,000 population. The most progressive towns already exceed this scale.

Women Sanitary Inspectors.

are particularly needed in districts where female labour is employed. The women inspectors should ascertain whether proper and sufficient sanitary conveniences are provided for women in factories, workshops and work-places, and they should supervise the general sanitation of workshops and work-places where female labour is employed, including restaurant kitchens and the homes of outworkers. Women inspectors can do good work in house-to-house inspection and in the supervision of tenement houses. They can also do very useful work in making enquiries in cases of infectious disease, investigating cases of overcrowding and other insanitary conditions. In some districts, women inspectors are responsible for the inspection and supervision of the new Council houses, furnishing periodical reports on the subject to the Medical Officer of Health. Where no woman house property manager has been appointed, this produces good results. The inspection of sanitary conveniences in girls' and infants' schools is also properly the work of a woman sanitary inspector. Where no woman inspector is appointed, there is a real danger that some or all of these duties may not be performed at all.

Nurses.

Whilst cases of infectious disease are better treated at the Council's hospital than at the patient's home, if removal is not

possible, owing to lack of accommodation or the health of the patient, the Council may provide a nursing service (Public Health Act, 1907, Sec. 67).

At Brighton the Town Council has started municipal home nursing. A trained nurse is employed, who attends at home on such cases as puerperal fever or erysipelas, when removal to hospital is not considered desirable. Nurses to visit the sick poor in their homes are also provided by the Health Committee of the Worcestershire County Council, and this example might well be imitated elsewhere. The Barry Urban District Council also sends out its hospital nurses into the homes.

Having briefly described the chief officers of a health department, we may now proceed to indicate some of the more important features of its work.

Now the bulk of a Health Committee's work may be summed up by saying that it strives to secure

Systematic Cleanliness.

"Cleanliness," said Sir B. W. Richardson, "covers the whole field of sanitary labour. It is the beginning and the end." This rather overstates the case; but at all events we may agree with Sir John Simon, who said that "Uncleanness must be reckoned as the deadliest of our present removable causes of disease." We want cleanliness in many places, and in the first place we want

Cleanliness in the Atmosphere.

In most of our manufacturing districts the atmosphere is anything but clean.* Professor Cohen, of the Leeds University, has calculated that within the four most thickly populated square miles of Leeds twenty tons of soot are discharged daily into the air. It is an offence against the Public Health Act, 1875, Sec. 91, to allow any chimney (not being the chimney of a private dwelling house) to send forth black smoke in such quantity as to be a nuisance; and the same section provides that any fireplace or furnace used in any trade process must, as far as practicable, consume its own smoke. The law has recently been strengthened by the passing of the Public Health (Smoke Abatement) Act of 1926. This Act extends Section 91 of the Public Health Act to cover the emission of white as well as black smoke, and soot, ash, grit, and gritty particles as well as smoke. Under Section 2 of the Act a local authority may make bye-laws regulating the emission of smoke of such colour, density and content as may be prescribed in

*See "The Smokeless City," by E. D. Simon and M. Fitzgerald (Longman). "The Destruction of Daylight," by J. W. Graham. See also the Report of the Smoke Abatement and Noxious Vapours Departmental Committee for further information and suggestions.

the bye-laws. In Circular 759 the Ministry of Health suggests that bye-laws of this nature should be made in every industrial district, and that Regional Committees should be set up in every area where there is a smoke problem common to a number of local authorities. The Act does not apply to domestic smoke which is responsible for 25 per cent. of the smoke evil, and its effectiveness with regard to industrial smoke will depend on the way in which it is administered. The Departmental Committee on Smoke Abatement of 1921 reported that "*the prevalence of smoke pollution in this country is mainly due to the indiscriminate and wasteful use of coal for all purposes . . . and to the lax administration of the law by the responsible authorities.* Smoke not only has a pernicious effect on health, but it corrodes buildings, destroys vegetation, and causes the housewife immense labour by the amount of washing which has to be done. It is estimated that the smoke nuisance in greater London alone costs £8,400,000 a year, apart from its effect on health, or 24s. per head of the population. Local authorities should certainly do all in their power to prevent smoke pollution, and no Health Committee is doing its work properly if it fails to deal with this problem.

Cleanliness in the Street.

Dirt in the street soon finds its way into the house. A good deal of the dust in a city dweller's house consists of dried horse dung blown in from the street. Street cleanliness is a matter partly of paving and partly of scavenging, both of which are under the control of the Highways Committee, but the Health Committee, being responsible for the health of the district, should take note of them and should offer to the Highways Committee any suggestions that seem called for in the interest of the public. It must be remembered that the side streets of our large towns serve as playgrounds for the children, and for their sake we should make them as healthy as possible. A town street should be paved with impervious material which does not, as macadam does, soak up filth. With a smooth, impervious pavement the street is washed clean by every shower, and scavenging becomes much simpler and more effective; for on a smooth, impervious surface the hose and the squeegee can be used with excellent effect, as is done in parts of London and in many Continental cities. The narrow passages leading to the back entrances of groups of houses are often the neglected dumping-grounds of noxious rubbish and filth. Another important feature of civic cleanliness is a frequent

Removal of Refuse.

In many districts garbage and house refuse are only taken away once a week. This is not often enough. Some towns have

adopted a daily removal, but a removal on alternate days is recommended by many sanitary experts. All fixed ashpits should be abolished and only movable metal receptacles fitted with lids should be used. The Council may make bye-laws as to refuse collection under Section 157 of the Public Health Act of 1875, and Section 23 of the Public Health Act, 1907. If the receptacles are worn out or damaged the Committee should compel the owner to provide new ones, and if he fails to comply they should do this themselves and recover the cost from him. During recent years great developments have taken place in the way of providing new and improved methods of refuse collection and disposal, but this country still has a great deal to learn from some of the German towns. There is still a tremendous diversity in the methods adopted, but, generally speaking, the mechanically propelled vehicle has superseded the horse-drawn cart. As far as methods of " Disposal " are concerned, some authorities merely " dump " the refuse at some distant spot, a practise which is in every way objectionable; others make use of a refuse destructor; and others still, have adopted what is known as " disposal by salvage " or " disposal by trenching." The former of these two methods is proving increasingly successful and even profitable, while the latter, if carried out under the instructions of the Ministry of Health, is preferable to the dumping method. A very useful report* on the whole matter has been issued by the Ministry of Health to which reference should be made for a fuller explanation of the various methods than can be given here. The frequent

Removal of Manure

from stables, mews and other premises should be insisted upon. Manure heaps are good breeding-grounds for flies, which are now known to be inimical to health. Flies convey the germs of disease from the filth in which they live to human food, especially milk, and in order to keep down the plague of flies, accumulations of manure and other filth should be prevented. Under Section 50 of the Public Health Act, 1875, an urban sanitary authority can require the daily removal of manure or other refuse matter from mews, stables, or other premises, and this should be done, particularly in the summer.

Backyard Cleanliness.

If the backyard is not clean the house will not be clean, for filth from the yard soon finds its way into the house. It will be brought in as mud in wet weather and blown in as dust in dry weather. Yard cleanliness, like street cleanliness, is greatly promoted by impervious paving. The surface of a back-

*The Collection and Disposal of Refuse and Street Cleaning by Local Authorities in England and Wales, 1925. H.M.S.O. Price 4d.

yard tends to become polluted with all kinds of filth; the excrement of domestic animals, droppings from the dust-bin, scraps of putrefying food, etc.; and there is reason to think that the contamination of milk and other food with foul dust from a polluted backyard is one of the causes of summer diarrhœa. Backyards should be paved with a smooth, impervious surface properly sloped to a gulley. This can be enforced under Sec. 25 of the Public Health Act, 1907. Such a yard will be effectually cleansed by every shower of rain.

Having secured cleanliness outside we must see that there is cleanliness inside, and for this purpose the Health Committee must institute a

House-to-House Inspection.

This work has been definitely placed upon local authorities. Section 92 of the Public Health Act, 1875, requires the Council to make an inspection of their district from time to time, in order to enforce the Act, and the Housing Act of 1925 makes it the duty of every local authority to undertake a periodic inspection of their district with a view to ascertaining whether any houses are in such a condition as to be unfit for human habitation, and the same Act lays down the procedure to be followed by the authority on the presentation of an unfavourable report as to housing conditions.

In every district there should be a systematic inspection covering the whole of the district at least once in five years. Every year each of the inspectors engaged in this work should have a number of streets allotted to him, and he should go from house to house with a keen nose for insanitary conditions. This inspection should by no means be confined to the poorer quarters of the district. Bad sanitation exists in good-class houses. Overcrowding may occur in servants' bedrooms, and bad smells and rats from defective drains, although they may be unnoticed by the family upstairs, may be a source of considerable discomfort and danger to the servants in their underground kitchens.

The caretakers' quarters in a commodious and imposing block of flats may be grossly insanitary. In Hampstead a systematic inspection of flats revealed the fact that in many cases the caretaker was housed in illegally-occupied underground rooms.* Some classes of houses require more frequent inspection than once in five years. This applies particularly to

Tenement Houses.

Many of these need constant supervision by the sanitary in-

*Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Hampstead, 1908.

spector to keep them in a decent sanitary condition, especially those originally built for one family only and occupied by several owing to the deterioration of the neighbourhood. Most of the London poor have to live in such houses, and it is only in a few exceptional cases that any structural alterations have been made to adapt the house for occupation by more than one family. The result is that the tenements lack many domestic conveniences and cannot be called homes. For instance, in many of these houses the only water supply for all the occupiers is a tap in the basement. When water is so hard to obtain it is idle to expect people to be clean.

The Council may now, under Section 6 of the Housing Act, 1925, make bye-laws with regard to tenement houses, fixing the number of occupiers, enforcing proper drainage and ventilation, closet accommodation, water supply, accommodation for storage and cooking of food and washing, and the proper lighting of staircases, etc. If the owner refuses to carry out any work which is necessary to the premises, the Council may do so and recover the cost from him. In London the bye-laws are made by the L.C.C.

The Health Committee should keep the local authority up to its duty in making and enforcing these bye-laws, and if this duty is neglected, complaint should be made to the Ministry of Health, who may then make any bye-laws they consider necessary.

Another type of house that needs special supervision is the

Common Lodging House.

The condition of these houses has greatly improved in recent years with the increasing efficiency of public health administration. The shifting population of a common lodging house has innumerable opportunities for spreading disease and vermin, and therefore requires careful supervision. A high standard of cleanliness should be maintained in these places; the beds should be kept free from vermin; and spitting on the floor should be sternly repressed. In the ordering of common lodging houses, the sanitary authority will find that by providing a well-managed municipal common lodging house they will achieve more than can be done by any amount of inspection to raise the standard of the other common lodging houses in the district.

Under Part VII., Sec. 58 of the Public Health Act of 1925, a J.P. may grant a warrant to a Medical Officer empowering him to enter a common lodging house and examine any person who is believed to be suffering from any dangerous infectious disease; and under Sec. 59, if the Court considers this necessary, the house may be closed for a time until it is free from infection. (The expression " dangerous infectious disease " means any infectious disease named in the Infectious Disease (Notification) Act of 1887.)

Cellar Dwellings.

Cellar dwellings (that is, underground rooms occupied separately as dwellings) are subject to special sanitary requirements—for instance, the Housing Act, 1909, prohibits the use of an underground room as a sleeping place—and it is the business of the Health Committee to see that these requirements are fulfilled.

The Protection of the Food Supply.

This is a vitally important part of a Health Committee's work. All places where food is prepared and sold, such as slaughter houses, butchers' shops, bakehouses, milk shops, restaurant kitchens and sausage factories, should be brought under frequent and systematic supervision. A vast amount of illness is due to unwholesome food. One at least of the sanitary inspectors should hold a special certificate of proficiency in meat inspection, and he should be on duty every Saturday night in the poorer parts of the district. Meat inspection is greatly helped by the establishment of a

Municipal Slaughter House,

which butchers should be encouraged to use. Private slaughter houses are objectionable on several grounds. Adequate inspection is extremely difficult, and the public has no proper security that the work is carried out either with humanity towards the animals or with the sanitary safeguards necessary for the consumers' health. The Ministry of Health has issued a Series of Model Bye-laws for adoption by local authorities, Clause 9b of which relates to the compulsory use of some form of Humane Killer for the slaughter of animals. Up to December 31st, 1927, 214 local authorities in England and Wales had adopted the model bye-laws. The proximity of private dwelling houses to private slaughter-houses is exceedingly bad both from a sanitary and a moral point of view for the dwellers in these courts. Cheltenham, Glasgow, South Shields, Liverpool, Manchester, Dundee, Lincoln, Edinburgh, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, and very many other local authorities have public abattoirs. If all animals used for food were killed in municipal slaughter houses by humane methods and under proper inspection a good deal of disease would be prevented. In this respect England is far behind Germany and other countries. More important than meat, however, is the question of the

Milk Supply.

Milk is a most valuable food, but it is easily contaminated, and when contaminated may be a deadly poison. Adulteration with water or chemicals may be dealt with under the Sale of Food and

Drugs Acts, but filth and germs are much more serious, and the law at present is inadequate to deal with them. But even under the present law a good deal can be done to enforce decent sanitation in cowsheds, dairies and milk shops, and the Health Committee should see that these places are frequently inspected. All the milch cows in the district should be frequently inspected and reported upon by the Council's veterinary inspector.

Towns are at a disadvantage in this matter, for nearly all the milk consumed in the towns is produced in the country. Rural sanitary authorities, if they did their work properly, could effect considerable improvements in our milk supply. Every member of a Health Committee should procure a copy of the regulations that apply to cowsheds, dairies and milk shops, and should see that these regulations, instead of remaining a dead letter, as is too often the case, are properly enforced.

In 1914 the need for the regulation of the nation's milk supply became so urgent that Parliament passed the Milk and Dairies (Consolidation) Act, 1915, under which County and County Borough Councils were charged with the systematic inspection of dairy farms and dairy cattle. This Act was postponed again and again, the last occasion being on the passing of the Milk and Dairies (Amendment) Act, 1922. This Statute lays down a less stringent code for dealing with infected milk, introduces a system of licenses for certificated milk, and prohibits the sale of tuberculous milk.

The Prevention of Adulteration.

Every local authority charged with the administration of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1928, should take a sufficient number of samples for analysis under the Acts. The number that ought to be taken will vary in different districts, but it should not as a rule fall below 10 samples per 1,000 population per year.

This work should be done by special inspectors, who should use their wits to frustrate the numerous dodges devised by dishonest traders to evade the Acts. The inspectors soon become well known, and it is useless for them to purchase samples personally. They must work through agents and must change the agents frequently. Another precaution is necessary. Fraudulent traders always keep the genuine article and are careful to supply it to strangers who may possibly be inspectors' agents. The adulterated article is reserved for regular customers, and in dealing with this class of trader it is necessary for the agent to become a regular customer by making a number of purchases before the official sample is taken.

The analyses made under the Food and Drugs Acts are chemical analyses, and although they afford valuable information of the kind of food that is consumed in the district it is necessary also

in the case of certain articles of food and drink to make a periodical

Bacteriological Analysis.

The water supply, milk supply, and certain foods should be analysed for the presence of germs—either the germs of disease or germs that indicate pollution with sewage or other noxious matter. For instance, samples of milk should be examined for the presence of tubercle bacilli. The Health Committee ought to know what proportion of milk consumed in their district contains the germs of tuberculosis.

The sanitary authority should arrange with a bacteriological laboratory of repute for the examination of samples, or else establish a municipal laboratory.

Bacteriological examination is most useful also in the

Prevention of Infectious Disease.

In the control of these diseases it is essential to arrive at an early diagnosis, so that the patient may be properly isolated and disinfection carried out. In certain diseases—for instance, diphtheria and typhoid fever—the bacteriological examination of a specimen taken from the patient may result in an early diagnosis which otherwise would be delayed. The cost of such examinations, which are made chiefly in the interest of the public, should be borne by the public, and every sanitary authority should encourage the doctors in the district to send specimens for examination free of cost.

Maintenance of the Public Health.

But the duty of the Health Committee is not only to prevent the occurrence of disease: it is also to see to all the disease that does occur, in order to ensure that the necessary steps may be taken to prevent its recurrence in the same or any other person. For this purpose the Health Committee has very large powers; indeed, under Section 133 of the Public Health Act, Health Committees may take almost any action that they think necessary in an emergency to save life or prevent disease. Thus, they may (as many Health Committees have done) supply any medicines or drugs free of charge to patients or medical practitioners, and even (as some Health Committees have occasionally done) pay medical practitioners to administer them; they may (as some Health Committees do) treat scarlet fever or puerperal fever, or, indeed, any other infectious disease, in the patient's own home, instead of removing the case to their hospital; they may start a whole system of domiciliary nursing; they may even, as part of the treatment, pay what is necessary for the maintenance of the sick patient, in his own home; they may pay for the maintenance

of "contacts," or those who are prevented from going to work because they have come in contact with infectious persons.

Hospitals.

The town or urban district council has power, under the Public Health Act, 1875, to establish and maintain public hospitals for all diseases whatsoever, and also for maternity cases. It is quite a mistake, though a common one, to suppose that this power is limited to isolation hospitals for infectious diseases. Very few Health Committees have yet used these powers, but the Barry Urban District Council and the Widnes Town Council have set up municipal hospitals for accidents and non-infectious cases. Why not get your council to do the same? The sanitary authority should at least provide hospital accommodation for the isolation of patients suffering from small pox, diphtheria, typhoid fever, and scarlet fever, and, wherever possible, for measles. In the latter disease, however, the hospital is wanted not so much to prevent the spread of infection, but to reduce the mortality from it. Children die of measles because they cannot in their own poor homes get the warmth, good food, and good nursing they need. Deaths are chiefly due to complications that could be prevented if the patients were properly looked after, which in many poor homes is impossible. Unhappily, few districts provide as yet hospital accommodation for measles. The Liverpool Municipal Hospital now takes in cases of measles and whooping cough, and the same is said to be the case in Edinburgh. In London, the Metropolitan Asylums Board was enabled, by an Order of the Local Government Board in 1911, to receive patients suffering from measles into their hospitals under certain conditions.* At present admission is restricted to very severe cases and to children of the poorest classes. In certain large urban centres some hospital provision for necessitous cases has been made, but is generally inadequate for the needs of the population. Hospitals, free from the stigma of pauperism, for measles patients who cannot be properly cared for in their own homes, are much needed, and a Health Committee can do very good work in persuading the local authority to provide them.

The Prevention of Tuberculosis.

This is one of the most pressing public health problems of the present time. Since local health administration seriously attempted to battle with this disease, it has continued to fall in notifications and deaths certified, but it is still the most fatal of all notifiable diseases, and in 1927 was responsible for 79 per 1,000 of the

Cf. Ministry of Health Circular No. 35 on Measles and German Measles. In 1920 the Metropolitan Asylums Board admitted 526 measles cases.

total deaths in England and Wales. Tuberculosis is due to the successful invasion of the body by a germ, the tubercle bacillus. It is communicable from man to man, and by means of meat, and especially milk, from animals to man. In its onslaught the tubercle bacillus is greatly helped if the person attacked lives among insanitary surroundings, is underfed, overworked, or alcoholic. Anything that tends to remove these conditions is working for the prevention of tuberculosis, but we want also more direct preventive measures aimed at the destruction of the bacillus itself. The chief source of infection is the expectoration of a consumptive patient, which contains millions of bacilli. These remain in the dust on floors and elsewhere, and are blown about by the wind. An effective way of attacking tuberculosis is to prevent indiscriminate spitting. The sanitary authority should distribute leaflets and printed notices on the dangers of spitting elsewhere than in a proper receptacle, and a bye-law against spitting in public places should be adopted. It is specially important that consumptive patients should be instructed as to the proper disposal of their expectoration. The early diagnosis of consumption is important, not only because it enables preventive measures to be taken at the beginning of the disease, but also because the patient's chances of recovery depend chiefly upon the early adoption of proper treatment. Tuberculosis is now compulsorily notifiable, and, under the Tuberculosis Act, 1921, the councils of all counties and county boroughs are required to make provision for its treatment. The Health Committee of such a council should offer free bacteriological examination of sputum, and should establish a

Tuberculosis Dispensary.

The work of these dispensaries is to detect early cases of consumption, to treat in their own homes patients who cannot go to a sanatorium and who are unable to pay for medical treatment, to help the patients to live healthy lives as far as possible, and to instruct them so that they may not be a danger to others. The dispensary doctor supervises the home treatment and enquires as to the health of the other members of the family, with a view to detecting cases of the disease while they are still in the early and curable stage.

The dispensary supplies cod-liver oil and other medical necessaries, and attached to it there is usually a body of philanthropic workers, who obtain suitable employment for the patient, give financial assistance when required to the family, and afford help in various other ways. A tuberculosis dispensary should form part of the health department in every large urban area. Wherever possible, the Health Committee should also have its own hospital for consumptive patients, as the Brighton Health Committee has,

where the patient can go for a month or two, and be taught how to live.

Another necessary institution is the

Phthisis Sanatorium.

Sanatoria are needed for two classes. First, there are the patients in an advanced stage of the disease, for whom cure is hopeless. These patients are the most dangerous sources of infection, for they not only bring us a large quantity of sputum, but they are too weak to observe the strict cleanliness that a consumptive must maintain if he is not to be a source of grave danger to his family. The poor among these patients frequently die in Poor Law institutions, in many of which the consumptives are nursed in the general wards. Sanatoria where these unfortunate people may end their days free from the stigma of pauperism are much needed.

Sanatoria are needed also for patients in the earlier stages of consumption. Sir A. Newsholme thus sums up their advantages:*

1. In early and suitable cases a cure may be expected.
2. Short of a cure, in a large number of cases, arrest of disease occurs, the patient is able to resume his work at least to a modified extent, and his working life is much prolonged.
3. While the patient is in the sanatorium his home is disinfected, his relatives are free from recurring infection, and have time to recover their full measure of resistance to infection.
4. On his return home and to his work the patient is much less likely than before, even though he continues to have sputum containing tubercle bacilli, to be a source of infection to others.

In some towns, for instance Brighton and Leicester, it has been found possible to devote one or more blocks of the isolation hospital to sanatorium treatment of consumption, and with great success. In other districts, including the county of Middlesex, the buildings provided to meet any large outbreak of smallpox are used in the meantime as a phthisis sanatorium. Patients in these institutions are taught the precautionary measures needed to prevent infection and the personal régime suitable to their illness; while at the same time their families have had a temporary holiday from sick-nursing, the house has been disinfected, and the patient has returned with a knowledge of the way to avoid re-infecting it. After-care of a discharged phthisical patient is vital if he is not to return again to the sanatorium, and the Tuberculosis

*Newsholme, " The Prevention of Tuberculosis," p. 382 (abbreviated).

Act, 1921, gives the council of every county and county borough the power to make the arrangements they consider necessary in this matter.

The Cleansing of Verminous Persons.

There is one communicable disease that calls for special mention, and that is *pediculosis* or lousiness. This is a horrible condition that ought not to be tolerated in a civilised community. The Children Act, 1908, gives the local education authority power to enforce the cleansing of school children. Part IV. of the Public Health Act of 1925 is entirely concerned with this matter. This part of the Act may be adopted by Resolution of the Council. Section 45 enables the local authority, on a certificate from the M.O.H. or Sanitary Inspector, to cause any verminous articles in any house used for human habitation to be cleansed, disinfected, or destroyed at the expense of the authority. Section 46 deals with verminous houses and is very important. If any premises used for human habitation (tents, vans or boats are included in the meaning of the word "premises") are certified as verminous, the authority may by notice require the person responsible (either the owner or the occupier) to remove the wall paper or other covering of the walls and to take all steps for destroying the vermin. Section 49 gives a local authority power to provide cleansing stations, apparatus and so on, and two or more local authorities are authorised to combine for this purpose. These powers are in addition to any powers which the authority possesses as a local education authority with regard to children under the Children Act of 1908.

Rats and Mice.

Rats and mice—especially rats—afflict humanity by carrying disease and consuming many thousands of pounds' worth of foodstuffs annually. The Health Committee of a county council, or of a county or metropolitan borough, can enforce the provisions of the Rats and Mice Destruction Act, 1919, and compel the occupiers of infested premises to get rid of the pests; whilst the Health Committees of other boroughs and districts can perform useful service by seeing that in their areas the superior authorities do not neglect these duties.

Infant and Maternal Mortality.

The prevention of infant and maternal mortality is obviously a matter of supreme importance, and the Council should in this connection make the fullest possible use of its powers under the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918. This Act enables local authorities to make such arrangements as may be sanctioned by the Ministry of Health for attending to the health of expectant and nursing mothers, and of children up to five years of age. A

local authority may make arrangements for hospital treatment of children under five years of age, for lying-in homes, for the provision of home helps, for crèches, for day nurseries, and maternity convalescent homes; and may provide food for expectant and nursing mothers, and for children under five. Ante-natal clinics should be established where medical advice can be obtained by the expectant mother, and child welfare clinics where mothers may attend with their babies afterwards for health advice and for treatment. Every member of a Health Committee should take pains to see what is being done in this respect in his area and should compare the infant and maternal death rates there with the rates elsewhere. Although the infant mortality rate has steadily diminished from 138 per 1,000 births in 1901 to 70 per 1,000 births in 1927 the maternal death rate during the same period has not decreased, and it is in this direction that more care and attention on the part of the local authority is needed. There are 48 County Councils, but in the ten years since the passing of the Act, only 32 of them have so far established ante-natal clinics.

Venereal Disease.

In July, 1916, when the war had made it impossible to ignore the existence of diseases of this kind any longer, the Local Government Board, as it then was, issued the Public Health (Venereal Diseases) Regulations which for the first time empowered County and County Borough Councils to make arrangements for the detection and treatment of cases of the disease within their area and to undertake research work in connection with these diseases. Under the Regulations, treatment is provided free of charge for all persons attending the centres irrespective of their income. Attendance is voluntary, and under the law as it is at present, no pressure may be brought to bear on any person to continue treatment. Joint schemes may be set up under the order for adjoining authorities, and centres may be set up at Hospitals serving a large area. At many of the centres appropriate medicines are distributed to private practitioners, and reports given on material submitted from suspected patients of such practitioners. The Ministry has up to the present made a grant of 75 per cent. towards the cost of this service, but under the Local Government Bill it is proposed to substitute a block grant for this percentage grant. At the end of 1927 there were 177 approved centres for the treatment of Venereal Diseases, and a total number of 75,913 new cases were reported during the same year. The highly infectious nature of Venereal Diseases, and their evil effects on the general health and efficiency of the population and on the infant and maternal death rates are such that no Health Committee can afford to neglect this aspect of its work.

USEFUL BOOKS on the subject which every Public Library should have, and which the Library Committee would probably procure on a Councillor's application.

Memorandum on the Duties of Medical Officers of Health (1925). Stationery Office. 2d.

Sanitary Laws and Practice. ROBERTSON and PORTER. The Sanitary Publishing Company. 10s. 6d.

The Health of the State. G. NEWMAN, Headley Brothers. 1s.

The Prevention of Tuberculosis. ARTHUR NEWSHOLME. Methuen. 7s. 6d.

Infant Mortality. G. NEWMAN. Methuen. 7s. 6d.

The Public Health Agitation, 1833-48. B. L. HUTCHINS. Fifield, 2s. 6d.

English Sanitary Institutions. Sir JOHN SIMON. Smith Elder and Co.

The Destruction of Daylight. J. W. GRAHAM. Allen. 1s. 6d.

The Problem of the Milk Supply. F. LAWSON DODD. Baillière. 1s. 6d.

Preventive Medicine, Outline of the Practice of. Ministry of Health. Cd. 363. 1919. 6d.

Health and the State. W. A. BREND. 1917. Constable. 10s. 6d.

A Public Medical Service. D. MCKAIL and W. JONES. Fabian Society. 1s.

The Story of English Public Health. Sir MALCOLM MORRIS. 1919. Cassell. 5s.

Hygiene and Public Health. L. PARKES and H. KENWOOD. 1917. Lewis. 15s.

Relation of Wealth to Welfare. W. A. ROBSON.

Race Regeneration (in Bradford). E. J. SMITH. 1918. King. 7s. 6d.

Public Health Acts. Text and index. Lumley. 1915.

The State and the Doctor. SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. 1910. Longmans. 6s.

Health Services and the Public, by STELLA CHURCHILL, L.C.C. (1928).

The Ministry of Health. ARTHUR NEWSHOLME.

Report of Committee on Smoke and Noxious Vapours. Ministry of Health. H.M. Stationery Office. 6d.

Annual Reports of the Public Health Committee of the L.C.C., submitting reports of Chief Medical Officer and Medical Officer (Education). King.

Annual Report of the Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health.

Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education.

Annual Reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops.

Annual Report of the Ministry of Health.

The Fight against Infection. G. E. STAMMERS. Faben and Gwyer. 2s. 6d.

Those wishing to keep informed on public health progress should refer to *Public Health*, the monthly official journal of the Society of Medical Officers of Health.

The Royal Sanitary Institute, 90, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1, issues publications and arranges lectures on public health questions, and the Coal Smoke Abatement Society, 7, Buckingham Palace Gardens, S.W.1, in relation to the question it deals with.

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THE POINT OF HONOUR:

A CORRESPONDENCE

ON ARISTOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

By RUTH CAVENDISH BENTINCK.

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THE POINT OF HONOUR.

DEAR CHRISTOPHER,—

My attachment for you personally was, as you know, very great. It is therefore a dreadful shock to me to be forced to recognize a rebel and a traitor in one who was a relation and a friend; but to me it seems demoralizing to remain on good terms with bad people—a man's character being shown by the company he keeps—so I find it impossible to associate with a person of your stamp, just as it would be impossible for me to keep up a friendship with a forger or any other immoral person. Forgive my plain speaking, but I am a plain man and about to speak out my mind for the last time.

I have tried to make every allowance for you. You have always been endowed with an unfortunate disposition, intolerant of anything savoring of restraint, impatient of procrastination, and contemptuous of prudence—which I even recollect your calling a "ditch-begotten virtue," an expression which of itself betrays you as an intolerant crank.

The Dangers of Too Much Knowledge.

Owing to various deplorable circumstances, and also in a large measure to your own reckless and headstrong disposition, you have, I admit, been brought into contact with many facts which are not generally realized; and these you have only looked at through your own perverted spectacles, which incline you to attribute all those things, which you ignorantly and arrogantly assume to be unmitigated evils, to the defects of our present social system.

As you see, I have taken all the extenuating circumstances into account. I will not even ask how it is that one brought up as you were can so forget our family traditions and the ideals pertaining to his rank as actually to avow himself a Socialist. I have made full allowance for the causes which may have induced you to adopt the mischievous course you are now pursuing. I own you have seen things which at first sight may arouse indignation. Your spirit revolts at what you consider to be "injustice"; but *is* it "injustice"? A better balanced mind would penetrate below the surface of things and realize its own inability to define abstract justice.

Sentimentalism in Foreign Policy.

For instance, when justice is meted out to some person or persons in Spain or Russia, Egypt or India, you and people of your kidney are apt to jump to the conclusion that it is an "injustice" because the sentence does not happen to meet with your approval.

This frequently leads you into making seditious utterances provocative of endless ramifications of disorder; and yet you know perfectly well that it is not possible for a government office to vouchsafe a reason for its actions, therefore the justification for them does not get published, and many are led astray by misguided and shortsighted sentimentalists who refuse to see any but one side of these questions. You do not consider that the men on the spot have spent their lives in studying the best means of dealing with the native population, etc., and are therefore better able to say what is considered "justice" in those regions than people who have never been in the country, and cannot expect to grasp the full significance of its problems in the same way as the officials, or even as well as those who go to such places in search of sport.

The Uses of Aristocracy.

With regard to our own country, how could it get on without the aristocratic class? Look at the work, often hard, generally tiresome, and always unpaid, which they do on county and district councils, school boards, magistrates' bench, etc., to say nothing of various charities.

Of course there are black sheep in every flock, and I do not deny that the "smart set" gives occasion for anything that Socialists may say of them; but, after all, they are not many in number, and are mostly aliens or risen from the middle classes, therefore the present argument does not apply to them. I own that many things in England are far from being perfect; but this is the case in every civilized country, and it would benefit no one were I to go and live in some mean and monotonous street amongst the myriads of beings who are degraded beyond redemption in our filthy cities. Most people in our class will do more good by keeping an oasis, where culture and beauty, art and literature, may find a home and not be overwhelmed by the ocean of brutal ignorance and coarse hideosity surrounding us.

That is my ideal and the work my artistic perception prompts me to carry on. There will always be squalor and ugliness enough for you to wallow in, because as fast as you sweep it up in one place it will reappear in another, so long as every individual unit does not "do his duty in that state of life unto which it has pleased God to call him"; or, in other words, till everyone tidies up his own pigsty before attempting to clean up the farmyard—and if all the pigs did that there would be far less dirt in the world.

The Responsibilities of the Classes.

I have a strong belief that the thing nearest one's hand is one's first duty; that we have inherited certain work and responsibilities; and that if we neglect those and plunge into work of our own choosing, we are not doing what God intended, and end in doing more harm than good. As it is, I think most people of our class are honestly endeavoring to tidy up their own corner of the world before trying to tidy other people's. This is the duty which I hope

and believe I should endeavor to fulfil were I the meanest mole-catcher on the estate instead of its owner, and I only wish you could say as much instead of spending your time in making discontented and disloyal citizens; for this is a sorry occupation any fool is capable of, though it takes a wise man and a truly religious one to make people happy and contented, each in his sphere.

Do you remember our early days and all the "secondary gods," as you were pleased to call them—old Hannah, the stud-groom, the keeper, etc.? They gave you a very good example, for were they not all absolutely contented in their several positions? Would that you had assimilated some of their strong common sense! But your rebellious and predatory instincts were apparent even as a child. I have not forgotten your nocturnal expeditions to the lower gardens nor the fruit you kept hidden in the moat. I know your people pretend to be amused by the words "robbery and confiscation," but the aim of the equal distribution of wealth, though in itself ideal, is an object which can only be attained by appealing to man's predatory instincts, and the proposal to despoil one set of people for the benefit of another can only be called "confiscation," and, as such, can hardly fail to produce demoralization.

Socialism Demands a Higher Morality.

I do not, of course, share the ignorance of those who confound feeble and isolated instances of Communism with Socialism, and I am well aware that Socialism has never been tried by a nation. This in itself proves nothing, though the probability is that the experiment would have been undertaken long ago had there been any reasonable expectation of success; but the success of Socialism presupposes an improvement and elevation in human nature which we are not justified in anticipating: it assumes the complete eradication of all selfish instincts, the surrender of all natural affection, and the grinding down of all degrees of intelligence to a common level. The realization of Socialism suggests a barrack-like monotonous existence in which one set of people will be perpetually watching another to see that no unfair advantage is being taken, a life in which there will be little or no scope for originality or independence, and in which there will be nothing to look forward to, as the incentive to progress will be absent.

And even then the inequality and "injustice" will remain. To take only one instance. I am less physically attractive than X., although perhaps equally deserving. Why should X. enjoy the privilege of ensnaring the affection of some desirable female, whilst I am spurned?

In the interests of common justice I demand that X.'s classic features and model proportions should be planed down or distended to my own level. X.'s attractive exterior is in no sense due to his own exertions; it represents an unearned increment to which he clearly has no right, and it is only fair that he should be called upon to sacrifice it on behalf of the community of which I am one. This argument applies with even greater force to the opposite sex.

No. If you got your Socialistic State to-morrow and everybody equal and enjoying the same advantages, in six months' time those with brains and intelligence would come to the front and those without them would sink, for the former would take advantage of the latter. The whole idea is so Utopian, so idealistic, so totally unpractical! What man who has had to deal with men and their administration on a big scale has ever been a Socialist? Poets, dreamers, ranters, people with an exuberance of philanthropy and no practical knowledge, people who are dissatisfied with their conditions, those who have sunk to the lowest depths and have nothing to lose—there is your Socialist raw material and I wish you joy of it!

Fatalism.

Believe me, the huge fabric of modern civilization is working out its own evolution, and to try to increase the speed of the machine by pouring cans of liquid into it which it is totally unprepared to assimilate, will only result in a shudder of the machine, a spitting out of the liquid, and procedure by evolution as before.

In the vast network of most complicated inter-relations which builds up the civilized world, can you honestly believe that it is possible to straighten out the tangle and have everything nice and smooth, and everyone doing exactly as they should for each other's benefit? The modern industrial world is, alas! so constituted that the conditions you deplore must ever be with us in some form or other, and nothing that you or I can do is capable of altering what may, for all practical purposes, be looked upon as one of nature's laws.

There are other countries besides our own, and the adoption by one nation of a purely Utopian idea would dislocate the whole machine to its own injury; other nations would take advantage of the madness, and the crazy people who had accepted this form of social conditions would be crushed out of existence, for its Socialism would be an *unnatural* state, and therefore doomed to extinction.

Our Nation of Shopkeepers.

Great Britain is a kind of vast shop, which either handles and distributes the goods of foreigners, or supplies other countries with its products. The vast majority of the population is employed in distributing or producing these goods, and the sale of the goods is dependent upon their being of the same, or better, value than those which are produced elsewhere. Eliminate competition between British producers, and the value of the goods will diminish and their price increase. What, in that case, would become of the millions of men and women whose labor produces the goods in question?

The British Isles, already overpopulated, are incapable of sustaining the forty-four millions who now inhabit them unless the product of their labor can be exported, and it is impossible to believe that a nation which forbade private profit could compete successfully with rivals who adhered to the system of competition.

It is futile to talk of Socialism as a cure for all ills as long as the world is what it is. You cannot make people subservient to an idea and go against their natural inclinations and interests for the *sake* of an idea.

Classes a Law of Nature.

Look at nature; and if you can find a successful state of Socialism among animals or plants, I will take all this back. But until you do, I shall continue to assert that Socialism is not only a waste of your time, but a wicked waste, inasmuch as you are now spending your life in rousing a turbulent and dangerous spirit which, when once called forth, you may find it is beyond your power to allay; and you may yet live to regret your reckless wickedness in appealing to men's baser passions and setting class against class. But I will not enlarge on this theme; I have already written enough to show you how deeply I regret that we have indeed arrived at the parting of our ways, and that in future we must be as strangers to one another.

PONTEFRACT.

DEAR P.—

So our divergent opinions have strained your friendship to the breaking point; but mine is still intact, although you call me a philanthropic, idealistic dreamer and a wicked thief appealing to men's baser passions, all in one breath.

Do you remember that legend about the first Norman robber recorded in our line? How he, being about to engage in battle, rode down the lines, reviewing his forces and giving orders? He commanded one of his officers to begin the attack by storming a certain position. This wretched fellow, glancing at the site indicated, replied that it could not be done. Our ancestor lifted his brows. "What, then, do you suggest?" "I cannot say," replied the captain, helplessly. Whereupon, without further waste of time or talk, it is related that our amiable forefather, "raising his battle-axe, clove his head in twain," remarking that "it contained neither courage nor ideas, but only a mouth to eat," and so rode slowly on down the lines, the matter being of no great importance.

"Toujours l'Audace."

Now that callous old savage was right. If we have neither courage nor ideas, and placidly proclaim our inability to attack and deal with the difficult questions of the day—riding the while decked out in burnished armor, exacting respect from those we imagine ourselves born to lead, and expecting to have our greedy mouths filled with the choicest food the army commissariat has to offer—well, then we deserve to have our handsome, but inefficient, heads "cloven in twain," that's all. And yet this is the position you take up when you say "we cannot alter present conditions." Is not the present chaotic industrial system of man's own making? If so, it is capable of amelioration, alteration, and eventual reconstruction by

man: it is no more a law of nature than that we should wear trousers or tall hats. But it is a natural law that certain people should feel impelled to persuade their fellow men that humanity is capable of attaining something incomparably higher and better than that which it has already reached. But for these restless individuals we should all still be happily engaged in scratching up roots and trapping birds for our meagre sustenance, coloring our bodies with clay as our only artistic effort, lining our fœtid caves with dead bracken as our only luxury, and killing one another as our only pastime.

Nowadays these pioneers are styled "agitators" because they disturb the brain calcifying prejudices which so agreeably numb our intellects, and they, deeming themselves the unworthy little tools God is pleased to work with, consider it is their duty to ensure that the world does *not* remain what it is. They believe mankind is improving steadily, and, at times, even rapidly. So surely as I am like a god compared to palæolithic man—hairy, bull-necked, long-armed, flat-headed—so surely will the man of one hundred and fifty thousand years hence be as a god compared to me.

Our Intolerable Civilization.

Already you are yearning for an improved environment. The thousands of "mean and monotonous streets," with their myriads of stunted and misshapen beings, breathing dirt-laden air and thinking with dirt-laden minds, disgust you. Then why tolerate them? Your artistic and fastidious nature prompts you to flee from all that is abominable and shut yourself up on your own estate, surrounded only by people or objects whose companionship and contemplation strike no jarring note; but this does not prove you superior to the struggling millions, toiling in crowded towns under conditions which do not admit of their developing any sense of beauty. I can only admit your claim to excellence when I find your artistic perceptions strong enough to goad you into fighting ugliness outside your walls as well as in, and not acquiescing in its prevalence in your country any more than you would in your individual home.

The Ideals of Aristocracy.

You reproach me with forgetting the ideals of our class, but it is precisely these traditions and ideals that have made me a Socialist. The only reason that every intelligent member of our family is not one is due to the fact that most of the others were sent to school young or had these ideals destroyed otherwise.

All things carry within them the seeds of their own dissolution, and aristocracy is no exception to this rule. I maintain that no one, saturated as we were in the spirit of a once proud race, could fail to grow up into an uncompromising Socialist the moment he applied his tenets to modern conditions—unless some powerful influence counteracted his early training.

Let me remind you of the two dominant ideas which were set before us from the beginning.

The Governing Class.

Idea No. 1 was that we were unquestionably superior beings. The world was full of inferior beings placed there on purpose to do our bidding and minister to our wants. These inferior beings were good creatures in their way, so long as they did as they were told, behaved respectfully, and were content "in that state of life" in which God "had been pleased" to place them. Any inclination on their part to leave this "state of life" was little short of blasphemy. Any leisure they might have must be spent, not as they chose, but as the superior beings thought best for them, any claim they might make to appreciate art of any sort instantly became a jest. You may still find traces of this lingering in *Punch*: Mary Ann going to a Wagner concert after cooking the mutton, or a blacksmith in a picture gallery, both still serve as side-splitting jokes (though one wonders if any prehistoric beast can still be found to emit simian cachinnations over them). In short, life for these inferior beings was to be a life of hard work, and they ought to enjoy it—but as for enjoying life itself . . . ! That was reserved for the superior beings.

Fight for the Weak.

Idea No. 2 was that we must always fight for the weak against the strong, against the oppressor for the oppressed, for the forlorn hope, in the losing cause, and this against all odds and at the cost of any personal sacrifice. If you were one of three hundred on a sinking ship, yours the right to be the two hundred and ninety-ninth person to leave that ship—the proud and enviable position of being the three hundredth belonging to the captain. If adrift in a boat, your honor required that you should do your share of the rowing and do without your share of the food. If lost in the desert with only one tepid water-bottle between three people, it was for you to see to it that the water was only drunk by two and that neither of these two should answer to your name—and so forth.

All children are by nature generous and heroic; they respond readily to such teaching, probably only because it appeals to their artistic and dramatic instincts; but, whatever the cause, they undoubtedly respond. Not that they become little angels revelling in self-denial. We were selfish little brutes and fought like demons; all the same, you remember, we formed a high ideal of what the imaginary person would do or say under any given circumstances, and we made up stories and planned adventures in which this splendid individual did all manner of brave and impossibly quixotic things.

How Children see it.

Now you will take note that once these two ideas are thoroughly assimilated, once you have imbued a child with the conviction that it is his privilege to fight for the rights of the down-trodden, and you at the same time place a down-trodden people of his own race under his nose, whose rights he feels he ought to do battle for, then you have already—so far as ethics are concerned—your Socialist to hand!

You have only to add a few elementary principles of political economy and you have your practical Socialist up-to-date. The thing is inevitable. Inevitable, too, the fierce resentment I experienced on discovering that the aristocracy were not attempting to live up to their own ideals, dead within them, and out of whose detritus the fungus of pocket-politics now sprouts instead. Inevitable, too, my exultation on finding the old ideals enshrined in the hearts of the people as they prepared to follow the fiery pillar to the promised land.

It is well to remember the "secondary gods." They were about as contented as governors of provinces usually are—and we owe them much—especially the great man who kept the cinnamon turkeys and always held his hat in his hand, even when ropes of rain were coming down, so great was his respect for all superior beings, even when they were very small indeed; and the coachman who, when out riding, never forgot his "place," but kept so far behind us as to render ordinary intercourse impossible—a pompous proceeding which so enraged us that you recollect we crossed and recrossed the ford after rain, knowing his horse had a fancy for lying down in water and always hoping we might drown him—a pious wish which was once nearly fulfilled, the horse rolling over his leg in a strong current, causing us much terror and hard work in extricating him—still speechless and respectful—from the river bed. Yet this man's abject servility furnished us with our first chance of seeing English people who were not personal retainers. Do you remember the wild gallops to distant villages? the sweets and nuts flung over playground walls to amuse children who surely thought us mad? the poacher? the pastrycook? the gipsies? and all the wonderful people outside the park walls? . . . and now you have shut yourself up and out of England again, and tell me that "justice" is an attribute I am unable to estimate correctly!

Here we both see the same fact under different aspects. Surely if each man's individual conscience does not revolt at what he personally thinks unjust, there would be no justice at all! The unjust would have it all their own way, whilst the righteous ones sat in a subdued row, twiddling powerless thumbs and softly murmuring, "What we see appears to *us* cruel and unjust, but let us not oppose it till we are quite certain that we are capable of arriving at a correct definition of abstract justice." So one might sit gazing contentedly at the Crucifixion. Thus in point of fact many *did* sit. Yet I do not seem to notice that later generations have specially revered those "well-balanced minds" for the part they played on that occasion.

Roughly speaking, injustice is strength taking advantage of its power to crush weakness. Injustice implies a lack of imagination. "Justice" should be impartial, but no human being has sufficient imagination to place himself in the position of another so entirely as to be absolutely impartial. For that reason, "justice" *untempered* by mercy—which is merely the result of imagination—is invariably injustice: a truth which the great Duke of Wellington perceived in

that moment when he asserted that "military law" was no law at all.

The Men on the Spot who Know.

You hold that the omniscience of the "man on the spot" should be taken for granted, and that no action of his should be criticized. In 1567 you would have maintained that the Duke of Alva was right in his treatment of the Netherlands because he had a great knowledge of the world, and that therefore his "bloody council" was assuredly the best means of dealing with and governing people. You would have maintained that the views of the one hundred thousand artizans who emigrated to England were not worth listening to, and that the "strength of mind" Alva showed in sending Counts Egmont and Horn to the block was beyond praise. Yet, in spite of his methods of "dealing with problems on the spot," his fleet was eventually destroyed, and he was only too thankful to leave a country where he boasted of having executed no less than eighteen thousand men.

In our own days the "Congo atrocities" were perpetrated by Christians who had "studied the problems on the spot." It is the carping spirit inherent in a few people which acts as a necessary restraint on those who might otherwise get drunk on overmuch authority. Their vanity makes them susceptible to public opinion, and they weigh their actions a little more when they know these are liable to be criticized by somewhat exacting compatriots. Lord Acton said, "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." I only object to this wielding of absolute power.

You accuse the "misguided sentimentalists" of never seeing any but one side of the question. This is indeed true. No matter what paper you take up, you are sure to see "necessary measures of repression" commended, exhortations to a greater display of "firmness," etc.; and all this from panic-stricken, pale-faced persons, wielding pens to order at their dreary desks, and who, never having been on the spot, are no more fit—according to your own theories—to form public opinion than those "sentimental cranks," who have, at any rate, the courage of their theories, and who may frequently be found to have formed the same because they have roamed the world in many an unbeaten track.

Patriotism no Monopoly.

I dwell upon this at some length because it is a pose of our "class" to speak as though they had a monopoly of patriotism. If any reform is proposed at home they scream, "Think of its effect in India!" or "Do not indulge in parish politics, but remember the susceptibilities of the Fiji Islanders and Basutos!" Well and good; but let an Englishman raise his voice in protest against some arbitrary measure or unfair sentence passed in any of our distant dependencies, let him hint that our country's honor is at stake, and the aristocratic imperialists fling themselves on him at once. He is a "traitor," he "ought to be shot," and so forth.

If your imperialist carried his "man on the spot" theory to its logical conclusion, he would believe that only men who have lived with and amongst those they legislate for are capable of knowing what it is they require. In this case the interests of miners would be handed over to those who had themselves worked in mines, and the concerns of cotton spinners to those who had spun cotton. But no; the leisured class fancy themselves born with a sort of marvellous intuition that takes the place of knowledge, and expect everyone to acquiesce in their decrees, when these should in "justice" only apply to the one and a quarter million people in this country whose interests the deer park dwellers may fairly be said to understand.

Aristocrats as Administrators.

You ask me to look at the work done by the upper classes on county councils, as magistrates, etc. It is precisely because I *have* looked that I accuse. They are mostly so unwilling to attack the more serious problems of our time that they even display an occasional activity in opposing those who would. Hence a fitful interest in local matters, usually in order to prevent any progressive measures being enforced, and to guard what they conceive to be their own interests. One hears rich men derided for not giving larger sums to the party funds. On enquiring why a man who appears to take no interest in politics should spend his money thus, the reply is, "Well, it's a very good form of investment." This sentence sets one thinking.

Of course, many rich people and numerous captains of industry do excellent work; but I doubt your finding these exceptions invariably belong to the ancient nobility, who, taking it all round, resist most strenuously any attempts on the part of the working man to manage his own affairs. Now I agree that every pig should attend to his own sty, but I see certain pigs attempting to compel other pigs, less fortunately situated, to restrict their energies to attending to the upkeep of the selfish ones' styes, and prevent them from bestowing any attention on their own! I note, in passing, that to my simile of an armed knight proudly asserting his right to lead the attack on apparently invulnerable enemies, you retort with an appropriate comparison concerning swine.

Is Sport Culture?

You suggest that those who feel unequal to the task of fighting our twentieth century dragons are keeping "culture, beauty and art" alive in some restful oasis. Let us be candid. Do the leisured class fulfil this function? You and I have been associated since our childhood with people who did little, when they had money, except spend it on idle ostentation. Their lives were supported in luxury by a host of parasites ministering to their self-importance, and you are well aware that the character and general upbringing of this class tends to produce a highly conventional, ill-informed and narrow-minded type. Our sons are hardly brought up to this duty of "sheltering culture" or encouraging science in the expensive schools

we send them to. The more intelligent may tell you the difference between Lybia and Lydia, or afford some immaterial detail concerning the Hittites, but their ignorance as to the history, laws, literature or geography of the Empire they are taught to boast of is phenomenal. Other contemptible nations may have a history, or even laws. These are beneath our notice. Political economy would be classed as "rot." No; games are of paramount importance to the "governing class," therefore what the oasis really shelters is "sport." Mill said, "Science takes cognizance of a phenomenon, and endeavors to ascertain its law; art proposes to itself an end, and looks out for means to effect it." Which of these two processes is going on at the present time in any of the "oases" known to you and me? Even the cultivated oasite is not clamorous in his demands that others may share in, or be given opportunities for learning to appreciate, those things which are, after all, the only ones that make life worth the living. Surely he may be compared to a man who is being rowed by others in a heavy sea, whilst he sits warmly clad on the dry seat, nibbling *pâté de foie gras* sandwiches, sipping champagne, and occasionally throwing the dripping oarsmen a weevilly dog-biscuit in order that their strength may be kept up sufficiently to go on rowing him! Would you be surprised if some day they heaved him overboard? No; you would do it yourself. We are not so unlike after all, and perhaps our quarrel—if quarrel it be—lies far back in those fruit-stealing days when, having committed every possible crime, you repaired to the billiard-room and practised skilful strokes, whilst I, no less steeped in sin, vanished in the library behind fat tomes on anthropology, whose musty and alluring smell is in my nostrils even now, and whose precepts I never forgot. Your very letter proves a transition in human nature. Here you are, an avowed opponent of my every thought and deed, actually endeavoring to "make allowances" for me! Time was when the only allowance you would have made would have been one of distance as you aimed a sharp stone at my head, or of quantity as you poured some death-dealing drops in my drink. In these days you find yourself weighing extenuating circumstances in my favor. It is but a short time ago that we burnt heretics and witches at the stake, and starved people to death, and, in some countries, reserved that worst torture of all, the "Iron Maiden," for the worst criminals of all, namely, those who desired to improve their country's condition. Some might still wish to see those methods made use of now, but public opinion—which is after all only private opinion in the aggregate—has changed, and, with it, our customs. Even I recollect men denouncing trade unions and declaring that the sooner English workmen imitated the Chinese and learnt to live on a handful of rice the better for them and for the country! What fool would say this now? And this process of amelioration which manifests itself in ever greater tendency towards concerted action and combination would not seem to you a "despoiling of one set of people for the benefit of another" if you studied the writings of modern economists more carefully.

The Failure of Individualism.

The prejudice against Socialism is due to the prevailing habit of looking at all the existing evils caused by an obstinate individualism and then saying: "That is what Socialism will be, only ten times more so!" At present a cut-throat competition forces selfishness upon us, insecurity and grinding poverty destroy natural affections, and want and destitution reduce millions of intelligences to one common level of devitalized incapacity. The passions—not the reasoning powers—survive. Mournful, barrack-like institutions *are* here now testifying to the failure of a system which denies men security in their own country, and assumes the only incentive to be money—forgetting appetite, not to mention vanity. It is an insult to all the finest minds of any and every epoch to suggest that the alteration of a vicious system would eradicate the wish to excel from our nature. Only we hope to do so in future without materially injuring others. Socialists desire that "those with brains and intelligence" should "come to the front," but they also claim that those less gifted should enjoy security, respect, and leisure as citizens performing necessary labor for the welfare of a grateful community.

You confound natural with fictitious inequalities when dealing with the "unearned increment" of X.'s physical attraction. We want to enhance natural advantages by giving all equal opportunities of developing mentally and physically to the utmost. Look at our women! See how these fictitious and cruel disabilities now prevent girls—intended by nature to grow into beautiful women—from becoming real "women" at all—battered, twisted caricatures, with drawn faces and cunning or heavy eyes. The same applies to men. May God forgive you your insolent allusion to "physical inequalities" which conjures up such visions that, for the moment, I cannot. Socialism being a comparatively new faith, it is remarkable how many of those holding it have already been found in positions where they had to deal with men on a large scale. Dozens of names suggest themselves to me had I the space, but I must confine myself to reminding you that the father of English Socialism, Robert Owen, managed a cotton mill at nineteen, and was part owner of the New Lanark Mills when twenty-eight.

Concerning "Utopia," I am tempted to tell you how I once accompanied a motherly primrose dame of high degree when opening a crêche in a foul industrial town. She made a short speech, in which she said a crêche was a temporary measure to palliate temporary evils, but that she hoped for a day when mothers would be enabled to feed and look after their own infants. Every subsequent speaker (they were all millowners!) alluded to Lady T.'s "Utopian ideas," with sarcastic smiles. Driving home, the dear woman protested, wearily, "I've had nine children and attended to each one, and I do assure you that nursing an infant is *not* the occupation I should select in paradise. Men have such odd ideas concerning Utopia."

Socialism and Competition.

But let us turn from her to our old friend Chambers's Biographical Dictionary. Here we see that "Marx's aim is *not* to propound Utopian schemes, nor even to offer programmes of social reform, but to elucidate an historical process which is inevitable"; and in this you concur, for you admit that the huge fabric of modern civilization is working out its own evolution, only you are annoyed when it betrays a tendency to evolute without consulting you. History shows that it is the backward nations, slow to adopt new ideas and unwilling to evolute, who get into an "unnatural state"; and that the more advanced ones, having adopted new methods, are obliged by force of circumstances to crush the laggard peoples out of existence. Moreover, if Socialism is impossible, why oppose it so fiercely? As to Socialism eliminating competition between British producers, *would* the value of British goods diminish and the price increase? Gigantic combinations are now, in the interests of private profit, gradually achieving the elimination of competition; and when you find that these amalgamations cause the price of goods to increase, you will also find that your only remedy lies in Socialism. Goods manufactured on a large scale might show better value than those turned out by numerous struggling competitors, with antiquated plant and cheap labor, on a small one. John Bright said that adulteration was a form of competition. Indeed, the dictionary recognizes it as such: "Adulteration. The act of debasing a pure or genuine article for pecuniary profit by adding to it an inferior or spurious article, or by taking one of its constituents away."

When you speak of England as "a kind of vast shop handling and distributing goods," and appeal to my better nature by asking "what would become of the millions of men and women whose labor produces the goods in question" if competition were eliminated? my heart remains as the nether millstone, and for obvious reasons. *What becomes of them now?*

A Little Lower than the Angels.

Nature shows it is useless to fling all manner of seed at random on a rough bit of ground with some ill-considered remark about "the survival of the fittest" as one lies down to watch the result. Nor, should you desire to plant an oak for future generations, will it avail you to stick an acorn in the crevice of some wall and tell it that if it is really an acorn it will become an oak anywhere. So it may: a little dwarfish caricature of what might have been one of the most magnificent growths in creation. Yet these incredibly silly things are what we do with the young of our own kind.

You want me to take the example of animals. You have already done so, selecting pigs. I refuse to compare mankind to the rest of the brute creation: till you can show me animals that cook their food, wear clothing that is not an integral part of their bodies but made for them by other animals of their own kind, or sacrifice their

lives deliberately, not only for the sake of their own young, but for strangers, or even merely an idea. Even "those who have sunk to the lowest depths" are capable of dying for another. True, it is difficult for their atrophied brains to grasp an idea. Even if they could, their devitalized natures and anæmic bodies would be incapable of working for it. This explains why *no Socialist has or ever will* come from the slums. All our recruits hail from the artizan or professional classes, men who have known responsibility and had practical experience. The "submerged tenth," oddly enough, share your views concerning our faith. They cannot see that ideas *do* rule the world; that men *are* subservient to them, and *will* "go against their natural inclinations and interests" for the sake of the "vision splendid" God has vouchsafed them.

Come out of your hole into England once more. Cast away the prejudices which blind you, and you will find a nation of aristocrats forming up swiftly, silently, shoulder to shoulder, in the cold grey dawn, preparing to stem back the great hosts of materialism which have gathered in such force on every side. I entreat you, fight with and not against us, for a long, fierce conflict it will be, during which many will fall; but they shall reckon their lives well lost, dying, as they will, with the ideal ever before them and the sun rising in the East.

Yours,

CHRISTOPHER.

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OUR TAXES AS THEY ARE
and as they ought to be.

BY

ROBERT JONES, D.Sc. (Econ.).

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Our Taxes as they are and as they ought to be.

When the first issue of this pamphlet was made, in January, 1911, the figures quoted at the outset were those of "the famous Budget of 1909." The total estimate of that Budget was £Mill :162¾. The estimate of the current Financial Statement (1926) is £Mill :801. A little while before the War, some Conservative writers expressed alarm when Mr. Philip Snowden forecasted a 200-million Budget. We are now beyond an 800-million Budget, and we have devised our ways and means, somehow or other, to meet the extra six hundred millions. It has been done, British fashion, with an instinctive regard for psychological forces (never so alluded to in a Budget speech) and with a less regard for logical methods.

The figures given in the earlier pamphlet, if set side by side with those of 1926, will indicate the sources of the additional £Mill :638.

I.—Revenue from Taxes.

	1909	1926
	In millions of Pounds.	
Income Tax	37	262
Super Tax	—	63⅓
Estate Duties	22¾	66½
House Duty, etc.	2	1
Excess Profits Duty	—	4
Corporation Profits Tax	—	9
Customs	30	102
Excise	35⅓	137¼
Stamp Duties	8½	24
Motor Duties	—	17½
Total Taxes	135¾	686½

II.—Non-Tax Revenue.

Net Profits of Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services	4	4
Crown Lands	½	1
Suez Canal Shares and Sundries ...	1	56½
Non-Tax Revenue	5½	61½

The total for 1926 does not here reach the £Mill :801 of the Financial Statement, because the net profits of the Postal Service are given instead of the gross receipts (£Mill :57) as given in the Statement.

The Governments which have had the task of meeting this annual increase of six hundred millions, have been with one exception (1924) Conservative and Coalition Governments. And these Governments have drawn rather more than half the increase—taking only the 1909—1926 comparison—from the Income-Tax paying classes; chiefly from the wealthier section of those classes. If such a salient fact be viewed from a comfortable chair in Pall Mall, its fairness, even its generosity, becomes apparent. It is in all senses a century ahead of the action of the Conservative After-the-War Government of 1816, which hastened, as a first step, to abolish the Income-Tax, while retaining the duties on corn. But if it be viewed from a working-class home, it appears to be less adequate and less just. The National Income was assessed in 1924 by the Bankers' Trust Company, of New York (which we cannot suspect of any Labour, Socialist or British-nationalist bias), as £Mill :2,132, divided thus :—

(a) Total Incomes above Income-Tax limit, £Mill :1,167.

(b) Total Incomes below Income-Tax limit, £Mill :965.

When the much larger number of individuals and families in group (b), as compared with those in group (a), is considered, and when we remember, further, that the greater part of these £Mill :965 is formed of incomes near, at, or even below the "subsistence level" (and therefore almost untaxable from the point of view of any economist), it is apparent that the distribution of tax-burdens, although much better than the last great post-war distribution, in 1816, is still far from satisfying either ethical or economic justice. The usual complaints to the opposite effect are made, as they have always been made. Lord Decies, in the *Daily Mail Year Book* of 1926, says: "There can be no sort of doubt that at the moment the citizen is taxed beyond his ability to pay, and most unfortunate of all and the most in need of urgent and substantial relief is the Income-Tax payer." He asks for "a reduction in the rates of Super Tax and Income Tax" sufficient to "release substantial sums." Such statements have been very commonly made during recent years, but a thinking-out of what they imply is much less common. A substantial reduction of this kind would mean one of these three things :—

(1) The Government should reduce its commitments; this could be done, in the main, either by reducing war-charges or by reducing civil expenditure, as, for example, on Health and Education.

The people who ask for Income-Tax—and especially those who asked for Super-Tax—reductions have left us with no doubt as to their choice between these alternatives. Their recent efforts at reducing expenditure have been directed against the civil expenditures on Health and Education.

(2) Or the Government might make up the loss on Income and Super Taxes by other taxes. If these were levied so as to fall upon the same persons as those just relieved from a part of their Income Tax and Super Tax, there would not in effect be any "relief" at all. Is the intention, then, to levy more taxes from those whose incomes are below the income tax line?

(3) Or again, the Government might reduce its tax-bill by paying off a portion of the War Debt. The only important suggestion yet made in this direction was that of a Capital Levy, which was vigorously opposed by the possessors of big incomes. If we are to judge these people by their actions, and by such expressions of views as are given on their behalf, there emerges :—

(a) A demand for a smaller Income Tax and Super Tax;

(b) An objection to meet this by equivalent payments from the same class, or by a reduction of armaments;

(c) An objection to reducing the Tax Bill by a Capital Levy;

(d) And, finally, by a process of elimination, a desire to relieve the Income-Tax payer by increasing the burden of taxes on classes below Income-Tax level. This could only be achieved by the imposition of new or increased duties on goods.

The Past and the Future.

A comparison of the Budgets of 1909—1926 with any of the Budgets of the first half of the nineteenth century brings to light two great changes.

First : the growth of non-tax revenue. Nearly the whole of this is little more than half a century old.

Secondly : the growth of taxes on property and income in comparison with other taxes.

The second of these differences we shall deal with later. The first marks a movement in the direction of substituting profits from national "trading" for national taxes. As a movement, however, it is very recent. We have not long emerged from a period when it was accounted an evil thing for the State to possess any capital (property) that yielded a net income. Our Crown lands.

which are now State lands, yield a poor million or so. Now that the land tax may be paid in land, and now that a development fund is in existence under which land may be bought and developed, there is a possibility of increasing State possessions in this direction. Saxony, a small country, gets ten millions sterling from State forest lands.

There has never been any strong objection to the State owning property that did not give an annual return in terms of money. The doctrine which has hindered the growth of national capital was that the State could not manage business enterprises, and that it was rather wicked of the State to try. The first count is met by the simple facts that exist to-day, when States and municipalities are managing business enterprises with varying success, but, on the whole, at least as efficiently as private firms. The second part of the doctrine has now become the chief entrenchment of those who love their country too well to wish to see it (as a State) too well off. Hence the cries of "rate-aided trams" and "unfair competition." The cry is not that the State or the municipality cannot manage business enterprises, but that it can manage them too well for the comfort of capitalists.

The chief national effect of the doctrine, so far as our revenue is concerned, has been the loss of railway profits to the nation.

If we had State railways and State forests, many millions of actual taxes would disappear. What, then, is to prevent a gradual extinction of tax revenue altogether and its replacement by profit revenue? Not its impracticability, since States are now drawing large revenues from railways, forests, lands, post offices, canals, steamship lines, and so on. The prospect of the extinction of taxation—except for purposes other than revenue, to the horror of "revenue only" stalwarts—would not be particularly terrifying to taxpayers as such.

What is Taxation?

Revenue is the income of the State from all sources; but it differs from the income of an individual in one particular so important that it would be misleading to have the same name for both. A private individual has an income of a fixed amount, and he must cut his coat according to his cloth. But a nation can make its revenue greater or less within very wide limits, and can first decide on the cut and amplitude of its coat and then order sufficient cloth. If a nation very badly wants a ten million pound article it can usually have it.

All revenue, as we have noted, does not come from taxes. A tax has its own special features—two, in particular—that mark it as a tax. It is compulsory; and it carries no guarantee of anything like an equal return. A well-managed State gives a return

to its citizens greater than the value represented by its exactions. An ill-managed State may give a very trifling return. But the essential idea of the tax, the thing that makes it a tax, is that it is quite unproportioned to the services rendered by the State to the payers.

The Purpose of Taxation.

Quite a number of people have shaken their heads gravely over the danger of introducing any but "purely financial considerations" into questions of national finance. Extreme Free Traders affect to consider it mischievous to prefer one tax to another because that one will (as hoped by some) encourage agriculture. There are others whose sense of "sound finance" is shocked by by the idea of admitting the death duties into our system on any ground but that of revenue. They will not accept as an additional reason the fact that the death duties will have some effect in checking the present great inequality of incoms. What the Free Trader really objects to is a Protective System, and he should attack protective duties either because they will not really help agriculture or any other occupation, or because if they do help "agriculture," they will injure people engaged in other occupations to a much greater degree. What the other man objects to is making wealthy people pay more taxes than they have been paying, and he should attack all schemes for increasing taxes, unless the increase falls upon all classes in the old proportions, which, to people of his way of thinking, are of course the right proportions. The curious thing is that this latter gentleman is usually a Tariff Reformer, and as such he is desirous of raising revenue in such a way as to bind the colonies closer to the mother country, restore agriculture, and find work for all—or "most." The former gentleman quite possibly wishes to tax land values, not solely for revenue, but also to check the land-monopoly of the dukes. And both would rather tax whisky than water (although a tax on water would bring in more revenue than one on whisky), on the ground that whisky is not a necessity, or that it is harmful—which are very good reasons, but not purely financial reasons.

Few taxes are raised for revenue only: there are usually other considerations. We have just seen how national revenue differs from private income, and since a Government does not get money and then consider how to spend it, but first decides to have something and then considers how to get the money, it will often happen that the very impulses which make people want a thing will impel them to raise the money for it in a particular way. Thus a Parliament which decided to give elementary education to people who were too poor to pay for it would not be likely to raise money

for the purpose from those same poor people. There might be some to suggest an arrangement of this sort, well clothed in verbosity; but these persons really do not want to educate poor people at all. They want poor people to pay, or, as they cannot, to do without. The cry of keeping questions of revenue free from ulterior objects is largely a cry of pain and rage at the objects themselves.

If taxes are levied not only for revenue but also for some other purpose, whether it be the encouragement of agriculture, the cementing of an Empire, the discouragement of injurious habits, the diminution of wasteful luxuries, the reduction of the largest incomes or the increase of the smallest, then the points to consider are these :—

Is the object desirable in itself?

Is it best or most conveniently attained through taxation?

Will its attainment in this way bring about any evils that will outbalance its benefits?

"Taxation for revenue only" is repudiated in practice by every party in the State. It is not a principle of taxation. We had best now consider what are the principles of taxation.

The Canons of Taxation.

Adam Smith made so great an advance in defining the principles of taxation in his famous "Canons" or "Maxims," that it is broadly true to say that before the appearance of "The Wealth of Nations" the principles of taxation had never had general interest and attention focussed upon them; though Hume, Montesquieu, the Physiocrats, and especially Moreau de Beaumont, had set out principles. Adam Smith was probably indebted to Beaumont for his "maxims." But from the issue of "The Wealth of Nations" until the close of the nineteenth century the principles of taxation were never effectively restated. His maxims are not obsolete yet, but they are obsolescent. The four maxims can be summarized in a sentence, thus: Taxes should be proportional to income; certain and not arbitrary; convenient in time and manner of levying; and economical in action. They are to be found in "The Wealth of Nations," Book V., Chapter II., Part II. It will be convenient, however, to give the first maxim here in full, because it is by far the most important, and because around it the defenders and assailants have gathered :—

"The subjects of every State ought to contribute towards the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State."

We need not consider in any detail the justification of taxes generally; we will take it that when the accredited representatives of the nation declare that certain monies are needed for the common good the citizens "ought to contribute." But how are the contributions to be measured out? One answer that was very readily given was this, that each citizen should pay "according to benefit received," and as the sole or chief benefit of government was held by many to be the protection of life and property, then, as every one benefited according to the amount of his property, it was fitting that taxes should be in the proportion of individual wealth, whether measured in property or in income, as these would give roughly similar results. This is the "Benefit Theory." It accords with Adam Smith's maxims, and like them, it is obsolescent. Of course, it is quite impossible to measure the exact amount of benefit that each individual receives from the State, and quite unwarrantable to assume that the benefit is proportional to income. Moreover, as Walker has pointed out, since women and children benefit most from the protection of the State, they should, on this theory, pay most of the taxes!

The rival theory (the Faculty or Ability Theory) sets forth that taxes should be proportionate to ability to pay. It was assumed at first that this also was in agreement with Adam Smith's maxim, and that it also meant taxation in proportion to income. But it means nothing of the kind, as we shall see later. The idea of the Ability Theory crops up again in the Equal Sacrifice Theory —that is, that taxes should fall so as to demand equal sacrifices from all. A somewhat different view is expressed by the Minimum Sacrifice Theory, according to which a scheme of taxation is at its best when it demands the least possible sacrifice from the nation and from the individual citizens. We will consider these three theories together, as they have much in common.

Whatever Adam Smith and his followers might think, everyone knew as a matter of simple fact that a man with £1,000 a year was better able to pay £10, or even £20, than a man with £100 a year was to pay £1. According to the "proportion to income" idea, taxes of £10 and £1 respectively would be equitable, being in proportion to income. But the poorer man—say an artizan with £2 a week, married, and with three children, to take a common case—must go without something that is either a necessity or what is called a "conventional necessity," to pay his tax. The wealthier man will not be able to feel the change from £1,000 to £990 per year. He will not drink a glass of wine the less. The cases come out clearer if we imagine the taxes increased, still keeping the same proportion. A tax of fifty per cent. would hit the richer man hard. He would fall to £500 a year; but his fall is not comparable to that of the artizan,

cut down from £2 a week to £1. A tax of seventy-five per cent. would drive the richer man to a suburban villa with a maid-of-all-work; but it would drive the artizan and his family underground, for his remaining ten shillings a week would not feed four people, to say nothing of rent, clothing and firing.

Statesmen knew this as well as other folk, and when they wanted money they acted on the knowledge, and taxed, not in proportion to income, but at a progressive rate.

The True Principles of Taxation.

What are the true principles of taxation? They are two, and two only—equity and economy.

1. *Equity.*—Taxes should be equitable; that is, they should satisfy the sense of fairness of the majority of the community at the time.

2. *Economy.*—Taxes should be economical; that is, they should not be costly to the State in collecting, nor should they cause the payer to be mulcted in any way of more than the amount received by the State. And they should not discourage production.

By these two principles we may test the kinds and methods of taxation in use or proposed. There is a preliminary difficulty about the second part of the first principle. It may be objected to as unscientific. It is unscientific, but so is equity. There is no measure of what is equitable that any statesman can use except what men consider as equitable. When everyone agrees that a proportional rate is fair, a proportional rate will be adopted by representative governments. When it is admitted that a progressive rate is more equitable, a progressive rate will appear on the statute book.

Progressive Taxation.

The idea of taxing rich people in a greater proportion than poor people was first brought vividly before the English people by the introduction of the Death Duties in Sir William Harcourt's Budget of 1894. But it was not at all a new thing. There was a graduated tax levied in ancient Athens. The poorest class was exempt, the next paid on an assessment of five-ninths of property owned, the next on five-sixths, and the wealthiest on the whole of the property owned. There were various progressive taxes levied in many cities during the Middle Ages. The Super-tax is not a new thing, but may claim old established usage as well as the "proportional" doctrine of Adam Smith and Stanley Jevons. The progressive system died out—under aristocratic influences, as Professor Selig-

man suggested—and has only recently been revived. Its reintroduction into practical politics, however, has not been accompanied by any scientific or economic justification, except among economists themselves. We cannot be content with a mere historic justification, a simple appeal to ancient precedent. It will be more satisfactory to enquire how far modern economic theory justifies or condemns the principle which underlies the super-tax. For it has already become obvious to the average taxpayer that if a progressive system is really "sound finance," in the sense of being equitable and economical, there is a possibility of lightening the burden on the mass of taxpayers who actually feel it without adding any real burden to wealthier people, and without withdrawing the more useful parts of incomes from the recipients.

Curiously enough, the theory which justifies us in taxing a millionaire's estate at double the rate per cent. that is levied on a £50,000 estate has been worked out from the very principle of utility which Stanley Jevons himself brought so vigorously to the front. It is based on the doctrine of diminishing utility.

If you have just enough water daily to keep you alive, and your supply is increased by an extra quart every day, each added quart is less valuable—that is, less advantageous to you—than the last: and eventually further additions will be of no value to you, but will become a mere nuisance.

As it is with water, so it is with other things; so it is with all wealth, all income. Set £1 a week in the place of a quart of water and follow the argument through again. As a man's income rises to £2, £3, £10, £100 a week, each additional £1 is less useful to him than the last, and equitable taxation must be in proportion to these diminishing values. The first pound or two being untouched; a penny on, say, the fourth pound should rise to a shilling or so on the hundredth. It actually is over a shilling in our present English system.

The theory that taxes should be in proportion to income being rejected by common sense and by economic science, it remains to choose among the other three that we grouped together, all of which satisfy the principles of equity and economy.

Of these the theory of Minimum Sacrifice is the most satisfactory, for it most readily responds to the test of these two principles. Taxation which entails the least possible sacrifice upon the community and upon individuals, takes away just that part of the wealth of individuals which is least useful. Such taxation is both equitable and economical. It leads us, however, very far. Carried to its logical conclusion it means that all taxes should be raised (as far as economy is concerned, at all events) from the highest incomes. For if we represent the incomes of individuals by a row of lines of different length, it follows from what has been said that the least useful parts of the whole are those repre-

sented by the tops of the tallest lines. There is no questioning the fact that in pure economics it is from these parts that taxes had best be raised. But such counsels of perfection are not for actual chancellors. Moreover, such a method, although it might satisfy a principle of abstract "right," or "natural justice," by no means satisfies the principle of equity as we defined it, and the extreme moderation of which is now apparent. We cannot legislate very far in advance of public sentiment, and if a graduated system, which "satisfies the sense of fairness of the majority of the people" is adopted, the future modifications of the scale may safely be left to the same guide.

Levelling Taxes.

Diagrams do not add anything to an argument, but they are valuable aids to clearness. In the diagrams given, incomes are represented by the length of the upright lines, and the part above the transverse line represents the tax. The diagrams move from abomination to (economic) perfection.

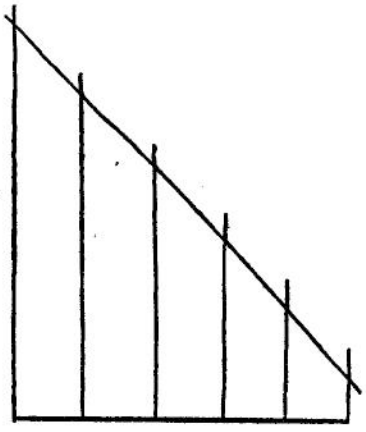
No. 1 is the desolating abomination which helped to cause the French Revolution. Here the poor pay a greater amount and of course in vastly greater proportion than the rich. The smallest income in this particular case is taxed at fifty per cent. and the largest at four per cent. This is a regressive system, no longer figuring in national finance, but familiar enough in other affairs of life, as where the poorest folk in London pay more per pound for coal than their wealthy and distant relations in the West End, who can buy in large quantities and can stock their cellars with winter coal at summer prices.

No. 2 represents a step in advance. Here all pay equal amounts, an admirable arrangement among equals, but disastrous otherwise. The poor still pay a greater proportion than the rich. The smallest income is reduced by half, but the largest is left at quite a comfortable amount. Something very like this would appear if we adopted a universal contributory scheme of invalidity insurance based on equal contributions.

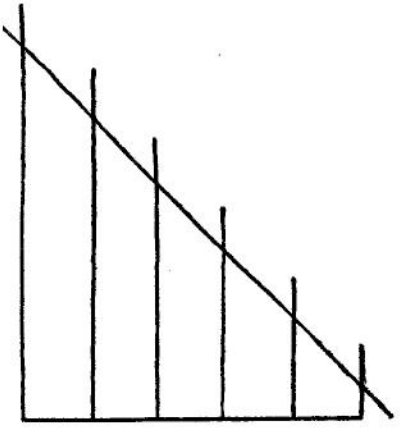
No. 3 represents the obsolete economic ideal, "taxation in proportion to income." If the obvious advance in fairness on the two previous cases should create any prejudice in its favour, a consideration of the parallel lines will be found an excellent corrective. The further from the base line, the less the utility. The utility of the part cut off from the smallest income is far greater to the owner than the utility of the larger part cut off from the greatest income is to its owner.

No. 4 represents the economically perfect ideal that we shall perhaps never reach, but towards which, as far as we can judge from the drift of things in national finance, we are now steadily moving.

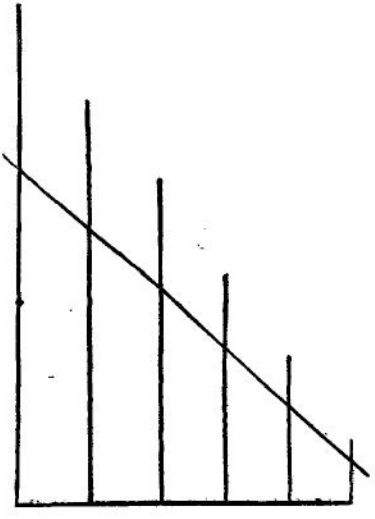
TAXES.



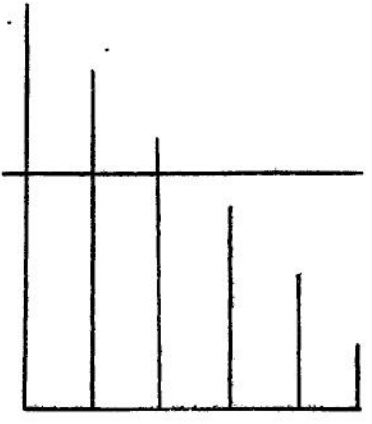
1.—Regressive.



2.—Equal.



3.—Proportional.



4.—Economically Ideal.

It will be noticed that there is no diagram for the very type of progressive taxation that has here been most insisted on. It lies, of course, between No. 3 and No. 4, and its divergence from No. 3 measures the advance of knowledge from the time when Adam Smith's first maxim dominated national finance till now; just as its divergence from No. 4 measures the practical difference between our principle of current equity and our principle of economy.

Progressive Taxation in Practice.

The year 1894 marks the definite and open re-entry of progressive taxation into our system, though it must not be forgotten that in many ways, more or less vague, we have stamped on our records an appreciation of the underlying principle. But the Death Duties entered as dramatically as did the famous Budget of 1909, and with very similar results—a mournful forecast of the sale of Chatsworth from the Duke of Devonshire, and cartoons of pauper peers in *Punch*. A comparison of the scales of Sir William Harcourt in 1894 with those of Mr. Asquith in 1907 and of Mr. Lloyd George in 1909 will illustrate the "levelling" of taxation in this direction. Side by side with these are placed figures to represent what the rates would be in a proportional scheme. The figures below show the yield. In order to reach the 1907 total yield on a "proportional" basis a rate of seven per cent. would have been necessary. That would mean that an estate of £500 would pay £35 instead of £5, whilst an estate of £5,000,000 would pay £350,000 instead of £700,000.

Estate £	1894 per cent.	1907 per cent.	1909 per cent.	1926 per cent.	
500	1	1	1	1	To reach 1907 total by a proportional scheme, it would be necessary to make a charge of 24 per cent. on all estates over £500.
1,000	2	2	2	3	
5,000	3	3	3	4	
10,000	3	3	4	5	
50,000	4½	4½	7	15	
100,000	5½	5½	8	20	
500,000	7	8	12	28	
1,000,000	7½	10	14	30	
5,000,000	8	14	15	40	
Yield	*	£19,108,000		£66,500,000	
		£22,750,000			£19,108,000

* The yield is not given, because it offers no fair comparison with the other totals owing to the growth of national wealth since 1894. A similar charge has made the comparison 1926—1909 less effective than that of 1907—1909.

The graduation of the income tax is disguised by the system of exemptions. The actual rates in the pound are as follows (1926 Budget) :—

For Single Persons.

Earned Income.	Taxable Income.	Tax.
£	£	£ s. d.
163	136	2 0
250	208	7 6 0
500	417	33 16 0
1,000	835	117 2 0
2,000	1,750	300 10 0

The figures are different in the case of married people, because of (1) allowances for wife and children, and (2) the exemption limit of £270, for a man-and-wife joint income.

Now when we consider that Mr. Gladstone contemplated the complete removal of the income tax in times of peace, it is of some significance to find his successors to-day increasing it at one end and diminishing it at the other—for that is the effect of Mr. Asquith's "earned and unearned" innovation, as a glance at the figures will show, and that is the effect of abatement in respect of wife and children. What is the cause?

It is twofold. On the one hand, more and more money is needed for two great purposes—defence and social reform. There may be some chance, in the near future, of smaller army and navy votes, through arbitration acts and treaties, though at present it seems a poor chance. But there is no chance at all of a diminution in the money required for social reforms. More money must be got. Modern sentiment resents any plan of raising the bulk of this money from the poorer classes. Economic teaching shows clearly that the wealth that can best be spared is the upper layer of the large banking accounts. The modern chancellor harkens to the voice of the people and the voice of the expert, crying out in almost perfect unison, and levels up a little further the taxation-line in our diagrams.

Taxes on Capital and Property.

We have been assuming that the taxes are levied on income, as, indeed, they are in the main, however they may be arranged. Everyone pays his taxes out of his yearly income, if he possibly can. When he pays out of his capital, he is either feeling the pressure of taxation or experiencing hard times. It has often been pointed out that taxes on capital must check saving, and so hinder the growth of accumulated wealth; and this argument has been used with regard to the death duties.

It is wealthy people who save most, and if what they save is of any value to them, it is either as a hoard or as an investment; as a hoard which they can enjoy (like the little girl who saved her daily stick of chocolate until she had enough to give her a feast and a repentance), or as an investment by which the hoard becomes what is called productive capital, yielding an income. A wealthy man has, say, £20,000 a year coming in from property. Of this he "spends," let us say, £7,000 on his house, food, clothes, and so on, and "saves" £13,000. We might as readily say that he "spends" this also in buying railway and other shares, for that is what he does with it. His £13,000 is taken by him, not in the form of goods now available, but in the form of new productive appliances, and he holds a claim over part of the products of these appliances.

Suppose now the State takes £3,000 of this income of his that is just about to become capital in a company. If the State uses the £3,000 in a less productive way than the company would, there is a real check in the nation's rate of increasing wealth. If the State uses it in a more productive way, there is more increase of wealth in the nation through the State's action. A sum of £3,000 has been taken from a private income and has become nationally owned capital instead of becoming privately owned capital.

What is important is whether taxes are moderate enough to be payable out of income, or so excessive that people who are making use of capital to gain a livelihood are obliged to surrender part of that capital to the State or any other user, who will make a less productive use of it. That is what concerns the nation in regard to the effect of taxation upon production. The best distribution of wealth (economically) is that which gives the best return to labour, and this reacts upon production. If the change makes a very rich man less rich, the nation, as a whole is likelier to gain than to lose by it, for no economic justification of the very rich has yet appeared. If the change brings the payer below the line of sufficiency for his best work and life, there is a heavy loss, even if the State uses wisely the capital obtained; but such cases are non-existent here and now, or are so accidental that they are of no importance, except as political bogies.

English tax revenue is obtained mainly by taxing purchases, incomes, properties.

Taxes on purchases (or on consumption) are bad because they are not levied progressively, or on those most able to pay them; and good in so far as they bring in revenue freely, and are capable of being laid upon luxuries and things considered rather harmful than otherwise.

Taxes on income are good because income is the best measure of ability to pay, and because they can be levied progressively.

A tax according to income is more likely to be equitable than one according to property, but experience leads legislators to use both taxes, for a property tax partly adjusts the lapses of a system based on income. Thus in the working of the Old Age Pensions Act it appeared that one or two people with quite a considerable capital, having it invested at a very low rate of interest, were eligible for pensions. Property taxes are complementary to income taxes, and can regulate them in the direction of equity.

Experience has proved that for local taxes (rates) fixed property is the best basis.

Taxes on property are only capable of equitable progression if they are assessed according to the productiveness of the property (capital), and hence are really taxes on income; but they can be used as a means of transferring property to the State which the State can employ with advantage to the community. Succession duty or estate duty on land can now be paid in land.

Line of Reform.

Thus we may infer that it will be equitable and economical for us to direct the development of our present system in the following ways.

First. Non-tax revenue should be extended, for by this means a constantly increasing revenue from profits may be secured, and real taxes will gradually disappear. To this end the State should ever seek to obtain and employ more and more productive property, e.g., railways, canals, telegraph cables, forests, land.

Secondly. While taxes continue to be raised, a progressive system, assessed on income, should be the chief feature.

Thirdly. Taxes on property should be used to supplement taxes on incomes and make them more equitable, and also as a means by which the State can obtain productive property (capital), which will help to extinguish taxation.

Fourthly. Taxes on commodities (customs and excise) should be limited to such commodities as are considered harmful or less necessary, and only extended beyond such bare limits under the stress of heed for revenue at all costs.

Earned and Unearned Income.

In the United States property is taken as a general test of ability to pay; in England income is taken, and this seems decidedly the better test. But two incomes of £1,000 a year each are not necessarily equivalent. One may be the wage of a year's labour, from which the community benefits, and the other not a wage, but a toll levied through the possession, say, of ground rents or Consols.

To the economist the essential difference between these two is that one is uncertain, dependent on the accidents of life, and the other is comparatively certain and lasting.

To the community there is more particularly the difference that the one is balanced by services rendered and the other may not represent services at all. It may, however, for a time. A doctor who invests some of his " wage " in Consols against the time he retires, partly purchases an Old Age Pension. But this element of " deferred pay " ceases when the Consols pass to his son.

The essential distinction between an income that is uncertain and limited by time and an income that is more certain and unlimited by time is not touched by the " deferred pay " argument, and it forms the economic basis for the higher rate upon unearned incomes that Mr. Asquith introduced.

The very name that we give to this class of income—unearned (or *unverdient,* undeserved, as the Germans say)—brings forward vividly the disassociation from services rendered.. But its characteristic of being free from the accidents of life that threaten all earned incomes is not suggested by the name and is not so generally grasped. It is, however, a characteristic of the greatest importance to a State which has a long life and can profitably consider the future. Future chancellors may build up two scales of taxes for these two kinds of income, but the likelier development is that of a steeper graduation, with certain additional rates for unearned incomes. Such a system we have already in bold outline.

Direct and Indirect Taxation.

There is another way of raising the extra money, as we have been told with insistence and iteration of late. We may increase our customs and excise duties, spurred on by the hope (for there is a hope) that a small part of the customs duty will be paid, temporarily, by people of other nations. This does not amount to very much, however, except on election posters, and may quite safely be neglected. Now a very important and significant feature of this scheme has been omitted in the recent discussion. A graduated scale by which the wealthy will pay according to any such scale as that in the death duties or the 1909 income tax, is very difficult to introduce into indirect taxation. Attempts might be made in this direction, and indeed are made at present, as by taxing wine at a higher rate than beer. So, it might be suggested, we could levy a high rate on motor cars and a low one on chairs. But several difficulties arise. There are not very many motor cars made and very few imported. A very heavy tax on these and on the few classes of goods bought only by the rich would be needed to effect anything like a recognizable progres-

sion. And a heavy tax would very seriously reduce the number of this scheme has been omitted in the recent discussion. A of cars demanded, and industry would suffer. Lastly, there are the vested interests to consider, and experience shows that these would make short work of any attempt to build up a progressive scheme. It is important enough to be worth repeating that the present movement in national finance towards progressive taxation will receive a serious check if our revenue is to be derived largely from indirect taxation.

There is a Parliamentary fallacy of considerable age and of amazing robustness which must be dealt with in this connection. It may fitly be described in the stirring words of one of its modern exponents, Lord Birkenhead, then Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P. :—

" With characteristic arrogance, Mr. Lloyd George has thrown over the financial maxims of the past. Instead of an even balance between the two sets of taxes—direct and indirect—the direct burdens are more the heavier by about seven per cent." (" Daily Mail Year Book," 1910).

Economics recognises no " financial maxim " which declares that direct and indirect taxes should be equal. The idea behind this curious delusion seems to be that as direct taxes are paid chiefly by the wealthier classes and indirect taxes chiefly by the poorer classes, the taxes ought to be halved between them. But taxes are paid by persons. Even company taxes are really paid by persons. If we take a line, say, £160 per year, to separate those who pay direct taxes from those who pay only indirect taxes, we can work out the amount paid by the two classes in some fashion. But the results are valueless, because £1 income or £1 tax, is only a great or a small sum in relation to a small or a great income, as we have already seen.

It would be interesting to trace the rise of this doctrine. Consider for a moment the following figures :—

Year	Direct taxes Per cent.	Indirect taxes Per cent.
1841	27	73
1861	38	62
1891	44	56
1893	45	55
1895	48	52
1898	48	52
1903	50	50
1908	53	47
1914	60	40
1917	80	20
1923	66	34
1924	66	34
1926	70	30

The figures cannot be absolutely exact, but they are fairly close approximations, and their significance is plain enough. In the early part of the nineteenth century the burden of taxation lay very heavily on the poorer classes, who paid then, as they pay now, the bulk of indirect taxes. There is a steady movement visible tending to transfer the heavier part of the burden to the better-off classes, who pay the bulk of the direct taxes. Is it an unfair inference that the cry for an "even balance between the two sets of taxes" was an attempt to check the movement, and that it became articulate at the period when something like an "even balance" was reached? Whether that be so or not, it is a fair and relevant question to ask where that doctrine was in 1841, when the indirect taxes made up threequarters the revenue.

The argument must not be pressed too far. Indirect taxes are not all of one kind, and some of them, as the tax on motor-cars, fall on the richer classes. But the rise in the one column and the fall in the other is quite clear on any fair system of reckoning.

For and Against Indirect Taxation.

It is not to be assumed, however, that indirect taxation is necessarily bad in itself. It is only bad in so far as it is inequitable or uneconomical, and although it is very often both, it need not be either. The case for and against indirect taxation is this :—

On the one hand, so long as people must pay taxes, they undoubtedly prefer paying them without being too insistently reminded of the fact. If it galls a man more to pay £1 to a tax collector on demand than to pay £1 in instalments through his tobacconist, then, if other things were equal, common sense would suggest that the State should take the tobacconists for its tax-collectors. But, of course, other things are not equal. The non-smoker escapes.

This brings up the false argument for indirect taxation, that it is voluntary. If a man chooses he need not buy tobacco or beer, and so he "volunteers" to be taxed. Of course, if the taxation were really voluntary it would not be paid at all. The argument is a mere sophism.

To return. Although bread and tobacco and whisky are equally commodities, they are not equally important or necessary to the State or to the individual. It is true that luxuries shade off into necessities, and harmful things into useful things; but there is not the slightest doubt as to bread being more useful than whisky or tobacco, and if the State must tax some commodities, it had better tax the less useful and less necessary

things. Only, the State must tax things that are likely to produce the revenue it wants from that source, and it must not do it so clumsily that consumers will pay a penny when the State only gets a halfpenny. The beer tax of 1909 is an example of this error, and every Protectionist country has a cluster of such taxes.

The case against indirect taxation is that it cannot easily be made progressive, and so sins against equity by falling heavily on the poor; and that it often costs the consumer more than it brings in to the State, and so sins against economy. The English duties on commodities are all open to the first of these objections; but some of them, such as the tea duty, which is levied on an artcle not produced in the country, largely escape the second objection.

Retrenchment and Reform.

" Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," was a political cry of some force in its day. It was based on the false doctrine that the less the State spent the better. A new cry is needed to express the newer doctrines—that the cry for reform precèdes finance, and does not follow it, that the best State is that which raises wisely and expends wisely the largest percentage of the national income. So " reform " must stand midway between " peace " and—something better than " retrenchment." Rather is " Peace, Progression and Progress " the ideal of to-day; peace as a necessary condition for progressive taxation, and that as a necessary condition for progress.

There need be no fear of a " crushing burden " at the prospect here outlined. There is no burden when there is compensating gain. No one speaks of the " burden " of the price of the ordinary goods be buys so long as he is not cheated. The word becomes distorted with misuse. One can only speak of the " burden " of a gas bill if the gas company overcharges for the quality or quantity of its gas. People who use municipal gas do not talk in such fashion. Those who are apt to speak of a company's " capital " and a municipality's " debt " are apt also to speak of the " price " of motor-cars and the " burden " of the roads upon which they run. What is equitably and economically levied, wisely and usefully spent, can only be described as a " burden " by a misuse of language. In the words of a modern economist, " If a nation gets in return for its taxes as much of the things it wants as it could get otherwise, there is no burden." We would add, for completeness sake, " provided the taxes are equitably and economically raised."

Good and Bad Taxes.

According to the principles we have laid down, we may describe a good tax as follows :—

1. A good tax is paid by people of different degrees of wealth, not in proportion to wealth, but progressively. Thus the graduated tax (other things being equal) is the best tax. This is an application of the principle of equity (from each according to his powers), and of economy (the most useful parts of income being undisturbed).

2. A good tax is not costly to the State to collect, nor does it take anything (or very little) from the payer more than is received by the State. This is an application of the principle of economy.

By these standards the Death Duties appear as the best tax we have, and the Income Tax, now that it is graduated, stands next. How far a tax may be from the ideal set out above may be judged by the case of the beer tax of twelve shillings per fifty barrels imposed by the Budget of 1909. This is less than threepence a barrel, yet brewers were able for a while to meet it by raising the price of beer a halfpenny per pint, or twelve shillings per barrel. Thus the real taxpayer (the beer drinker) was mulcted of twelve shillings, and the State got threepence.

The Case Against Progression.

The arguments that have been used against a progressive system of taxation are about six in number. We will group them as sinning against the principles we have laid down.

As against the principle of equity, it is said that they are arbitrary and confiscatory. For the first, it may be said at once that all taxation is arbitrary. If the argument means that there is no mathematical law of progression, as there is of proportion, it is quite true. The proportional system is easy. We can tax incomes of £100, £2,000, £50,000 to the extent of £1, £20, and £500 by the proportional method. The only mathematical expression yet suggested to represent the doctrine of diminishing utility which lies at the base of the progressive system is that at which even Chancellors would blench. Supporters of the proportional system would be better content with arbitrary scales than with any mathematical scale likely to be furnished by economists. As for confiscation, that is in the very nature of taxation. What makes a tax a tax is that it is levied irrespective of what compensations may be forthcoming. Progressive and all other taxes are necessarily arbitrary and confiscatory, simply because they are taxes.

As against the principle of economy, it is said that progressive taxation is unprofitable, for the yield is no greater than in a proportional system; that it checks saving; that it drives out capital; and that it encourages evasion. For the first point, it is obvious that a proportional scale may yield more or less than a graduated scale. We have illustrated a case on page 10, where the same

amount is raised by a progressive and by a proportional rate (columns 3 and 5). But, of course, the columns can be varied as against each other by altering the rate of progression or the percentage. The argument only means that a chancellor can get as much without outcry from a proportional as from a progressive rate. In fact, he can get more, for outcries against taxation are loudest from the well-to-do, as recent events have shown. The second point, that a progressive system checks saving, may be met also in the same way by saying that all taxation tends to check saving. The effect of a progressive system is to encourage saving relatively on the part of people with smaller incomes. The argument about driving out capital has had to face a constant and increasing exodus of capital, which bears a close relation to the increase of the total wealth or income of the people of the country, but which is only germane to the question of taxation in so far as the system makes investment at home less profitable than investment abroad. A State that spent much, and spent it wisely, would be constantly offering opportunities for home investment. Capital is driven abroad because the State is not adventurous enough at home. Many sound investments are waiting in these islands which private enterprise cannot or will not venture upon. The last argument, that evasion will be encouraged, is of some weight. Evasion is of two kinds, legal and illegal. The illegal methods must be met by greater vigilance, the legal methods by new legislation. Until a better public spirit grows up among the wealthy classes, they must be educated in civic responsibilities and national honour on the one hand, and restrained from disobeying the law of the land or dodging it on the other, in common with all wrongdoers. They have been educated in false doctrines, and have yet to learn what true equity in taxation is. But there is hope for them. It was one of the opponents of the Budget of 1909 who said that it did not tax the rich heavily enough. Even the idle rich may learn to be good citizens.

Modern Ideas in Taxation.

A State, hard pressed for money, will risk the frowns of economists, classical or otherwise, and go straight where money is to be had. Whether this be in the sounder way, that is, for taxes, or in a way less sound, for loans, the State must go to the wealthy classes. There is a chance of getting moral (or immoral) satisfaction out of levying on the pennies and sixpences of the working class, but little chance of getting good, round sums. Thus, Mr. Lloyd George when he wanted money for his Insurance and Pension schemes, no less than when he wanted it for war purposes, had either to tax the rich or to borrow from them. Here, as often, practice ran beyond the

theory of all but the bolder economists. "Taxing the Rich" is not so much a party accusation or "slogan," as a statement of the only effective way of getting taxes beyond a rather small amount; that is, from the point of view of an economist. A politician may get rather large amounts from those whom the economist considers "unable" to pay them. There is here one of the many confusions of terms and ideas that so often hinder common sense from acting for the common good. There is a higher and a lower efficiency line in the working of every energy-user, whether it be a heat engine, a human body, or a human mind. Under the best conditions, it works at or about the higher efficiency line. Under conditions not so good, but good enough to keep it working, it is at or near the lower efficiency line. Its work, on this plane, quite easily appears to be thoroughly satisfactory to those who have little acquaintance with its "higher efficiency" possibilities, or who are satisfied (through mental inertia usually) with its lower-efficiency work; or who, for any reason, open or disguised, bear some of the possible results of the high efficiency working.

In the case of the human energy-user, as an economic machine, an important condition of efficiency is represented in the case of the bulk of our population, by wages; that is, real wages measured in the economic necessaries and comforts purchasable with them. It is not the only condition. The whole environment of life, social, æsthetic, spiritual, what you will, powerfully affects that economic machine, man the producer; but here we are dealing with cash values.

Now the economist, as such, cannot but view with misgiving any reduction of wages which will lower producing-power below the higher-efficiency line. He may compromise with himself by saying that it is as the Boer War of of 1900 was said to be: "A regrettable necessity." But he must stiffen when taxes are levied on those working at or near the lower-efficiency line; or, in terms of wages, those who are already at or about subsistence level. Here is an unmistakable spoiling of economic producing plant; human plant, being no less subject to deterioration through working under bad conditions than other energy-using productive machines. A great deal of the taxation that falls on the working classes is of this nature.

The actual achieved changes of practice in British taxation during the 20th century are considerable in number and in importance. Thus:—

I. The Income Tax, which even in Mr. Gladstone's time was held to be suitable only as a First Reserve, for such emergencies as wars, has established itself as the centre of our whole system of taxation.

II. Moreover, the Income Tax has become very elaborate in itself, and has been supplemented by " Death Duties " (Estate Duties) and a Super-tax. This " Income Tax Group " now furnishes about half of our tax revenue. In the days of our grandfathers, the proceeds from it were trivial.

The elaborations of this Income Tax Group (Income and Super-tax, and Death Duties) have, on the whole, moved in one direction. That is, they have moved towards putting the chief " burden " upon the larger incomes. The main factor in accomplishing this has been the use of graduated or progressive scales. These have been applied to all three parts of the group. The growth of exemptions and abatements for children, wives, dependents, shows the recognition of the family as a unit. Allowances for life assurance and mortgage premiums are more individual, but even these have " family effects."

The greater demands made on unearned, than on earned, incomes, fiercely opposed on what were claimed to be moral and economic grounds, are now generally accepted; and they are accepted on moral and on economic grounds. That it is not always easy to draw the line between them was the one practical argument used against the double scale. It is an argument used over and over again in political history; and, as usual, later history has shown that, " It can't be done," is a politic way of saying what usually means: " We don't want it done."

III. The changes of proportion between direct taxes, levied mainly on the rich, and indirect taxes, levied generally, have broadly been :—

(a) From 1840 to 1900, an increase of Direct Taxes from (about) 25 per cent. to (about) 50 per cent.

(b) From 1913 to 1917, a War-Needs Increase from (about) 60 per cent. to (about) 80 per cent.

(c) After 1917, a decrease from (about) 80 per cent. to (about) 70 per cent.

The first of these increases was caused by the search for money for the Asquith—Lloyd-George social programme; the second, for war-funds. The decrease since 1917 marks the wave of protectionism that wars usually cause. The Excess Profits Tax, introduced for a similar purpose, was a temporary measure, and is now past history. It represents a case where the " It can't be done " argument, screening the more real, " We don't want it done," won a victory. There was a proposal for taxing war-profits to an extent that might have assisted the State funds very greatly, and that might have prevented much of the growth of a " war profiteer " class. It was a difficult, but by no means an

impossible task. It was a thousand times less difficult than "making Germany pay the whole cost of the war." Yet on this cry an election was won, whilst the opportunity of taking most of the "unearned increment" of war profits was lost.

IV. The rise of the "Death Duties" (Estate Duties). The startling changes in the scales applied to these duties (already given, page 13), make it difficult to realize that the speeches of the Duke of Devonshire and other peers were really made in 1894. To wealthy men to-day, the scale of 1894, from 1 to 8 per cent., are part of the good old times. When imposed it was regarded as flat robbery, and was so called. The Tory of to-day often sighs after the modest programme of the Radical of the day before yesterday.

This question of inheritance is one that has been inadequately considered, by Socialists as by their opponents. Since most of the big incomes are the results of inheritance, the taxation of inherited wealth is particularly important in the whole "have and have not" argument.

Here, as elsewhere, the practice of hard-pressed chancellors and governments has gone ahead of orthodox theory. While the case was still being debated, the Duties were levied; and their yield has grown very notably. Working principles have appeared, such as that by which bequests to strangers are more heavily taxed than those to near relatives. The important matter of the "just" scale, however, remains undecided. One attempt has been made to devise a "law for graduating incomes" (Pareto's: see the "Statistical Journal," 1914, or the "Quarterly Journal of Economics," 1914); but chancellors alter their scales by "rule of thumb," with the object of extracting the maximum amount and minimum effective "squealing"; non-effective squealing being, as always, ignored.

Another Italian economist, Rignano, has worked out a system of inheritance duties by which a fortune twice inherited is taxed more heavily at the second leaving than at the first (excluding any additions that may have been made); and more heavily still at the third and fourth leavings, until it is extinguished.

Two important questions lie behind the Death Duties; one of them, a theory, the other a practical application. The first is: by what right, or according to what law, does the State interfere with a man disposing by will of "what is his own"? The second is: what is the just share of the State, if there is any share at all, in such transactions?

The answer to the first question is: by right of human conceptions of justice, and by force of those same human laws which first empowered men to leave bequests as they wish and will. For the right of bequest is not inborn; it has been conferred by

States upon individuals. When States put limits upon it, they do not create new rights for themselves; they modify rights (legal rights) that were given by themselves. When a man dies, and leaves claims to wealth to be assorted, there is always one claimant; the State; and there is usually another, his family or relatives. Of these, the claim of the community is the greater. It was by the laws, the conditions, set up and preserved by the community that the wealth was amassed. The community is a great partner in most economic production. It is an active partner while the wealth is being gathered; why should it suddenly become an inactive sleeping partner when the wealth is being passed on? We must remember also that a big fortune left at death is not usually a tangible supply of gold or goods. It is commonly expressed as an income. Now an income is a *claim* upon present and future production; in the case of inherited incomes, chiefly a claim upon future production. The community which engages to meet any or all of such claims upon its future may rightly limit, and sharply limit, the rights which earlier laws conferred, in simpler ages, upon wealthy individuals, rights that have created immense charges upon generations unborn, and are creating an increasing number of holders of unearned incomes. Of its own impulse, this process may reach the point where the claims of heirs upon the products of the community may become impossible. A mere pruning of bequests, even a heavy pruning, is desirable even in the interests of the heirs and their heirs; for without it, there is no escaping a final act of repudiation by an exhausted community.

The parallel development of modern theories and modern practices in taxation have already been alluded to. A brief summary is given below. (They are set out more fully in " Taxation Yesterday and To-morrow," P. S. King, 2s. 6d.)

Developments in Theory.

(i.) The abandonment of the idea of a tax as a price, and the general acceptance of the modern definition, a payment to an authority, having two essential marks by which it differs from a " price "; (1) being compulsory; (2) not being proportioned or measured to or by the benefits received in return.

(ii) The consequent decay of the Benefit Theory of Taxation.

(iii.) The distinction made between incomes from work and incomes from ownership.

(iv.) The realisation of the fact that taxes are paid by persons, and the lessening of false arguments about entities like " industry " being taxed.

(v.) A great weakening of the idea that heavy taxing diminishes saving. The effect is duplex; both to diminish and to increase saving.

Developments in Practice.

(i.) The growth of the Income Tax Group, with Super-tax and the Death Duties, from its re-imposition in 1842-3 to a dominant position; with the development of exemptions and abatements.

(ii.) Introduction of graduated scales, against the opinion of nearly all orthodox economists of the 19th and early 20th century.

(iii.) Relative increase of Direct Taxation.

(iv.) The taxation of unearned incomes on a higher scale than earned incomes.

(v.) A further attempt to discriminate against socially-made privately-held wealth, in the Excess Profits Duty. An opportunity to take over a great deal of " war-wealth " offered itself, and was lost.

(vi.) Further equalisations of rates as between poor and rich areas—still incomplete.

(vii.) The Taxation of Land Values. Recent events have caused this demand of the 1880's to be put aside; but it will again become a live issue.

(viii.) A local income tax (this is discussed in the Fabian Tract No. 194, " Taxes, Rates and Local Income Tax ").

(ix.) A levy on capital. This proposal has been advocated by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Dr. Dalton, Professor Pigou, Mr. J. M. Keynes, Lord Arnold, and to an earlier generation, David Ricardo. It is opposed (very naturally) by those likely to be levied upon; *by their political supporters; and by large* financial groups *who, as groups, fear disturbance and, as* individuals, would *mostly come under the tax. As in the* case of the Taxation of War Wealth, a favourable opportunity was lost. The years 1921—1923 were more suitable for a capital levy than the present years, because a process of deflation has now been at work, and a capital levy now might bring about the effects of further deflation, including more

unemployment. Certainly a levy might be made in such a way as to have this result; but most or all of it could be avoided. The alternatives to a levy are few enough :—

(1) Leave the Debt at its 7,000 odd millions; pay the interest; hope for big reductions in the future, somehow, sometime. Meanwhile carry on with our present tax scheme, adding new taxes from time to time, mainly taxes on commodities, not falling chiefly on the wealthy classes. This is the Conservative alternative: "As you were as nearly as you can."

(2) Increase the Death Duties, Super-tax and Income Tax on the higher incomes, and allocate the increase, or a fixed part of it, to wiping out the Debt.

(3) Allocate all War Debt payments from other countries to wiping out our own Debt. This is generally agreed upon, but in itself it is inadequate and somewhat hypothetical. The practical solutions are contained in (1) and (2) above, and a Capital Levy scheme.

Finally: the insistence in this pamphlet of the necessity for levying most of our taxes, by graduated scales, on the higher incomes, does not imply the principle that the "working class" should not be taxed. Every effective citizen should pay his share towards the expenses of the community, according to his or her real ability to pay. But there is no real ability to pay where wages are at or very near subsistence level. At present, indirect taxes are in fact levied on many such people, to our economic and moral hurt. In a "good State," all effective citizens would pay, and would pay with full consciousness of the act. To get taxes out of people by disguising the fact or amount of the tax is not good statesmanship.

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THE CASE FOR SCHOOL CLINICS

By L. HADEN GUEST, M.C., M.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.R.C.P. (Lond.), L.C.C.

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The Case for School Clinics.

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If we were really a practical nation instead of an obscurantist nation, we should do some very simple things for school children. We should, to begin with, treat them as individual boys and girls and not as administrative units, with the possibility of a decimal point thrown in. The things that children need are known to very many thousands of English men and women; they comprise good food, good clothing, good housing, and loving care. In educational matters educationists are so far agreed that in a genuinely representative congress, expressing unfettered opinions, there would be no serious differences of opinion on essentials. But we are not a practical nation, and I do not propose to discuss the detail of these practical things. There is a huge gap between what we know how to do and what we immediately proceed to do on any extensive scale. The why and wherefore of this is another matter; at present my concern is with the things that we can immediately proceed to do for the school child.

On the roundabout route by which we approach common sense, the medical inspection of school children is a long step. By this inspection the problem is displayed and made graphic before our eyes. Before medical inspection theorists could argue ad infinitum, after medical inspection the argument must at least centre round the facts discovered.

What Inspection Shows.

The main subdivisions and groupings of children which medical inspection enables us to make, are, broadly speaking, the same for all schools. In every school the bulk of the children show an average health which is comparatively satisfactory. And among the children presenting defects of mind and physique there are two main groups. In both of these medical defects are present, but in the one the family circumstances are average or above the average, in the other group the circumstances are below the average. The first may be said to present simply medical defects, the second medical defects plus poverty.

The children who are average must not be thought by any means to be satisfactory. The average of one school is of necessity made for that school, and applies to the particular children drawn from the homes round about it. The average of a school in a slum neighborhood would be below the average for a school in a district of well-paid artizans. In London, for instance, parts of Lambeth may be well below parts of Battersea.

The average is in no case very high, in the London County Council schools three decayed teeth are charted as normal, many slight eye defects, many slight degrees of feeble nutrition, and many slight deformities are "normal." None the less these things are handicaps in schoolwork, and in after life. Such average children are very "average" in general capacity, in character, and in grasp of the duties of citizenship and of their part in life.

To raise the average of child life in all schools to the level of the school with the highest average among children drawn from the same social stratum, to raise the average of all slum schools to the average of the best slum school, is a non-utopian ideal with a very concrete measure of its success, which we might well adopt into our municipal politics.

The problem of the average child is largely a problem for the statesman and social reformer; medical knowledge has made the problem concrete and definite, and can suggest some needed reforms. But the problem of the child with defects, whether purely medical or medical plus poverty, is predominantly a doctor's question.

The Medical Group and the Poverty Group.

The division into two groups is important from the standpoint of treatment. The purely medical cases can get cured comparatively easily, the poverty cases only with difficulty. To treat a child with obstructed breathing and adenoids who is otherwise fairly sound and who comes from a decent home, is simple, and cure is probable. The parents of such a child will take trouble to see that the defect is remedied when it is pointed out to them. The decent home and the child's fairly sound condition are an indication that the parents have the desire and probably the time to see that proper treatment is applied. In every large town and accessible for most small towns and villages there are hospitals and dispensaries supplying facilities for treatment which can be taken advantage of by those having the desire and the time to do so. On the whole the great bulk of children presenting medical defects pure and simple will have those defects attended to by existing institutions when the parents become aware of what is needed. In this respect medical inspection puts the child of the poor man on a level with the child of the rich man, by giving him an expert opinion on what should be done to put the child in the fittest possible condition. Medical inspection does a great work if it makes medical knowledge available to the parents of all children.

Difficulty of the Poverty Group.

In the case of children presenting medical defects plus poverty, the case is far different. To begin with, such children often present not one or two but a group of defects, and complicated and continuous treatment may be required. The general condition of such children is not good, and the children do not give good results from treatment. Discharging ears in a badly nourished poor child for instance, take longer to get well than in a decently nourished

average child. But, worst of all, the parents of such poor children do not take them for medical treatment. Sometimes the parents will not take them—these, I think, are the rarer cases—sometimes the parents do not think medical treatment necessary, these are commoner cases. Sometimes the parents cannot spare time to get the children treated. This last class is as large as either of the two others, and may in certain localities be larger. In the first group come the children from drunken and vicious homes, in the second from feckless homes, in the third from overworked and underworked homes. We might call them the vicious, the feckless, and the poor homes.

The remedy for these conditions lies outside the scope of school organization, but the recognition of the existence of these conditions is very much a matter for school authorities. For the plain A B C of the facts is this, that it is no use treating defects of nose and throat, eye and ear, unless you treat the underlying debility of constitution produced by the home conditions. That means remedial school feeding firstly and open-air schools, school baths and gymnasia among other things as secondary methods. This state of things means also a new organization for getting the children treated.

It may, in theory, be highly desirable to "insist" on the parents getting remedied the defects. pointed out to them by medical inspection. In practice the parents will either not do so, or only pretend to do so, for in the matter of getting treatment it is fatally easy to pretend. If the poverty group children are to have their illnesses and ailments remedied, they will have to be (a) fed on a diet designed to improve their physique, and (b) sent to hospital or school clinic in charge of someone from the school by the authority of the school.

The home conditions of such children also need tackling; the necessity of open windows and soap and water need pointing out, and all kinds of complicated little details need discussing with the parents. These are the duties of the care committee, but if they are to be effectively carried out, if remedial feeding is to become a reality instead of a pretence, and if medical defects are to be cured, there is only one effective way of doing these things—all of these activities must centre round a school clinic. And the school clinic, the school doctors, and the school nurses must be as much a part of the school organization as the school teachers.

The average children in council schools (who are nevertheless below the standard of their own possibilities), and the children with medical defects only, may be put aside for the moment; the children with defects plus poverty are an urgent problem demanding instant attention.

The Morass of Destitution.

Children belonging to the poverty group, as already defined, are the children sprung from the morass of destitution which quakes and shivers around the foundations of our civilization. These children come from definitely localized neighborhoods, from particular st[illegible]

and from special blocks of "model" dwellings. The poverty of destitution and demoralization is spotted over the surface of our towns as concretely as smallpox is spotted over the face of a man sick from this disease. The poverty spots are, however, mouths of the abyss into which human life and our civilization sink away out of sight of man. And to children coming from the poverty spots, it is no use giving a box of ointment or a bottle of lotion to cure their diseases; these things make no impression thrown into the abyss.

A mother equipped with patience, the desire of cleanliness, and the wish for health, may get some good out of a hospital out patient department, even if the interview accorded by the doctor after hours of waiting be very brief. The mother from the demoralized poverty spot, even if she does arrive at the hospital, will get usually no help of which she can avail herself.

The doctor's point of view needs to be considered. A busy man, seeing very many similar cases, giving very frequently the same instructions, and meeting constantly with the same failure to get those instructions adequately carried out, may sometimes get a little hopeless as to the value of his out patient work.

A Typical Slum Mother.

The advent of a typical slum (poverty spot) mother increases the doctor's feeling of hopelessness ten or twentyfold. Take a concrete case, that of a child with discharge from the ears. The mother of the case I have in mind is a person with tattered, frowsy, and safety-pinned raiment, conforming generally to the blouse and skirt-type; the sleeves are torn to a conveniently free length, the waist is commodiously ample. Neither face nor hands are especially clean, the face is coarse in feature and grinningly amiable. Conversation reveals much surface plausibility, with much genuine and deep laid sloth and inertia. The home is in two or three dark, semi-basement rooms, low, hung with lines on which hang flapping clothes, cumbered with backless chairs, decayed tables, peeling veneer chests of drawers, and iron bedsteads heaped with brownish coverings.

Is it wonderful that, faced by the problem of treating the child of such a mother, living in such a home, the doctor may get a little despairing? Treatment which consists partly of syringing out the ears must inevitably fail of being carried out under cleanly conditions (aseptic is pure utopianism). Regularity is not understood; any directions given, except with the most labored simplicity, are not understood. For unexplained reasons such a patient will frequently not attend to see the doctor and report progress. For other unexplained reasons the patient will try "a bottle of medicine" from some private dispensary or from some other public institution. On other occasions the patient will attend in charge of an incompetent person to whom it is useless to give instructions and from whom it is impossible to expect reasonable information. In the particular instance the person in charge was sometimes a [illegible]ken grandmother, and once or twice a sister only a year or [illegible]older than the patient.

In such cases it may be possible to get parental consent to an operation for removal of tonsils or adenoids. That involves very little trouble to the parents, and is besides by way of being fashionable, and has proved of benefit to neighboring children. But an operation is the first part of the treatment and not the end. A child operated upon needs medical supervision and careful training before it may be pronounced cured. And this supervision and training it does not get.

Deeper Deeps.

The case cited above is by no means an especially bad one; it may even be thought to belong to the aristocracy of the poverty group. It is still possible to treat a child of this kind by the united effort of school nurse, school teachers, school doctor, dispensary doctor, with the casual intervention of the clergyman, the district visitor, and a member of the care committee. But there are many children beyond these agencies. There is (I take examples at random as they occur to me from my own experience) the case of the blind woman, a widow, with verminous and ringworm smitten children. Medical treatment comes and goes, according to the aberrations of the patient's mother, but the conditions persist. To expostulate with such a woman for sewing her child's clothing tightly upon its back is to get a glib explanation (glaringly denied by the conditions) that this is done regularly every night after the equally regular bath. Nevertheless, however glaringly obvious the condition, the cure is not obvious under existing circumstances. To give a complete outfit of clean clothes is no remedy; it has been tried more than once and failed.

Another case is that of a child attending a school for mental defectives. The school nurse noticed the discharging ears, and managed, after considerable trouble with minor arrangements, to get the child specially medically examined. At the examination the mother stated that the child was "under treatment." This, it appeared, meant one attendance in six weeks at a hospital out patient department, where she was given some lotion and some rapid and half-comprehended instructions. The mother then consented for a special arrangement to be made whereby the child was to be sent from school to a public dispensary every day, in order that the ears might be properly syringed out and attended to by a nurse. The school doctor gave the mother a letter for the school teacher to the effect that the mother agreed to this, to be given to the school teacher by the child. Three days afterwards a teacher called on the dispensary doctor to enquire when treatment might begin, as she had heard about it from the nurse. It then appeared that the letter had not been delivered. Another teacher then visited the child's home and secured the school doctor's letter. "It had been forgotten." After this the child attended at the dispensary most days, but never on Saturdays, when it "minded the baby." As soon as the summer vacation began, the child also ceased attending. After the summer holiday the ears, which were

in a most serious and foul condition, were found just as bad as they ever had been. The same thing occurred at the Christmas vacation. And these measures taken to get treatment were quite independent of numerous official letters and enquiries about the child, involving the labour of clerks and other officials on a fruitless task.

Even when with great and, compared with the results, disproportionate exertion, such a child has been cured of one definite ailment, it very often presents another. Frequently a poverty group child shows more than one defect, often several defects, and the cure of one may leave the others unaffected. While the cure of all definite ailments may still leave the groundwork of anæmia and a debilitated constitution unaffected. To get a poverty group child into a good state of health often involves prolonged and expensive treatment, one or more operations on ear, glands in the neck, tonsils or adenoids, a stay in hospital and at a convalescent home, and perhaps a prolonged three to six months holiday in some country cottage, all of which means much money and very much expenditure of time and energy.

The Necessity of the School Clinic.

To continue such methods of dealing with the poverty group children is to perpetuate the diseases and defects from which they suffer. Nothing but a special organisation to meet the special case will be of any great service. What is done is, of course, of immense help in ameliorating disease, in easing pain, in keeping the worse worst conditions from spreading too widely; but it is costly, cumbrous, involves great labour, and effects little permanent result; in the poverty group often none.

When medical treatment is as much a part of the school work as manual training or housewifery, then it will have a chance to be effective. The educated observation of the teacher will be at hand and at the doctor's disposal to supplement the haphazard observation of the parent, the report of the school medical inspector and the observation of the school nurse will be available, and the machinery of the school organisation, with school nurse, attendance officer, and children's care committee, will be able to be used for the purpose of carrying out necessary instructions in the home and out of school hours. In a word, instead of endeavouring to treat an ailing child by the agency of half a dozen badly co-ordinated or entirely separate institutions, with no effective grip anywhere, we shall be treating the same ailment as part of the school life, with the necessary means entirely at our disposal, and with all the other agencies adequately co-ordinated and properly effective.

All the activities controlled and directed by the care committee should be worked in the closest co-operation with the school clinic. This is especially true of the provision of meals for necessitous children, but it is also true of the provision of boots and of clothing and of the arrangement of country holidays.

In describing the organisation of the school clinic I am relying on my experience at the St. George's Dispensary and School Clinic in Blackfriars, where for some time past the school clinic organisation has been working satisfactorily, and which is now the largest in London.

Judging from this experience and that of others who have pioneered on school clinic lines, one gets a very actual view of the conditions to be met.

The Clinic Required.

In every thickly populated locality, schools are built fairly close to each other, and fall into groups. To supply the need of such a group only one clinic is required, and may well serve for sixteen or twenty schools, with a school population of something under a thousand each.

To start a clinic the first necessity is to find a convenient building situated in the centre of the group, or as near this as may be. It is desirable, especially for small children, to have the clinic not more than twenty minutes' walk from any school. Greater distances are inconvenient, and much smaller distances highly desirable. The St. George's Dispensary is established in a former rectory, less than ten minutes' walk from nearly a dozen schools.

A clinic must have a large waiting-room, one or two rooms for consultation with the doctor, and a room for treatments and dressing by the nurse.

A doctor should be in attendance at the clinic during school hours, and the head teachers of the schools belonging to the group should send there, in charge of the school nurse or other responsible person, all the children who are to have treatment. These children will be roughly those of the poverty group, but they will also include cases of discharging ears and other chronic ailments which need daily care, and cannot be attended to at a hospital. The children sent to the clinic would be normally those examined by the school doctor, whose parents were recommended to get them treatment but who failed to obtain it on their own initiative, after a reasonable period, say a month. In some acute and urgent cases the clinic should render first aid, as it were, and the teachers should be encouraged to send children for examination whenever there was uncertainty as to its condition.

A Sorting-Out Centre.

When a medical inspection of a school is made the defects discovered fall into very definite classes. Among them some children, for instance, will have defects of vision, some obstruction at the back of the nose caused by adenoids, some have discharging ears, and others threatening or incipient phthisis. Which of these ailments can the school clinic properly treat? Partly, this must depend upon the situation of the clinic. If it is near to a good special hospital for eye diseases or for those of the nose, throat, or any other

special ailments, and if satisfactory arrangements can be made for treatment at that hospital, then it is a waste of energy to multiply treatment centres. But the clinic should always reserve to itself the power to treat any kind of case in the event of a child for any reason failing to go to the special hospital. This does not mean that a recalcitrant eye case should be treated at the clinic, but that the child not getting treatment should be sent to the clinic and arrangements made, through the clinic organisation, for the special treatment needed. All that is often wanted, when parents refuse or fail to get the suggested treatment, is a medical talk, giving them information or reassuring them about some not understood medical mystery.

This hypothetical instance gives the key to the line of treatment which must be adopted. The clinic will be the organisation which sees that the child gets treatment. A large number of cases, those of diseases of ear, nose, and throat, many skin diseases, chest troubles, digestive troubles, and others, would be actually treated at the clinic. But the very severe ear troubles would be sent to hospital, the serious phthisis to the sanatorium, and the serious bone tuberculosis to the special hospital. The clinic, in fact, while acting as a treatment centre for those defects and diseases which can be conveniently and economically treated in an institution fitted up in a simple and inexpensive way, also act as a sorting centre, and drafts off serious and special cases to the institution where their appropriate treatment could be obtained.

Co-operation with Hospitals.

The school clinic should work in the closest co-operation with the hospitals and dispensaries, and have standing arrangements whereby certain classes of cases can be sent direct to them as soon as discovered. Some of the arrangements made at present with hospitals for treatment fit in well. This means in practice that the clinics only need the simplest apparatus, and that for complex cases use can be made of the costly and elaborate hospital organisation which already exists.

Existing Clinics.

Since this pamphlet was written in 1910 very many school clinics or school treatment centres have been set at work. In 1910 there were fourteen clinics, and in London provision was under consideration for dealing with 25,000 children. Now there are 900 school clinics, and London alone provides for the treatment of 198,000 school children a year.

And yet many of the ideals set out in this pamphlet are still unrealised. The use of the clinic as an instruction centre in the art of hygiene, the deliberate use of remedial feeding to treat poverty defects, the close association of clinic work with arrangements for providing holidays for well children and convalescence for the sick—none of these objects is fully realised, and some hardly realised at

all. And there is need to keep the clinic human, individual and kindly, and not allow it to become official, wholesale and merely correct.

The growth of school clinics has expanded not only in number but in scope, and now not only are minor ailments, uncleanliness, ringworm, defective eyesight, discharging ears, adenoids, enlarged tonsils and defective teeth treated, but there are schemes for remedial gymnastics, rheumatism, certain forms of paralysis, tuberculosis, mastoid disease and orthopædic treatment.

But it is essential that all this great and powerful machinery for treatment, which now has public opinion behind it, should be realised to be only one means of fighting the terrible evils of ignorance and poverty. And ignorance and poverty are with us in 1921 as they were in 1910; a tremendous reconstructive energy has been set at work by medical inspection and treatment, but the conquest of these evils is still in the future.

Yet there are very few of even the most demoralised slum dwellers who do not wish to do what they can for the good of their children. But when not only means, but all knowledge is lacking, it is idle to expect the observance of hygienic common sense. And much greater efforts should be made to secure the attendance of parents with their children at the clinics so as to secure their understanding and willing co-operation.

The Clinic and Common Sense Hygiene.

The clinic should, in fact, become the instruction centre for parents in the art of hygiene, the concrete examples being provided by their own children's ailments. Such concrete hygiene teaching, supplemented, perhaps, by special demonstrations and talks for parents—on the care of the teeth, on breathing and on feeding, for instance—would do more for slum districts and poverty spots than years of abstract lectures in evening schools, admirable as these are.

Above all the clinic must be simple, straightforward, and human. A laughing and a smiling child should be the rule, a solemn or a weeping child the exception. The doctors' and nurses' rooms should be places of happiness and kindliness. In this way the confidence of child and parent will be gained easily, treatment will be facilitated and the parents will try to obey and understand rules of treatment and hygiene. In my own experience I have met very few people incapable of following simple hygienic and medical instructions.

The Clinic and Poverty.

In the preceding paragraphs I sketched the organisation of the school clinic on its medical side, and indicated how it deals with medically and surgically remediable ailments and defects. But among the poverty group children the worst disease, upon which the others do indeed largely depend, is poverty itself. Lack of boots, lack of clothing, and lack of food are not matters which the

doctor can professionally remedy. But the school clinic should work in the closest touch with the care committee, and when the doctor has done all that is possible to put the ailing child straight from his point of view, the care committee agency must be called in to remedy poverty defects which otherwise would render (and do now render under present circumstances) all the medical labour in vain. The underfed child must be fed, the underclothed child clothed. The doctor will certify what social factors are likely to cause or allow a relapse of the illness or defect, and it must be the business of the care committee to take precautions accordingly.

Remedial Feeding.

This will mean in practice that the care committee must have a fund for supplying the needs of school clinic cases. The committee must go even further. The chief need of poverty group children often is carefully adjusted feeding: adjusted, that is, to their damaged and deteriorated digestive systems. This remedial feeding will inevitably be an important part of the school clinic's prescriptions, and will have to be something very different from the present haphazard meals, frequently all that is now provided under the Provision of Meals Act. These meals will be framed on the lines of a medical prescription, and might well (in some cases, at least) be distributed on the plan used by the excellent invalid kitchen in London, which provides meals of different kinds to suit invalid digestions.

Used in this way it will be essential to see that the meal serves its purpose of feeding the child adequately and not of merely staving off starvation. If the school meal was improved so as to become a really physiologically good meal, it would be unnecessary to have invalid cookery for special cases. If the meals are not so improved, it is difficult to see how otherwise the proper feeding of ailing and debilitated poor children is to be obtained.

When one turns from feeding to consider the question of boots and clothes, it is clear that very much requires to be done. A school clinic will only have one answer to the conundrum as to whether it is better to treat recurrent attacks of bronchitis and throat trouble or provide a stout pair of boots and warm clothing. The drug bill and the bill of salaries and general expenses will be balanced against a bill for clothes and boots, and found to be much heavier. The bill is heavier now, but different pockets pay the different bills ; and the hospitals that appeal for subscriptions do not consider it part of their duty to prevent the need for some of their work by subsidising boot and clothing clubs for schools ; nor would they, as long as they are separated institutions, do much good by their subsidies, if given.

Country Holidays.

It is the same with another important aspect of care committee work, that of providing for country holidays. The knowledge

gained at the school clinic is of immense help in determining what children need this kind of holiday and what that. At the present time the question of country holidays and of convalescence after illness or sanatorium treatment are in a rather unorganised condition. Multitudes of children who would benefit by country holidays do not get them, many children who need seaside convalescence or sanatorium treatment do not get it, while, at the same time, financially unsuitable children are allowed to take advantage of charities which are needed by others less well able to pay. The conditions at present are often unavoidable, but a school clinic makes it easier to apply the charities to the best result. Given, then, that the care committee is working in close touch with the doctors, it should be possible to arrange for the optimum use of the agencies at the committee's disposal, and probably for the holidaying of all those children whose condition urgently required it, and especially those threatened with tuberculosis.

Very much valuable work is done by voluntary and paid health visitors, who endeavour by home visits and by plain talk to impress on the homes of poor people the common sense lessons of modern hygiene. The school clinic should do much to fortify and reinforce this health missionary work. For the clinic acts not only as a centre, a rallying point, and a reference on all questions connected with the health of the school child, but it trains the children and the parents themselves as health missionaries on their own account. As I have before mentioned, the discussion of a practical point of hygiene—say, that of open windows or of personal cleanliness—becomes not only concrete, but vital, when it is discussed with the parents with the ailment or delicacy of a beloved child as its object-lesson. The lesson (it is a way with lessons) may have to be repeated, but ultimately it will be effective. A school clinic properly conducted should spread principles of hygiene very rapidly throughout its district. And now that infant welfare centres are established in many places, the school clinic should work in the closest co-operation with them and with the maternity and child welfare committee of the local authority.

The Main Points.

I have above pointed out how the school clinic should enable all cases of ailment or defect in school children to be adequately treated, how it links the school organisation with the present school doctors and school nurses and with the special and general hospitals. How, again, all the activities which have to do with feeding, clothing, holidaying, and convalescence may be naturally grouped and co-ordinated with the clinic's medical work. And how, further, the activity of the clinic and its co-ordinated helpers will stretch outside the clinic, outside the school, and penetrate by means of its missionaries into the home itself, bringing the sweetness and light of health to the parents of school children (particularly of the poverty group), clothed in the garb of their own thoughts and ideas, and exemplified by the occurrences of their daily lives.

Nothing here suggested is utopian, nothing advocated is more than the grouping together of isolated and unco-ordinated practical activities already existing in one form or another. The school clinic, by medically studying the child, provides the natural centre and rallying point for all these activities. The agencies which are now working for the helping of school children should be centralised by the clinic, organised and made a hundred per cent. more effective than they can now be. And we may hope for great and almost unrealisable changes when the school clinic pours out health and help and kindliness in every congested and poor district, for then the growth of child life, which now sinks down into the abyss, will spring up and grow healthily into the light and air of good human existence.

Pure Utopianism.

What I have spoken of above is practical to-day; that which follows will not be "practical" until to-morrow, when some of the preliminary work of clearing out the awful morass of slum child life shall have been performed. To-day it is only a dream: a dream of the time when the child at school shall grow as sweetly and as happily as a flower in a garden, when it shall stretch up its mind for knowledge as a flower for sunlight, and when all the strange and impish deformities and etiolations medical inspectors have to catalogue are relegated to infrequent hospitals and sanatoria with but very few beds in their wards.

The school clinic should aim to get the level of all children up to the low "average" or "normal" of the relatively healthy in present council schools. and when that is accomplished we can begin our real work of devising means whereby that low, that all too low, average may be transcended; the lethargic body grow supple, nimble, and good to look upon; the dulled senses quick, true, and responsive; and the narrow mind actively growing and expanding. All these things are within the sphere of the school doctor, all these things are within the scope of present day medical knowledge. The knowledge is here in reality; it is only the accomplishment in fact that is in Utopia—to-morrow.

In the good time when the poverty group child has grown into a sound average and the present average become robust, I look forward to a new kind of standard being introduced in schools—standards of imagination. In the present day children are only sent to the doctor when they are obviously deaf, or blind, or halt, or maimed. In the future the tests will be more subtle, and I confidently anticipate the time when "Peter Pan" or "The Blue Bird," or some such fairy tale, will be a compulsory subject of the ordinary council school curriculum. At that day any child failing to reach, at any rate, the "Peter Pan" standard of imagination will promptly be sent to the school clinic. It is, after all, a rather serious reflection that there are many thousand "average" children to-day who do not reach this level.

The first step towards the raising of the standard must be taken by raising the lowest, and by pouring so much health, help, and kindliness into the poverty group children that their all too low grade finally disappears.

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THE CASE AGAINST THE REFERENDUM.

BY

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THE CASE AGAINST THE REFERENDUM.

THE proposal to establish the Referendum in this country seems to have entered, temporarily at least, the sphere of practical politics. How long it will remain within that holy of holies probably depends upon how long its official sponsors continue to cherish the illusion that, once established, it can be so restricted as to make it a reliable instrument for the defence of hereditary privilege. It is never wise, however, to count upon the early dissipation of a political illusion, no matter how fragile, and for the present we must assume that the Conservative leaders seriously intend to incorporate the Referendum in our political system at the earliest opportunity.

The proposition has been so little discussed that it is not easy to estimate the forces which will be ranged on either side. So far the Liberals have found no difficulty in making up their minds, since it is fairly obvious that at the moment they have all to lose by the Referendum and nothing to gain. But whether their minds will remain made up in the same sense under all political circumstances may be doubted. The experience of other countries seems to have been that whilst the party in opposition generally favours any proposal to introduce or extend the use of the Referendum, the party in power is always hostile to it—which, indeed, is precisely what one would expect. At all events, there is no reason why Liberals as Liberals should be permanently opposed to the Referendum. Sooner or later the proposal is likely to find friends and enemies in every political camp; and if we are to form any sort of stable judgment upon the worth of the Referendum as an instrument of democratic government we must ignore as far as possible its bearings upon current politics, and examine its intrinsic worth, not as a bar to Home Rule or Tariff Reform, but as a part of some definite and intelligible theory of government. That, at all events, is what is attempted here.

Definition of Terms.

The subject is not sufficiently familiar in England for definitions to be unnecessary.

The REFERENDUM is a popular vote for or against a law or an alteration of the constitution which has already been passed by the legislature. It may be "compulsory" or "optional," according as to whether it has to be applied as a matter of course or only on the demand of a certain proportion of the electorate.

The POPULAR INITIATIVE is a device by which a certain number of electors can demand the adoption of a law or constitutional amendment. The demand may (1) be in general terms, or (2) take the

form of a Bill already drafted. In the first case, if the legislature approves it proceeds to draw up a Bill embodying the proposal, which is then submitted to the popular vote; if it disapproves, it may call for the decision of the electorate before it drafts the Bill. In the second case (which is distinguished as the "formulated initiative"), the law which is demanded must be submitted at once to the popular vote in the exact form and phraseology in which it has been drafted by its promoters. Not so much as a comma must be altered by the legislature, which, however, generally has the right, if it wishes, of submitting at the same time an alternative Bill of its own.

DIRECT GOVERNMENT (as opposed to Representative Government) may be said to exist where the Referendum and the Initiative are both freely used by the electors without restriction as to time or subject. By its chief advocates in the United States it is accurately described as "majority rule," pure and simple.

History of the Referendum.

Historically the Referendum is the offspring by unbroken descent of the primitive mass meeting of self-governing citizens. Both in Switzerland and in the United States, the only countries where it flourishes to-day, the whole body of citizens were from the earliest times (in the Swiss cantons from the thirteenth century, and in the American colonies from their foundation) accustomed to exercise all the functions of government for themselves in open assembly. This direct control over the affairs of State was never entirely surrendered, and when the assemblies of all the citizens became impracticable and more and more powers had to be delegated to representative councils, the Referendum came into being gradually and naturally, not as an accession of popular power, but as a mere retention by the sovereign people of certain important powers in their own hands. In its earliest form, in both countries, the Referendum consisted simply in the reference of a law from the Legislative Council to the communes or townships, the citizens of which thereupon met together and decided what answer they should send to the Council. It is thus not easy to say precisely when the Referendum as we know it came into existence.

The United States.—It is clear, however, although it was advocated by Victor Considérant and many of the "men of 1848," that it cannot be described as an invention of modern democracy. It was included in the programme of constitutional reform (the "Agreement of the People") which the Levellers tried to force upon Cromwell in 1647; and it was certainly in use in the Puritan colonies of America in something very like its present form during the earlier half of the seventeenth century.* Throughout the eighteenth century it continued to

* One of the first recorded instances of its use took place in Massachusetts on May 29th, 1644, when the legislative body of this Puritan colony conveyed an earnest request to the elders and freemen to "take into serious consideration whether God do not expect that all the inhabitants of the plantation allow to magistrates and all that are called to country service a proportionate allowance. . . ." This seems to have been an early demand for "payment of members."

Subsequently the Declaration of Independence was agreed to in this and other colonies by Referendum, and the number of votes given for and against the new constitution of 1780 after the war, is definitely on record.

be employed occasionally, and when, after the War of Independence, the young States set about the business of drafting constitutions for themselves they nearly all included as a matter of course a provision whereby the first draft itself, and all future amendments which might be proposed, should be confirmed by a direct vote of all the citizens. One State at least (Georgia) included also a provision for the employment of the popular Initiative for constitutional amendments.

From that time onwards the Referendum has been in regular use for constitutional purposes in all the States of the Union except Delaware. But it was not until almost the end of the nineteenth century that it began to be applied to ordinary legislation. This development was partly due to propaganda, partly to the fact that ordinary laws were so often held to amount to alterations of the constitution that the distinction between the two became uncertain and unimportant.*

In 1898 South Dakota led the way to a still more important development by formally adopting not only the Referendum, but the Popular Initiative as well, for all legislative purposes. Its example has since been followed by ten or twelve other States, and there is no reason to suppose that it will end with these. It appears, indeed, that we are about to witness throughout the United States an experiment in Direct Government on an immense scale, a scale restricted only by the not very important limitations of State, as compared with Federal, legislative activity. Already in a single decade a mass of material has been accumulated which, as soon as it is made available for the political student, will cause him to forsake for ever the little Swiss Republic which has hitherto so monopolized his attention.

Switzerland.—At present, however, Switzerland cannot be ignored. The history of the development of the Referendum and Initiative in Switzerland is remarkably similar to their history in America, and need not be detailed. The Initiative has been in use rather longer in the Cantons than in the States, but otherwise the differences are merely those due to the different character of the populations. At the present time the position in Switzerland is briefly as follows. In the Federal Government the Referendum is compulsory for constitutional amendments, and is applied to ordinary laws upon the demand of thirty thousand electors. The Popular Initiative (for which fifty thousand signatures are necessary) is applicable in either the "formulated" or general form to constitutional amendments, but not to ordinary laws. The distinction, however, here, as in America, is of little consequence, since practically any law can be drafted as an amendment of the constitution. In all the Cantonal Governments the Referendum is compulsory for constitutional amendments, and in some places for all ordinary legislation that is not expressly excepted. The Initiative is also freely used, though its form differs from canton to canton.

* This distinction, which was formerly the basis of the whole political system of the United States, was founded on the consideration that the constitution alone possessed the high sanction of a direct vote of the people. The extended use of the Referendum, by giving all sorts of laws the highest possible sanction, has now practically obliterated the distinction in most of the States. In Federal affairs, however, where there is no Referendum for any purpose, it is still of the utmost importance.

Australia.—The only country outside Switzerland and the United States in which the Referendum is in use is Australia. It appears to have been tentatively introduced in an advisory form in South Australia in 1896, when the Government called for a popular vote on the question of religious teaching in the State schools. The purpose of this vote was not to confirm any law, but merely to elicit the opinion of the electors, and the experiment has not been repeated. When Federation took place, however, the Referendum was definitely adopted in the Constitution of the Commonwealth, which provided that any future amendment must be confirmed both by a majority of all those voting in the Commonwealth and by a majority of those voting in a majority of States. The new Constitution was itself submitted to a popular vote in 1898 and rejected. It was then modified and accepted by another vote in 1900. The first amendment was submitted and passed in 1906, and two further amendments were submitted in April, 1910, one of which was accepted and the other rejected.*

It will be noticed that the three countries in which the Referendum has established itself—if, indeed, it can be said to be yet established in Australia—are all of them federations of States with a very large measure of local autonomy. This is a very important fact, the significance of which will be apparent when we come to consider the practical merits and defects of Direct Legislation as applied to a large and centralized sovereign State.

English Local Government.—All that need be added here to complete the brief descriptive summary which has been given is a reference to the fact that a form of Referendum has long been in use in this country—and possibly elsewhere—in local and municipal affairs. Certain adoptive Acts, such as the Public Libraries Act, have required a poll of the ratepayers to be taken before they could be put into force in any district; and upon various other questions of local government, like the purchase or lease of tramways, the electors have the right of demanding a poll after a Town or Parish meeting has been held.† The public interest, however, attached to the Referendum as a municipal institution has never been very great, and with the growth of large and fully responsible local authorities it seems likely to fall more and more into disuse.

The Inevitable Corollary of the Referendum.

We now come to the real subject of this paper: the pros and cons of the proposal to introduce the machinery of the Referendum

* The amendment which was rejected concerned certain complicated adjustments between the Federal and State finances which had been agreed to at a special conference of the Premiers of the different States. It is improbable that more than a very few of the electors understood the proposal which they voted against—which may have been the reason why they voted against it.

† It is interesting to notice that as with Referendum in America and Switzerland, so with this English practice of taking a "poll of the parish": at no time did it appear as a democratic innovation, it arose as a perfectly natural development when parish meetings and "open vestries" of the ratepayers grew to an unwieldy and impossible size. It was, indeed, in law, merely an adjournment of the vestry meeting in order to take a vote of those whose presence was presumed. See "The Parish and the County," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

for use in this country in national and Imperial affairs. The first important point to be considered is whether it would be possible, having once introduced the Referendum, to restrict its application or to prevent the development of a system of Direct Legislation as complete as that which exists in Switzerland and America.

The experience of America goes to show that as long as the use of the Referendum is confined to questions which can properly be described as constitutional there is no marked tendency on the part of the electors to demand its extension to other purposes ; but as soon as for one reason or another it begins to be applied to matters of ordinary legislation the momentum of its development becomes irresistible, and cannot be checked until its scope has been widened to include all possible subjects of legislation, and its inherent limitations corrected by the addition of the Popular Initiative.

Now the actual proposal which has been put forward in this country is clearly to apply the Referendum to ordinary legislation, to anything which the House of Lords or some other undefined authority chooses to regard as "revolutionary"; it may be a Budget, a Church Disestablishment Bill, or even a mere Licensing or Education Bill. There is, therefore, good reason to suppose that if this proposal is carried out by any future Government it will either prove abortive, because incompatible with the spirit of our political institutions, and shortly be repealed ; or else within a comparatively few years the rest of the machinery of Direct Legislation will be added unto it and it will become possible to submit "Right to Work" Bills, and "Conciliation" Bills and the like, to a vote of all the people by means of the formulated Initiative. Moreover, quite apart from the experience of other countries, there are strong reasons why this should happen. It is scarcely likely at the present juncture, when new legislation is being demanded on all hands and the chief complaint that is heard is of the slowness and the comparative barrenness of the Parliamentary machine, that the mass of the electors will remain content with the mere power of checking their representatives. The chief Conservative advocate of the Referendum, Professor Dicey, habitually refers to it as the "National Veto," apparently regarding the description as a tacit recommendation. But it may be safely asserted that the majority of electors at the present time are far more interested in the abolition than in the creation of vetoes upon the action of Parliament. Moreover, it would need but a short experience of the Referendum to teach the electors that the power of framing the question is scarcely less important than the power of voting upon it.

For all these reasons it is impossible to consider the establishment of the Referendum in this country except as a first instalment of a more or less complete system of Direct Legislation which, although it would not of course displace, would modify fundamentally the whole of our representative system. We are therefore justified in treating the issue as one not merely between the adoption or non-adoption of a restricted and rarely used Referendum, but between the essential principles of Direct and Representative Government.

The Case for Direct Government.

Let us consider first the chief arguments in favor of Direct Legislation. The general contention of its advocates is, of course, that by no other means is it possible to ensure that "the will of the people" shall prevail. Thus Mr. J. A. Hobson urges that "there is no certain way of determining this fact (*i.e.*, whether a law is 'acceptable to the body of the people') unless an opportunity is afforded to ask the people." This assertion plainly begs the whole question at issue, namely, whether the people should be asked to give their judgment upon a Bill, a mere legal document, or upon an Act, the practical merits or defects of which they have experienced. The same may be said of all arguments which refer to "the will of the people" as a definite and easily ascertainable fact. They all beg the question of how the real "will of the people" may be discovered, which is, of course, the crux of the whole matter. Instances might be adduced from the experience of the American States of laws having been enthusiastically adopted by large majorities which turned out to represent in practice anything but "the will of the people."

Another argument for Direct Legislation, an argument which in the United States carries decisive weight with the mass of the people, is that it destroys the power of vested interests by making corruption practically impossible. This no doubt is true. Where the representatives of the people not only have their price, but can find some one eager to give it to them, there you have, not democracy at all, but plutocracy in its worst form, and every democrat in such circumstances becomes of necessity a staunch advocate of the Referendum. But it must be remembered that it is only certain flagrant forms of corruption obvious to the elector that can be effectively checkmated by the Referendum, and that the argument has therefore little application in this country. Moreover, it is worth noting that if the possibility of securing honest representatives be granted, the point of the argument is immediately reversed. For it is clear that wealthy vested interests which can control the Press must always be able to influence the electors far more easily than they can influence any reasonably honest and public-spirited representative assembly.*

* In 1890 an amendment of the Swiss Constitution providing for the subsequent establishment by law of universal accident and invalidity insurance was enthusiastically adopted by an enormous majority (283,328 ayes, and 92,200 noes). But before the law itself could be drafted and passed through the legislature a campaign was organized by the insurance companies and wealthy employers regardless of expense. A special paper was started to oppose the law, and posters were showered all over the country. As a result when the voting day came the law was rejected. (*The Swiss Democracy*, H. D. Lloyd and J. A. Hobson.)

This incident is interesting, because it is always contended by advocates of the Referendum that in so far as the electors may require education on any subject which they have to vote upon, it will be effectively provided by the various propagandist societies and leagues and by Members of Parliament anxious to get their measure through. A Referendum is referred to as if it would be like a General Election in miniature, except that, as Lord Courtney puts it, "there would in fact be no candidates, and their hopes and fears and personal interest would not arise." Lord Courtney apparently regards this absence of the hopes and fears of personal interests of candidates as a great advantage. In fact it would be likely to prove the reverse, since there would be no one to spend money on "educating" the electors, except persons who were financially interested in the passage or rejection of the submitted measure.

An argument of far greater force in Great Britain is the contention that the Referendum acts as an immense stimulus to the political education of the people by forcing them to think about their laws and to realize their privileges and responsibilities as citizens of a self-governing State. Only so, it is urged, can they become the "free and enlightened" persons they are expected to be. This argument ignores, of course, the corruptibility of what must always be the chief instrument of such education, namely, the Press; but after making full allowance for that unfortunate circumstance, it remains undeniable that a series of popular votings on important questions would be calculated to have some extremely valuable educational results—results which might startle many of the present advocates of the "National Veto." All that can be said on the other side is that even education may be bought too dearly.

But perhaps the most appealing of all the arguments for the system of Direct Legislation is the sobering and altogether healthy effect which the mere existence of the Referendum and Popular Initiative inevitably has upon revolutionary movements of all kinds. The fact that any reasonably substantial section of the electors can at any moment demand an effective popular verdict upon any legislative project which they like to bring forward, deprives the disappointed propagandist of all those excuses for failure with which he sometimes strives to conceal even from himself the real cause. Socialists need scarcely to be reminded of the forms these excuses take; they are only too familiar. Sometimes it is "the party system" that gets the blame, sometimes the consoling bogey is "a conspiracy of the governing classes," and occasionally we hear significant whispers about some powerful ring of Jewish financiers or, it may be, in Lancashire, of Roman Catholic prelates. Anything is apt to be good enough to explain away the unpleasant fact that the right sort of legislation is not forthcoming.

The moment the Popular Initiative becomes an established fact all these comfortable theories have to be abandoned, and the breath that is wasted in propounding them diverted into more fruitful channels. Far too many Socialists to-day are plainly obsessed with the idea that Parliament itself is the great obstacle to Socialism, and that if only the people could make their will directly effective all would be well—the Utopia would be at our doors. Twenty or thirty years ago when Socialism was young such errors were perhaps permissible, almost necessary; to-day they are deadly. Nothing is more vital at the present moment to the continued advance of Socialism than a clear realization of the facts, that the working classes of England are not yet Socialists; that, until they are, Socialist legislation is impossible and undesirable; and that in the meantime no energy can be spared from the work of education for mere abuse of political machinery. That it automatically keeps all revolutionary propagandists in clear and continuous touch with the hard facts of the situation is one of the most attractive features of Direct Legislation.

The Case Against Direct Government.

The system of Direct Legislation is always identified by its advocates with "majority rule." The issue which they raise is therefore a perfectly clear and straightforward one, namely, whether "majority rule" is superior or inferior to "government by consent." The difference between these two forms of government is, of course, essentially a question of how minorities are to be treated. Under a system of majority rule the only right possessed by a minority is that of complete submission. A system of government by consent, on the other hand, recognizes the claim of any minority to be granted all such rights as do not seriously conflict with rights *of an equally important nature* of the majority.

An imaginary example will illustrate the point. Suppose that a small group of persons dwelling in a certain street enjoy a sincere conviction that it is necessary to their eternal salvation that they should sing hymns at the top of their voices between nine and ten o'clock every Sunday morning, and at no other time. And suppose that that is exactly the time which the other inhabitants of the street, who form a considerable majority, have selected for a pleasant extra hour of sleep. How is the issue between the two parties to be settled? If it is settled on the principles of government by consent the noisy minority will be allowed to continue their matins, with a strong suggestion that they should moderate their tones as much as ever their consciences will allow. The majority will no doubt grumble until they get hardened to the disturbance, but comparative peace will reign. If, however, the dispute is settled by a majority vote, the singers will be suppressed, and from thenceforward will constitute an outraged, and therefore dangerous, minority, whose respect for the justice of the law is gone for ever. Both solutions may be called "democratic"; but one is a good solution, and the other a very bad one.

This is an illustration of the first great argument against any system which approximates to pure majority rule: that it takes no account, and can take no account, of the quality or intensity of the feeling behind any individual vote. For it is just that intensity which matters, and which must constantly be considered and allowed for if any form of government is to be satisfactory. The primary, indeed the only, object of having any government at all is that it may reconcile conflicting interests and conflicting desires and arrange a general *modus vivendi*. And the only test of whether a Government is good or bad is whether or not the *modus vivendi* which it has arranged secures the voluntary respect and adhesion of the great mass of the community. No law can fully satisfy everybody. The most—and the least—we must ask is that the inevitable dissatisfaction should be reduced to a minimum, and especially that no section of the people should be given cause to regard themselves as unjustly treated. The greatest crime which any Government can commit is to deal with any section of the citizens in such a way as to alienate their loyalty towards the common institutions of the nation and

make them feel that resistance to the law is a moral duty. For such action must endanger the very foundations of civilized human society.

The ideal of those who uphold majority rule is apparently that upon every separate subject of legislation the will of the majority should be made to prevail. So simple a definition of the problem of democracy begs every question and shirks every real difficulty. Ultimately any form of democratic government must stand or fall not so much by its perfect subservience to majorities as by its just treatment of minorities—a far more difficult condition to fulfil. That minorities must not rule is only the first canon of good government; the second is that they must not be ignored. Yet how, under a system of Direct Legislation, can they be other than ignored? It must handicap them in two ways. In the first place, it is obviously far easier for a minority to submit their claims to a representative assembly than to the whole body of electors; and in the second place, representatives are far more likely than are the electors to give such claims adequate consideration. An individual elector in casting his vote for or against any proposal has naturally and properly no other object than to give expression to his own individual opinion upon the matter as it affects himself. But the same individual voting on the same proposal in the capacity of a representative would approach the question in quite a different way, and would feel it his duty, on account of the trust reposed in him, to take into account claims which as a mere elector he would ignore.*

Apart, however, from this sense of duty towards the community as a whole, there are factors which tend to make representatives duly sensitive to the claims of minorities. The average Member of Parliament holds his seat by a fairly steady party vote. Once he has got it, he can generally count upon keeping it, provided he does not arouse violent and active resentment amongst any section of his constituents. Consequently, where the feelings of the majority about any issue are lukewarm, whilst those of the minority are deep and strong, he will probably be guided rather by the latter than by the former. In other words, he will attempt to go behind mere numerical votes and take into account the *relative intensities* of conflicting desires. He will thus tend to support such solutions of the various problems which arise as satisfy the fundamental requirement of good government, that popular dissatisfaction should be reduced to a minimum with a view to the maintenance of universal respect for the law.

* The difference of attitude here referred to is the essential factor in the distinction, often misunderstood, between a delegate and a representative. The former has nothing to do but to carry out the instructions actually given to him by the majority of his constituents, and is responsible to that majority alone. The latter is responsible to *all* his constituents, and has the semi-judicial function to perform of deciding how far it may be right that the wishes of this or that minority should receive consideration. In other words, whilst the representative is a device for securing the presence, as it were, of all the people at the making of their laws, the delegate is a mere telephone to which the majority in any given constituency alone has access.

Territorial Minorities.

In considering the application of majority rule to this country a question of immense practical importance arises. Any given law is to be decided by a majority; that is clear. But by a majority of whom? Of the persons who are directly affected by the law, or of all the adult inhabitants of the United Kingdom? This difficulty is fundamental with a system of government so centralized as ours. Take, for example, the question of Welsh Disestablishment. What is the value upon this issue of the vote of, say, a Kentish farm labourer or a Yorkshire manufacturer? What does either of them know or care about the subject? They will be no more affected by the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales than they are now by the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland—a fact of which, by the way, they are both of them most probably unaware. By what conceivable theory of government could a Referendum of the United Kingdom on such an issue be justified? The result of the vote outside Wales would be merely irrelevant, that is to say, would afford no guide whatever to the statesman as to the decision which he ought to take in the interests of *good democratic government.*

The same reasoning applies to Irish Home Rule. The fact that the mass of the Irish people have been in rebellion for a century against the government under which they live may be deplorable, but it is the only fact in the whole situation which can carry any weight with the democrat. Home Rule may have bad results for Great Britain, and even for Ireland herself. Union may have been worth trying, but it has failed because it has not secured the assent of the Irish people. They do not respect the law because they do not feel it is their own law. Home Rule, in short, appears to be the only plan by which this unconquerably romantic race can realize the blessings and responsibilities of self-government; and that, as far as the democrat is concerned, is the last word on the rights and wrongs of the problem. A knowledge of the views of the electors of Great Britain would not contribute to its right solution in the least degree.

These two cases are of course rather exceptional. They belong to the category of questions, mainly or exclusively affecting a single locality, to which the Referendum has never been applied in any part of the world, and has never been regarded as applicable by any of its advocates outside the English Conservative party. The very significant fact has already been noted that the Referendum has only been adopted where a very complete system of local autonomy already exists. Consequently one of the most obvious dangers of Direct Legislation, the oppression of territorial minorities, has in practice been largely avoided.

Racial, Religious, and other Minorities.

But the danger to other minorities, more or less permanent, which are *not* concentrated in one locality, and which, therefore, can enjoy no autonomy, remains, and has proved to be very real. Two instances may be cited.

First, there is the well-known case in Switzerland where the Popular Initiative was employed by an anti-Semitic faction to introduce a Bill imposing pains and penalties on all persons slaughtering animals in a certain manner, namely, the manner prescribed by the Jewish law. Under cover of a humanitarian agitation, and in the face of the opposition of both Houses of the Legislature, the Bill was carried into law. Fortunately its drafting was imperfect, so that the Executive authorities in the Cantons have been able largely to ignore its tyrannous provisions. It should be added that this is the only case up to the present where the Federal Initiative in Switzerland has been successfully employed.

The second instance refers to America and is much more serious. It is that in State after State at the present time the Referendum is being used to disfranchise the negroes; not, of course, by actually laying down a colour line—that is prohibited by the Federal Constitution—but by imposing qualifications which are quite as effective a bar to the black man, and the purpose of which is understood by every one.*

Now is there any democratic advocate of "majority rule" who would defend this application of its principles? *And if not, why not?* There is no question but that in these States there are large majorities in favour of the disfranchisement of the negroes. Why should not the will of the majority prevail? The answer to that question strikes at the very root of the principles of Direct Legislation, because it must involve an admission that laws are of different sorts, some properly requiring much more than a bare majority of votes, and some much less. Mr. J. A. Hobson, arguing in favour of the Referendum, urges that "experienced statesmen . . . know that many laws . . . fail to work chiefly because of their unpopularity among the people." Surely what experienced statesmen know is that when laws fail to work it is generally due, not to a majority, but to an active minority, of malcontents. The Referendum only intensifies the danger. Witness the history of Prohibition in the United States. Laws actually passed by a majority vote forbidding the use of alcohol have notoriously failed to work, simply for the reason that such an interference with individual liberty requires something approaching unanimity amongst the electors before it ought to be enacted. There are lots of similar questions upon which from time to time legislation is proposed, and which ought not to be dealt with by anything less than, say, a 75 per cent. majority.

On the other hand, there are propositions for which a majority ought not to be required at all. Laws of a type already referred to affecting mainly or solely the inhabitants of a single locality come

* It may be urged that in some States the feeling against the negroes being allowed to exercise the rights of citizenship is so strong that the Representative Assemblies would have been, and in fact have been, obliged to adopt these measures on their own initiative. This may be true, but on the other hand it is unlikely that a representative body would consent to such an abuse of power without a really overwhelming mandate. The danger, therefore, is much less under a representative than under a direct legislative system.

under this heading together with others affecting minorities of different sorts. Broadly, it may be said that if a substantial minority want something very badly indeed, whilst the majority are mildly opposed, then the minority ought to have their way. This proposition is but the corollary of the proposition laid down earlier in this paper, that legislation must not so outrage the feelings of any section of the electors as to make them rebels against the law. Faults of omission may have as serious results in this respect as faults of commission. The Trades Disputes Bill of 1906 is a case in point. Whether the majority of voters were behind that Bill may be doubted, but about the intensity of feeling and the moral force behind it there can be no doubt at all; and it is to be noted as a signal instance of the success of our representative system that the Bill did actually become law. That is the answer to those people who complain that the present machinery of legislation enables the will of the people to be ignored. The truth is that where any substantial section of the electors know clearly and definitely what they want, they get it. The real difficulty is that generally they do not know what they want.

What is "The Will of the People"?

This brings us back to the question already asked: what is "the will of the people"? It is not a question which can be answered offhand, but this much is certain, that you cannot discover the will of the people by any system of counting heads that was ever invented. The ideal elector who always knows exactly what laws he wants and always deliberately uses his vote to obtain them, is unknown to the practical politician. He is, indeed, every whit as much a figment of the academic imagination as was the "economic man" with whom the *laisser-faire* economists used to juggle. The votes of most electors, whether they be educated or uneducated, wise or foolish, are influenced by a hundred and one considerations entirely foreign to the merits of the matter in hand.

Thus the experience of both Switzerland and America is conclusive on this point, that proposals submitted to a popular vote at the same time tend to stand or fall together. "An unpopular proposal will frequently carry down to defeat proposals which if submitted alone might easily have been adopted; and a popular proposal will aid others submitted at the same time."* On one occasion in Switzerland an entirely harmless Bill for amending the law as to patents happened to be submitted at the same time as a law to establish compulsory vaccination. The latter was extremely unpopular, and both proposals were decisively rejected. Subsequently the law about patents was put forward in better company and accepted by an enormous majority. Astute politicians will no doubt soon learn how to turn this tendency to account for their own ends, but the existence of such a tendency shows how uncertain is the relation between the vote and the real will behind it. And this is

* *Revision and Amendment of State Constitutions.* By W. F. Dodd. U.S.A. 1910.

but one instance out of a hundred that might be adduced of that uncertainty.*

The Necessity of Compromise.

But even if it were always possible to discover the will behind the individual vote, the problem of discovering "the will of the people" would not be solved. For clearly where there is a definite and serious cleavage of opinion on any subject the will of a bare majority must be a very different thing from "the will of the people," if any intelligible meaning is to be attached to that phrase. "The will of the people" would be best interpreted in such a case by some sort of compromise representing, not merely the resultant of so many conflicting wills, but their greatest common measure, their substantial agreement.

The writer happens to have the honour to serve upon the Executive Committee of the Fabian Society, a body whose methods of transacting business may or may not be unique, but are certainly instructive. There is an unwritten rule or custom, almost invariably observed, that divisions should never be taken upon really important questions, except in the very last resort. The use of divisions is to clear away unimportant matters so that time may not be wasted in discussing them at length. In matters of real consequence when there are two diverse opinions it is clearly absurd to divide and adopt the one which happens to have the odd vote behind it. The reasonable course is to go on discussing the question until a solution is discovered which everybody is ready to accept as a compromise. That compromise represents the substantial agreement of the Committee, and by the time it is reached the chances are that most of the members will regard it not in the light of a compromise at all, but as the best possible solution, and will be ready to give it active support without feeling that they have sacrificed to it any part of their better judgment.†

No one surely will deny that the character of all legislation ought to be determined by some such process as this. At all events a system under which nothing of the kind is possible must stand condemned.

The subject of compromise, however, vital as it is to the success of any kind of government, is too wide to be pursued here. It must suffice to suggest that, after all, the device of counting heads is at best a very crude and unsatisfactory method of deciding important or complicated issues in accordance with "the will of the people." We may be obliged to resort to it from time to time, but we need not glorify it as if it were in itself the pure quintessence of democracy. For in reality it is its *reductio ad absurdum.*

* An interesting sidelight is thrown on the practical working of Direct Legislation by the Constitution of North Dakota, U.S.A., which contains a provision to the effect that if two conflicting measures dealing with the same subject should be submitted at the same time and both should be passed (!) the one with the greatest number of affirmative votes behind it is to be taken as accepted, and the other as rejected.

† This, in point of fact, is the usual custom of a body much older than the Fabian Society, the Society of Friends; and is also the way in which the Mir manages the affairs of every Russian village.

Public Opinion v. Popular Opinion.

There is another point connected with the determination of the real will of the people which demands brief reference. Every one who has paid any attention to political history knows that from time to time laws have been passed which would have been emphatically rejected by the people at the time of their enactment, but which would have been equally emphatically accepted if submitted after being in operation for a year or two. Obvious instances are Catholic Emancipation and compulsory Education. It would seem that certain propositions can never hope to be "popular" until *after* they have become accomplished facts. At the present moment there are at least two issues before the country which are probably of this character: Women's Suffrage and the raising of the school age. Public opinion—which is not necessarily the same at any given moment as the opinion of the majority—supports both these proposals. Both will certainly be adopted within a few years, and a little later will be fully, if tacitly, endorsed by the people. Yet if they were submitted to a popular vote before enactment they would just as certainly both be rejected, even if in the case of Women's Suffrage women were allowed to vote.

These statements in regard to the particular questions selected may be doubted, but it cannot be denied that there are questions about which they would be true. We have here a definite political phenomenon which theoretical advocates of Direct Legislation must find some means of dealing with. There appears to be only one way of meeting the difficulty, and that is to legislate through representatives, and throw upon them the responsibility of deciding—on penalty of losing their seats in case of error—not what Bills but what Acts will secure the approval of the people. To discover the real will of the people, writes Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, "is the task of the statesman who knows how far expressed desire is not real desire, who understands how he is to speak for what is in the heart but not on the lips of the people, and who, without mandates, and even against mandates, does what the people really want."*

The Responsibility of the Representative.

Most, if not all, of the simple issues of modern politics belong to one of the categories described above. Either because they deal solely with small minorities, or for some other reason, they are obviously unsuitable for the application of the Referendum. But what of those more complicated issues and projects which form the bulk of our legislative output at the present time?

The average elector may be able to judge principles, but he has neither the time nor the knowledge nor the will to consider details. It is common knowledge amongst State politicians in America that a Bill which exceeds certain very narrow limits of length and complexity is almost certain to be rejected by the electors. Advocates of

* *Socialism and Government*, Vol. I., p. 9. No student of Socialism, or, indeed, of any aspect of modern politics, can afford to miss this original and really masterly study of political theory.

Direct Legislation, indeed, constantly cite this as one of the great advantages of the system, that it leads to a simplification of the laws. But whatever may be the advantages of simple drafting, they are surely insignificant compared with its drawbacks. For not only must it largely exclude concessions to minorities, but it carries with it as a necessary corollary that the executive officials should be given a free hand to deal with points of administration which in England, for example, would be dealt with in the Act itself and settled by Parliament. Both in Switzerland and in America the officials do, in fact, exercise unheard of powers which, if administration were anything like as centralized as it is in this country, would be intolerable.

This difficulty becomes overwhelming in regard to that large class of modern legislation in which details are everything and principles comparatively nothing. The creation or alteration of duties on imported articles is an example. It is impossible to conceive a more insane or a more dangerous proposal than that Tariff Reform should be decided by popular vote. Apart from objections to indirect taxation *per se*, not one elector in a thousand, be he wage-earner or University don, is in a position to form an opinion of any intrinsic value upon the question of whether Tariff Reform is likely to do the nation more harm than good. If the object be to reach a right decision you might almost as well save the cost and trouble of a Referendum by tossing a halfpenny instead.

Suppose that, dismissing all preconceived theories of government, the reader were called upon to devise a satisfactory method of settling such a question. What would he propose? Would he not say something like this? "Let us select a number of men, as intelligent as possible, representing all classes in the community; let us insist that they shall have access to every possible source of information and opportunity of weighing expert opinion on all sides; and then let us leave the decision to them, *holding them responsible for the consequences.*" If he were wise, he would add that the representatives should not be allowed, upon any pretence whatever, to shift the responsibility for the decision on to the electors by referring the matter to a popular vote at the last moment. That is to say, he would choose the representative method and the representative method alone.

It may be argued that Tariff Reform is a very exceptional case. But it is the case chosen for the first application of the Referendum. Besides, an ever-increasing proportion of our most important legislation is of a similar character, that is to say, its merits and defects are so much a matter of details that they can only be appreciated with the assistance of experts, and pronounced upon by persons who have devoted much attention to the art of legislation. If Great Britain were governed by counties it might be otherwise, but it is governed as a single community, and the consequences of that fact must be accepted. It is often asserted that all opposition to the Referendum is inspired by the belief that representatives are wiser than the people, and know better what is good for them. In other words, that the arguments against the Referendum might equally be employed to

justify a system of oligarchy. Such assertions, ignorantly or intentionally, are altogether wide of the mark. No doubt it is true, though one can call to mind many exceptions, that a representative is usually superior in general intelligence and ability to the average of the persons who have chosen him to represent them ; and this is an important fact. But the case against the Referendum requires no such assumption. The point is that the representative has opportunities which in the nature of things are denied to the individual elector of hearing not some, but all, of the evidence for or against any proposal ; and it would be just as valid if representatives were chosen by lot instead of by election. A representative body is "superior" to the electors for the purpose of legislation in precisely the same sense as a jury is superior to the general newspaper-reading public for the purpose of giving a just verdict. Inherently there is no more "oligarchy" about one than about the other.

There is, however, one essential condition which is by no means always fulfilled at present but must be fulfilled if representatives are really to represent ; and that condition is that they should be held strictly responsible for the consequences of their action or inaction on any subject. The right of the elector must be recognized even to give his representative a mandate for a certain policy and then to blame him if it turns out badly. Otherwise there can be no security for the proper exercise of those powers which under any system of democracy must be entrusted to the representative assembly. The experience of Switzerland proves, if proof be necessary, that the habitual use of the Referendum does, in fact, destroy this safeguard. Elections are rarely contested except for some personal reason, and the representative becomes in effect an irresponsible official, acting as he pleases in regard to all those matters which are not submitted to a popular vote. In Switzerland the volume and importance of the legislation not so submitted are small, and the danger of excessive bureaucracy is so far mitigated. But in England the bulk of the legislation must under any circumstances be left to the discretion of Parliament, and the evils that would surely flow from any diminution of its responsibility to the electorate are hard to exaggerate.

The Practical Working of Direct Legislation.

There is no space here for any sort of detailed analysis of the actual results of the Referendum and Initiative where they have been adopted. Nor is it likely that such an analysis would afford a basis for judging the effect of the same machinery in this country. The total population of Switzerland is less than half that of Greater London, and is divided amongst twenty-five cantons, each of which is autonomous for almost all the ordinary purposes of government. For Great Britain to adopt the Referendum on the strength of Swiss experience alone would be about as reasonable as for the House of Commons to adopt the principle of co-option on the strength of the experience of a Board of Guardians. In America the unit of government is larger; but there Direct Legislation is still in the early experimental stage, and neither the triumphs which it has achieved nor the absurdities

which it has been responsible for afford a fair basis for generalization at present.*

It should be said, however, that the widely prevalent notion that the Referendum has a conservative effect upon legislation appears to be based on very insufficient evidence. It is true that in Switzerland a disproportionate number of measures submitted by the Federal Government are rejected, but this may be explained by the deep-rooted preference of the Swiss elector to be governed by his Canton rather than by the Federation. The proposals of the Federal authorities are thus always more or less suspect, and opposition to them is no proof of conservatism. In America, on the other hand, the weight has been deliberately thrown into the other scale in some of the States, by allowing new measures to be placed on the ballot-paper as affirmative propositions, which must be crossed out by those who object to them; that is to say, the non-voter is counted on the affirmative side. Elsewhere a definite anti-conservative bias has appeared without any such artificial aid, owing to the increasing number of proposals submitted at one time. In Oregon in 1906 the ballot-paper contained the names of thirty-seven candidates and the titles of thirty-two measures. Very few electors take the trouble to go more than halfway down the paper. Consequently proposals put forward by a small active minority tend to get passed, because the affirmative is organized and the negative is not. The only people who understand or are interested in the proposition sufficiently to vote upon it at all are mostly its supporters.†

To sum up, there seems no particular reason to suppose that the adoption of the Referendum in this country would result in special advantage to any party. A certain conservatism would no doubt become apparent amongst the electors in regard to large constructive schemes of social reorganization. But to balance this there would be the unquestionable popularity of land taxes, supertaxes, heavy death duties, and the like.‡ The case for and against the introduction of the beginnings of Direct Government rests, therefore, solely upon the merits of that system compared with the Representative System as a

* The experience of the English Trade Unions has provided data as valuable perhaps as any for a study of the working of Direct Legislation. In this connection the reader is directed to *Industrial Democracy*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, where he will find an analytical account of how the Referendum and Initiative were adopted and enthusiastically employed by some of the largest Trade Unions during the nineteenth century, and how they fell steadily into disuse and discredit, until finally it was seen that the practice of taking a general poll was practically useful only for some such purpose as that of discovering whether the members might be relied upon to support individually a proposal requiring concerted voluntary action, e.g., a strike.

† It might be suggested that this tendency meets the objection urged above, that the Referendum tends to the oppression or neglect of minorities. But it is to be observed (1) that it is only a safeguard upon issues of little public interest, and (2) that to give minorities an improper influence in certain matters is no remedy for allowing them none in others.

‡ A vote taken in the Canton Grisons on Sunday, March 6th, 1911, suggests the possibility of other sorts of anti-capitalistic legislation. By a majority of more than three to one the electors decided to prohibit absolutely the use of motor cars upon any public road within the area of this Canton.

satisfactory instrument of democracy. It must be admitted that when the unit of government is small and the population homogeneous in character, the advantages of the Referendum (as also, when practicable, of the mass meeting of citizens) are very considerable. But when the unit of government is large and the population heterogeneous, the inherent defects of "majority rule" assume overwhelming importance.

The choice which must be made is a momentous one, fraught, perhaps, with the most profound consequences in relation to the future prospects of democracy. For democracy is still upon its trial. Nowhere in the world as yet can it be said to have worked to the complete satisfaction of everyone. Everywhere still there are doubters, even in the foremost ranks of the democratic movement itself; people who despair of their faith and are turning to alternative theories, to Plato, to government by the best, government by a semi-ascetic voluntary order or government by a specially trained, or even specially bred, class. No great attention need be paid to the views of such pessimists, but they suffice to illustrate a fact which does deserve consideration, that the permanent success and stability of democracy have not yet been conclusively demonstrated. Developments are perfectly conceivable which would lead to such widespread disgust with popular government as to cause a revolt in favour of some other alternative, possibly a personal dictatorship.

How can these dangers best be avoided? By following the ideal of "majority rule" or the ideal of "government by consent"? In other words, is legislation to be determined by a mere counting of heads or by methods which allow of a more or less accurate estimation, both quantitative and qualitative, of all the forces and currents of opinion in the community? It may be that upon the answer to that question hangs the fate of democracy itself.

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Note.—The literature of the Referendum in the United States may be divided into two classes: (1) Propagandist literature, which is very extensive but of little value to the student. The United States Senate paper referred to above is of great length, and may be regarded as exhaustive in this class; (2) analytical literature, which mostly consists of articles in the numerous political and sociological reviews, for example:
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The Arena. (U.S.A.)
The American Journal of Sociology.
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II.—Applications of Socialism to Particular Problems.

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The Case Against the Charity Organization Society.

BY MRS. TOWNSHEND.

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THE CASE AGAINST THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY.

The Charity Organization Society Blocks the Way.

IT is surprising to find that the most strenuous opposition to almost every scheme for social betterment comes from a body of people who are devoting their lives to that very purpose. Why have charity organizers resisted and denounced the proposals of General Booth's "Darkest England" scheme; of Mr. Charles Booth's Old Age Pensions scheme; of all the various schemes for providing meals for hungry school children; of the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908; of every scheme for "school clinics"; of every scheme for providing for the unemployed? Why did they object to the proposals of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, the most masterly scheme ever brought forward for co-ordinating the forces against destitution, the very object they have themselves in view?*

Those of us who are keen that the public sense of responsibility should be awakened with regard to destitution must feel that this opposition on the part of "charity experts" is of the utmost importance, and I want if possible to trace it to its source and to see what it has to do with the organization of charity.

"The Greatest of These is Charity."

And first of all, what do we mean by charity? It is hard to say how much the Christian laudation of the virtue has to answer for. The current misinterpretation of the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians has set a seal of merit and respectability on free gifts that becomes very mischievous if it serves to accentuate the human weakness of preferring impulse to science and generosity to justice.

When the question arises as to whether it is better to fight destitution out of the rates by means of a series of preventive measures aimed not at results but at causes, or on the other hand, to leave it to be dealt with, so far as possible, by free will offerings administered by volunteers, those beautiful familiar words form a very real handicap in favor of the obsolete and more slipshod alternative. But how much of the virtue that "vaunteth not itself" is really to be found in the modern subscription list?

* For their own answer to these queries, see "The Social Criterion," Dr. B. Bosanquet. Blackwood.

Charity and Commercialism.

As long as the ties between men were largely personal, as long as production took place in the workshop of the craftsman and the household of the lord of the manor, almsgiving was a natural healthy expression of human love and sympathy. As such it is still to be found among the poor. One sees sometimes in the slums a certain generous happy-go-lucky community of interests which comes far nearer to the charity that "suffereth long and is kind" than any that can be organized. The virtue still inheres in such rash and ill-considered acts as the hasty adoption of motherless children or the sharing a scanty meal with a starving neighbor, but it tends to be squeezed out by the machinery of investigation that becomes necessary, if almsgiving is to be placed on a scientific basis.

The beneficence of to-day is not to be blamed because the element of love has evaporated from it. The loss is inevitable. It is due to the complexity of modern life, to those dissociating forces that have reduced all mutual service to a basis of cash payment. The swiftly rising tide of industrial change, sweeping away all the old landmarks of service and responsibility, has left a chasm between rich and poor. A capitalist class with a civilization of its own cannot enter into the everyday life of the wageworker, who lives from hand to mouth, with habits, necessities, and pleasures entirely different.

It is this separation that cuts at the root of charity, severing the outward act from the inward grace. Robbed of close personal contact, the relationship of giver and receiver is bound to lose its beauty.* I can without loss of dignity accept help from a friend who loves me, but not from a stranger. Among the rich the warm impulse to help a friend in distress is replaced by a sentimental pity for seething humanity, and the act of devotion or loving service by a donation to a charitable institution; while among the poor, glad acceptance of friendly aid in time of need is apt to degenerate into cringing dependence, for gratitude is not a wholesome emotion unless it be vitalized by love. All the specific defects with which we are familiar—misdirection, waste, overlapping, professional parasitism—arise out of this separation.

Origin of the C.O.S.

It was to fight these evils that the C.O.S. was founded. By the middle of the nineteenth century England, having outstripped her neighbors in industrial change, had become enormously rich. The contrast of the wealth of the capitalist class and the poverty and insecurity of the worker had become pronounced, and the blood money of charity flowed freely in an ever increasing stream.

* It may be mentioned here that the C.O.S. does all it can to prevent almsgiving from becoming purely impersonal by sending to each donor a report on the cases helped by his subscription and enabling him to take some interest in their individual circumstances. But this artificial contrivance for generating sympathy at a distance, away from the sights and sounds and smells of destitution, is far from restoring the ancient community of feeling.

But thoughtful people were becoming dissatisfied with charitable methods and results. In the later months of 1860, a time of much poverty and distress, sundry letters to the *Times* gave expression to this feeling and led to the formation of the "Society for the Relief of Distress," which aimed at establishing a more personal relation between giver and receiver and a more careful administration of charity. In March, 1868, Mr. Hicks, a member of this society, brought forward a proposal for establishing a central board of charities, to classify them, analyze and compare their accounts, and present an annual report. In June of the same year the "Association for the Prevention of Pauperism and Crime" was founded, with the Rev. Henry Solly as Hon. Secretary, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Lichfield, and many other well known people as members. This society, though it began by aiming at big constructive schemes, such as that of employing "waste labor on waste land," gradually decided to limit its work to organization and propaganda. A paper read by Dr. Hawksley on December 17th, 1868, seems to have brought about this decision. It was issued as a pamphlet, entitled "The Charities of London and Some Errors of their Administration, with Suggestions of an Improved System of Private and Official Charitable Relief." Dr. Hawksley estimates the total annual expenditure in London on the repression of crime, relief of distress, education, and social and moral improvement, at over seven millions, but points out that little good was being done by the expenditure of this great sum, because neither poor law nor charity aimed at *preventing* destitution. His recommendations are practical and far reaching. They include a central office for the control and audit of charities and for the inspection of annual reports, and a large staff of voluntary district visitors to carry out the necessary investigation of cases and applications. These suggestions formed the starting point of the C.O.S. "The movement began," writes Dr. Hawksley, in a letter dated October 22nd, 1892, and quoted in an editorial article on the origin of the society in the *C.O.S. Review*, "with Mr. Solly and the Association for the Prevention of Pauperism and Crime, and after a laborious existence of some months ended in accepting Lord Lichfield's suggestion to concentrate all our forces on charity organization, etc., as proposed in my pamphlet." *

The Object and Methods of the C.O.S.

are thus stated in its "Manual":—

"The main object of the society is the improvement of the condition of the poor. This it endeavors to attain (1) by bringing about co-operation between charity and the poor law, and between charitable persons and agencies of all religious denominations amongst themselves; (2) by spreading sound views on charitable work and creating a class of almoners to carry them out; (3) by securing due investigation and fitting action in all cases; (4) by repressing mendicity." †

* "Origin of the London C.O.S.," *C.O.S. Review*, No. 94, October, 1892. See also "Philanthropy and the State," B. Kirkman Gray, Appendix to Chapter VIII.

† "Relief and Charity Organization," Occasional Paper No. 8, Third Series C.O.S. Papers.

With regard to No. (1), it must be admitted that the society has met with no marked success. London charities are still unorganized and new bodies, called "Guilds of Help" and "Councils of Social Welfare," are springing up to attempt once more what it has failed to accomplish.

Valuable Work of the C.O.S.

With regard to (2), (3), and (4), it has been more successful. There is no doubt that its influence on public opinion has been very important and, to a large extent, excellent. "The repression of mendicity" appealed forcibly to the well-to-do classes. The hideous inconvenience to the public at large of street begging and of the begging letter ensured a welcome for any proposal for putting a stop to such nuisances, especially one which issued from high benevolence and claimed to further the well being of the destitute. The views and methods of the society, though they never became really popular, were listened to with respect; and it has certainly done a great work in training public opinion concerning the duties and responsibilities connected with almsgiving and in initiating orderly and efficient methods of social work. It has checked well meaning muddlers, has taught how to sift for helpable cases, and how to choose the right modes of help. It may lay claim to initiating in England the reign of the enquiry form and the "dossier." Even the country parson and the district visitor are falling into line, while many of the paid investigators for Royal Commissions and the London County Council have owed their efficiency to its training.

The society's want of success as an organizer of charity may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that it soon found itself largely occupied in the actual bestowal of relief, thus entering the lists with the various benevolent societies which it had set itself to investigate and to organize, and offering a concrete example of the actual working of those rules and principles on which the verdicts of the society were based. These soon became a strict and clearly formulated creed.

Principles of the C.O.S.*

1. Full investigation into the circumstances of the applicant to be undertaken in every case.

2. No relief to be given that is not adequate, that cannot hope to render the person or family relieved self-supporting.

3. No relief to be given to cases that are either so "bad" in point of character or so chronic in their need as to be incapable of permanent restoration.

4. All "hopeless" cases, however deserving, to be handed over to the poor law.

This creed, which, like all sets of working rules, arose out of temporary conditions, many of them badly needing alteration, has gradually acquired a kind of sacred character, and a strange structure of social theory has been built on it that is almost grotesque when compared with everyday experience.

* Cf. "Principles of Decision," C.O.S. Paper No. 5.

The very excellence of the society's work has served to make this theory more mischievous, for it comes before the public backed by the honored names of devoted workers.

Fundamental Errors of the C.O.S.

I.—Limitation of State Action with Reference to Destitution.

The first step towards organization seemed to be to draw a clear line between the province of the State in dealing with destitution and that of private charity. Unfortunately the early leaders of the society stumbled in taking this first step, and their initial blunder, never having been corrected by their followers, has tainted all the valuable work which they proceeded to set on foot.

They misread the facts that lay before them. They stoned the prophets of their own day and built the sepulchres of those who had preached to their fathers. In other words, they neglected the signs of the times (easy for us to read in the light of the years that have elapsed since 1869), such signs as the agitation for public education, for the decent housing of the poor, and for factory legislation, and they harked back to the decisions of the wise men of 1834. They failed to see that laissez faire was giving way all along the line before the phenomena of modern capitalism. They stuck to the theory of individual independence and of the danger of State interference in a world where man-made laws were enabling the rich to grind the faces of the poor. So long as the relative amounts of rent, interest, and wages were believed to be beyond human control, generosity in the rich, fortitude in the poor, seemed indeed the virtues called for; but those very investigations incidental to the careful bestowal of charity must have brought to light a gross disparity of distribution, a hideous waste of national resources that no charity could stem or cure. If only the leaders of the society had recognized this, had seen that the efficacy of charity for the redress of social grievances was at an end, and that the time had come when the community as a whole must shoulder its responsibilities, the C.O.S. might have begun work of great national importance in preparing the way for modern social legislation. But they did not see this. Habitually oblivious of any department of State action except the Poor Law, they saw merely that the more humane and the more lax of poor law administrators were overstepping the limits which had been legally assigned to them, and they traced the increase not only of pauperism, but also of destitution, to this relaxation of the principles of 1834. These principles—that the poor law should be a stern measure, seeking not the prevention, but merely the relief, of dire necessity, and that the condition of the pauper should never be "more eligible" than that of the lowest grade of self-supporting laborers, however insufficient for decent life that might be—they were prepared to adopt without modification, in the belief that the diminution of poverty which followed the reforms of 1834 is to be traced exclusively to those reforms, and that similar results might be

confidently expected from a return to them. The exclusive importance attached to this one period of history and to this one among many possible causes for the improvement which took place at that time is very characteristic of C.O.S. thought as we know it. It is interesting, therefore, to discover from the writings of Dr. Hawksley, to whom rather than to any other single person the origin of the society is due, and from those of Dr. Devine, the Secretary of the New York C.O.S., that these particular views have no necessary connection with the organization of charity. Dr. Devine, in the "Principles of Relief," points out that there were many changes going on in the thirties to which the improvement of the people may have owed quite as much as to that stricter administration of the poor law on which so much stress has been laid.*

Dr. Hawksley goes still further, expressing the warmest disapprobation of the reformed poor law, "which in spirit sought to deal with destitution only in its completed state—it did not attempt the prevention of pauperism by seeing that the children of the dependent, or the idle, or the vicious, were trained for industry and virtue—it did not entertain the question of individual merit or demerit, but it adopted a uniform system of relief which was to be so ingeniously balanced that, on the one hand, its recipients might be prevented dying of starvation or want of shelter, but, on the other hand, that the kind and mode of the relief should be so hard, painful, and humiliating, that none but the very helpless and hard pressed should seek for it. The system was to be a test, and the idea was that if you drive away poverty out of your sight, you would cure it, as if the charnel house could be changed by screening it with a whited sepulchre. The system did not contemplate visiting 'the fatherless and widow in their affliction,' but it set itself up in the broad way of misery and destitution, and to every applicant, as a rule, it refused the recognition of any domesticities. It treated with contempt the humanizing influences of hearth and home, and with stern voice, pointing the way to the dreary portal of 'the House,' it said: 'Enter or depart without aid.' The result has been the creation of an abject, miserable race." †

The society that Dr. Hawksley was to some extent instrumental in founding has departed widely from these views. Its members have fully agreed with him that paupers are "an abject and miserable race," but instead of attributing this, as he did, to "maladministration," to the fact that grudging relief was given instead of treatment and that it was given too late, only after destitution had set in, they attributed the evil results of poor relief entirely to the fact that it was given by the State, ignoring altogether the very different results of other forms of State action.

Instead of recognizing that the poor law was already obsolete and was bound to become more anomalous with every succeeding

* See "Principles of Relief," Professor Devine, pp. 276-7. The Macmillan Co.

† "The Charities of London," etc., T. Hawksley, M.D. Published by the Association for Preventing Pauperism and Crime, London, 1868.

measure of social legislation, they accepted it as immutable and made it the corner stone of their system. Their line of argument was very singular. They admitted that the poor law was demoralizing; that its action was merely palliative, not restorative; that at best it could only prevent the worst horrors of destitution, but could not prevent its occurrence and its recurrence; and yet they never proposed any change in the application of public funds! They insisted that private funds should always be expended with a view to prevention and cure, but that public funds should be strictly reserved for those who were already in the last stage of destitution, and therefore already beyond curative measures.

Taking for granted that State action must demoralize, they assigned to private charity the task of preserving from pauperism all those persons or families whose need was only temporary or accidental, or easily remediable, especially where such need was accompanied by good character and record.

It is interesting to find this limitation of State action in a book published in 1868 by Mr. Charles Bosanquet. He was not one of the group who started the society, but he was an early member of it and became secretary in 1870.

"It would not be difficult," he says, "to classify cases between the poor law and voluntary charity. The former would take the ordinary chronic cases, the latter, perhaps, some of the more deserving chronic cases, but especially those temporary cases which, it might be hoped, judicious help would save from sinking into pauperism." *

Whether Mr. Charles Bosanquet was or was not the first to introduce this system of classification into the C.O.S. creed, there is no doubt that he continued to preach it after he became secretary and that it has taken a permanent place. "It is an essential difference between charity and the poor law," he writes, "that the former can direct its energies to preventive and remedial action. As the poor law is bound to give necessary existence to all destitute persons, charity is only doing the work of the law if it take up such cases without special reason." †

An authoritative statement of the same view is to be found in the introduction to a recent number of the very valuable Charities Register and Digest which is published annually by the society.

"The claim for poor law relief rests, it may be broadly stated, upon the destitution of the claimant. . . . On the threshold of the question then we see the boundary lines of charity and the poor law. To charity it is not a question of primary importance whether a person is destitute or not. For it destitution is no test. It has more chance of helping effectually if a person is not destitute. It has to prevent destitution and indigence. It may have to supply actual necessaries, but to place the poor beyond the reach of need or to

* "London: Some Account of its Growth, Charitable Agencies, and Wants," by C. B. P. Bosanquet, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, pp. 199-202. Hatchard, 1868.

† "History and Mode of Operation of the C.O.S.," C. B. P. Bosanquet.

prevent the recurrence of need is its true vocation. It is unlimited in its scope and gives as a free gift. From the point of view of the poor law the question of destitution is all important. It is the passport to relief. Its administration is tied and bound with restrictions. Its supplies are drawn from a ratepayers' trust fund. Its main purpose is not to prevent or remove distress, but to alleviate it. It is a stern alleviative measure. It helps only when it must; charity always when it wills."*

It is singular that in these utterances, and hundreds of similar ones that could be adduced, the charity organizers give no reason (other than the present condition of the law) for this hard and fast distinction between the principles which should guide public and private administrators in dealing with destitution. Presumably they think the reasons *sautent aux yeux*, but surely much might be said for entirely reversing their decision. The prevention of destitution implies that we should search out those who are on the downward road and arrest their progress before they become "destitute." Such action demands a many-sided and far-sighted policy, for the roads that lead to destitution are many and gradual. It demands a considerable outlay, producing distant and not always obvious results. Above all, it demands disciplinary powers.† Where are we to look for the statesman who will co-ordinate and maintain such a policy, for the Exchequer to supply capital for such a purpose, for the authority to wield such powers, if not the Government of the country? And yet, according to Dr. Loch and Dr. Bosanquet, this is precisely where we are not to look.

If they wished to lay down a hard and fast rule, one might have expected that it would be that great remedial and preventive measures should be left to the national and local executive, the collective wisdom of the nation, while private charity should concern itself with the pitiable, but apparently hopeless cases, should indeed humbly take up the work of palliation with instruments of love and religion and personal self-sacrifice that the State can with difficulty command, as, in fact, the Salvation Army and the Church Army profess to do. On the contrary, their decision is, as has been shown, exactly the reverse; charity is to be remedial, the State is to confine its action to palliation.

This decision accords perfectly, no doubt, with facts as they are. It is a statement of the theory behind the existing poor law, but in the writings of the charity organizers there is acceptance and approval as well as statement. Dr. Bosanquet emphasizes and explains that approval in his essay on "Socialism and Natural Selection." "We should never forget," he says, "that the system," i.e., State "interference," "is a necessary evil, nor ever handle our

* Introduction to Annual Charities Register and Digest, 1909, "On the Functions of the Poor Law and Charity." Cf. "Charity and Social Life," C. S. Loch, p. 349. Macmillan, 1910.

† The experiments already tried in the operations of the Local Health Authority, the Local Education Authority, and the Local Lunacy Authority have been—in marked contrast with the Poor Law—highly promising in their success.

national initiative, whether through the poor law or through more general legislation, so as to relieve the father of the support of the wife and children or the grown up child of the support of his parents. We should raise no expectation of help or of employment invented ad hoc which may derange the man's organization of life in view of the whole moral responsibilities which as a father he has accepted." *

A good example of the actual mischief wrought by this pernicious doctrine that public action weakens private resource is to be found in the C.O.S. attitude towards the agitation for school clinics. The absolute futility of school inspection unless followed by treatment is obvious. At least fifty per cent. of the children in our schools are suffering from defects which, if not dealt with, will seriously handicap them in after life. These defects require treatment from a nurse under medical supervision. It is simply ridiculous to suppose that the mother of a family living on a pound a week in two rooms can find leisure to take her child suffering from adenoids to a distant hospital, can wait for it to recover consciousness, and then bring it back, still bleeding, in a public omnibus; that she can afterwards superintend the breathing exercises that are as important as the operation, or if the child's ears are affected, can spend half an hour daily in syringing them. The position becomes still more impossible if a second child requires spectacles and a third has decayed teeth to be stopped or extracted; yet such a case is not impossible or even unusual. It is perfectly clear that if the men and women of the next generation are to start life with a fairly sound physique, the preventive measures which are taken for the rich man's child in the nursery must be taken for the poor man's child in the school.

Advice, nurses, nursing appliances must be provided collectively, since it is a sheer impossibility that they can be provided in the home. The Education Department, the medical profession, members of care committees, and even county councils outside of London, are beginning to see that the difficulty can be met only by means of medical centres in connection with the schools. One might expect that a society whose aim is "the improvement of the condition of the poor" would guide public opinion towards such a conclusion. We find instead that the C.O.S. has been acting, as usual, not as a pioneer, but as a powerful, though fortunately insufficient, brake.

At this last stage of the controversy (March 21st, 1911) nothing authoritative has been issued by the society. In default of it we may quote from the Occasional Paper on "The Relief of School Children" (No. 8, Fourth Series). Such measures "teach him" (the child) "to look to outside help for the things he has a right to expect from his parents, a lesson he will not be slow to remember when he himself is a parent. The child needs before all things in the present day to learn the lessons of self-reliance and self-respect." †

* "Aspects of the Social Problem": XVI. "Socialism and Natural Selection," Dr. B. Bosanquet, p. 301.

† Occasional Paper C.O.S. No. 8, Fourth Series.

And from an essay of Dr. Bosanquet's entitled "The Social Criterion": "Granting a complete system of inspection at schools and of sanitary supervision through the health authorities and advice from health visitors, the normal mode of medical attendance should be for the wage earner as for ourselves, attendance by his family doctor, whom the head of the family chooses, trusts, and pays. On a provident system this is in many places successfully arranged, to the complete satisfaction of the doctor and of the patient. When, however, we should go to the specialist or to expensive nursing homes, the wage earner will be referred by his family doctor to the appropriate hospital or infirmary. . . . Thus the division of labor is properly maintained, the all important relation of trust and confidence between the family and the family doctor is not interfered with, the general practitioner's position is secured, and the hospital also is secured in the acquisition of interesting cases and in the fullest exercise of its powers of helpfulness." *

With regard to proposals for free medical treatment, Dr. Bosanquet says: "Such a policy is calculated to ruin the medical clubs and provident dispensaries, and to substitute visits of an official who, however good, is not the people's choice for the family doctor whom they like and trust and pay." †

This question of school medical treatment is for the moment, perhaps, more under discussion than any other question of social reform, and for that reason affords the most striking example of the C.O.S. policy of obstruction; but that policy is perfectly consistent and perfectly general in character. It erects a barrier in the face of every attempt to lighten that pressure on the wage-earner which results from existing industrial conditions.

II.—That Unearned Income Injures the Poor but not the Rich.

Another arbitrary assumption of the charity organizers is that for any man to enjoy any benefits which he has not definitely worked for and earned is injurious to his character. The naïveté with which they take this for granted is really preposterous when one remembers that nearly all the more respectable and refined members of the community are themselves living chiefly on wealth which they have not earned. One begins to wonder how those of us whose income is derived from dividends have any independence of character left. Dr. Bosanquet points out that the recipient of charitable help is injured because it comes miraculously and not as the natural result of personal effort; ‡ but what effort do I make in connection with my dividends from the North Eastern Railway, and

* "The Social Criterion," a Paper read by B. Bosanquet, M.A., LL.D, November 15th, 1907, before the Edinburgh C.O.S., p. 23.

† Ibid. p. 24.

‡ "The point of private property is that things should not come miraculously and be unaffected by your dealings with them, but that you should be in contact with something which in the external world is the definite material representation of yourself." "Aspects of the Social Problem," p. 313.

what can be more miraculous than my waking up one morning to find that certain shares that were worth £100 yesterday are now worth £105?

Dr. Bosanquet must really find some other reasons for objecting to doles, unless he is prepared to return to the ancient canon law with reference to usury.

III.—"Character is the Condition of Conditions." *

The third grave error in C.O.S. theory is like the first, in that it arises out of the acceptance of human arrangements as if they were heaven-sent and unchangeable.

Accepting the individual ownership of land and capital and a competitive wage system—all with exactly the same limitations and mitigations that are to-day in force, and no more—as the inevitable basis of society, the charity organizers are driven to an easy optimism that sees a satisfactory opportunity open to every virtuous worker, and looks forward with composure to a future when the working class, having been taught thrift, industry, and self-control, will do its duty in that state of life to which modern industrial processes shall call it.

Poverty, even extreme poverty, seems to them unavoidable. "Destitution," says Dr. Loch in his last book, "cannot disappear. Every group of competing men is continually producing it." † Not to abolish destitution, but to improve "social habit," should be, he thinks, the aim of the philanthropist. It is for this reason that he looks coldly at all recent schemes for social betterment.

"The remarkable and well known investigations of Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, which have stirred public thought in many circles, were, in our judgment," he says, "faulty from this point of view. They were not analytical of social habit, but of relative poverty and riches. They graded the population according as they were 'poor,' or 'very poor,' or above a poverty line. Their authors aimed at marking out such a line of poverty, forgetful, as it seems to us, of the fact that poverty is so entirely relative to use and habit and potential ability of all kinds, that it can never serve as a satisfactory basis of social investigation or social reconstruction. It is not the greater or lesser command of means that makes the material difference in the contentment and efficiency of social life, but the use of means relative to station in life and its possibilities. Nevertheless, in these investigations it was on the possession of means that stress was laid. Hence the suggestion that the issue to be settled by the country—the line of social reform—was the endowment of the class or classes whose resources were considered relatively insufficient.

"But to transfer the wealth of one class to another, by taxation or otherwise, is [illegible] of social difficulty." ‡

[illegible] with the Unemployed [illegible]

* "Aspects of the [illegible] the Society of Arts, June [illegible]. Bosanquet, Preface, p. vii.

† "Charity and Soci[illegible] [illegible]C. S. Loch, p. 393. Macmillan, 1910.

‡ Ibid. pp. 386-7.

For a clear statement of the opposite view we cannot do better than turn to the writings of Dr. Devine, General Secretary of the New York C.O.S., and thus discover that the views of Dr. Loch are not inseparable from the aims of the society. "I hold," says Dr. Devine, "that personal depravity is as foreign to any sound theory of the hardships of our modern poor as witchcraft or demoniacal possession; that these hardships are economic, social, transitional, measurable, manageable. Misery, as we say of tuberculosis, is communicable, curable, and preventable. It lies not in the unalterable nature of things, but in our particular human institutions, our social arrangements, our tenements and streets and subways, our laws and courts and gaols, our religion, our education, our philanthropy, our politics, our industry and our business." *

Even more definitely Dr. Devine, towards the end of the same book, expresses the view "that distress and crime are more largely the results of social environment than of defective character, and that our efforts should therefore be directed toward the changing of adverse social conditions, some of which can be accomplished only by the resources of legislation, of taxation, of large expenditure, or by changes in our educational system, or in our penal system, or in our taxing system, or even in our industrial system." †

If we turn to the writings of Mrs. Bosanquet, perhaps the most popular exponent of what we are accustomed to look on as the C.O.S. view, we find that though she is more willing than Dr. Loch to admit the drawbacks of extreme poverty, yet she is equally certain that the aim of the philanthropist should be to stimulate the energy and improve the character of the sufferers, rather than to make any change in "adverse social conditions."

"How can we bring it about," she asks, "that they (i.e., 'those whom we may call the very poor') shall have a permanently greater command over the necessaries and luxuries of life? The superficial remedy is that of gifts. . . . But this is a policy which has no tendency to remove the evil. . . . The less obvious, but more effective, remedy is to approach the problem by striking at its roots in the minds of the people themselves; to stimulate their energies; to insist upon their responsibilities; to train their faculties. In short, to make them efficient." ‡

"Wherever there are people in want," she continues, "there lies the possibility of a new market and an increased demand for workers. The key necessary to open it is the efficiency which will enable them to buy by their services, what before they only needed." §

This theory—that the root of the problem must be sought in the minds of the people themselves; that the key to the industrial impasse of unemployment is the efficiency of the worker; that, in short, the poor need not be poor if they ch[illegible]ert themselves;

* "Misery and its Causes," E. [illegible], 1909.

† Ibid. p. 267.

‡ "The Strength of the People," Helen Bosanquet, p. 114. Macmillan, 1902.

§ Ibid. p. 115.

and that the only way effectually to help them is to drive home their personal responsibility—is indeed the keynote of the C.O.S. philosophy; and yet, we may remark in passing, that, as in the case of the first "error," it is markedly absent from the utterances of the actual founders of the society.

The Rev. Henry Solly, in his address on "How to Deal with the Unemployed Poor of London," * alluding to recent riots in Wigan, quotes from the *Spectator* for May 2nd, 1868: "Five hundred lives ought to have been taken in that town rather than five hundred laborers should have been robbed by violence and with impunity of their labor, rather than the law should have been made ridiculous and authority contemptible," and adds: "True, most sorrowfully and unanswerably true; but what about the responsibility resting on owners of property in the neighborhood for allowing twenty thousand colliers to live in a state of semi-barbarism? What about the responsibility of persons of property and education in this metropolis, if the question of preserving the reign of law and order were to be decided some day by slaughtering five hundred miserable semi-savage fellow citizens in the streets because we would not adopt remedial and preventive measures in time?"

We find the same frank acknowledgment of collective responsibility in Dr. Hawksley's address already quoted from: "When we think," he says, "of the suspended murderer, let us ask ourselves whether we took pains to educate and train him for virtue and usefulness; and if we have not, let us bow our heads and be silent in the overwhelming sense of our responsibility. Or when we view the sad state of the poor—their overcrowded and filthy dwellings, the foul air, the bad and adulterated food, the disproportion between the present expenses of living and the wages that such darkened minds and feeble bodies can earn—let us again be mute and grateful that our own state is better, let us remove these stumbling blocks in the way of health and virtuous industry. Before we venture to judge these people, let us rather ask ourselves how much more are we to blame than they." †

Nothing could be further removed from the tone of virtuous superiority which characterizes the writings of later exponents of C.O.S. views, and yet these two men may be said to have first formulated the aims of the society.

It may perhaps be claimed that the new theory is due to experience, that it is founded on poor law statistics and on the observation of C.O.S. investigators, who find that there is nearly always some moral defect associated with cases of dire poverty.

The argument from poor law statistics may be ruled out at once. It is simply misleading to speak as if pauperism and poverty were interchangeable [redacted] Pauperism can be diminished, or even

* "How to Deal with the Unemployed Poor of London, etc." Paper read by the Rev. H. Solly at [redacted] 22nd, 1868, which brought about the formation of the "Association for the Prevention of Pauperism and Crime."

† "The Charities of London, etc.," T. Hawksley, M.D. Read at a meeting of the Association for Preventing Pauperism and Crime, December 17th, 1868.

quenched altogether, by a change in the poor law which would leave poverty just where it was.

The fallacies that underlie the other argument are a little more subtle. First, the ancient fallacy of "any and all." One may say with truth to the last dozen people who compose the queue outside the pit door of a crowded theatre, "if you had been here half an hour earlier you would have got good seats," but if one says it to the whole crowd it is obviously untrue, for the amount of accommodation remaining the same, the number of disappointed people would also remain the same. In Mr. Hobson's words, "the individualist argument by which our charity organization thinkers seek to show that because A, B, or C in a degraded class is able, by means of superior character or capacity, to rise out of that class, no one need remain there, contains the same fallacy. It assumes what it is required to prove, viz., that there are no economic or other social forces which limit the number of successful rises. It assumes that every workman can secure regularity of employment and good wages . . . and that all can equally secure for themselves a comfortable and solid economic position by the wise exertion of their individual powers. Now if there exist any economic forces, in their operation independent of individual control, which at any given time limit the demand for labor in the industrial field . . . these forces, by exercising a selective influence, preclude the possibility of universal success. All economists agree in asserting the existence of these forces, though they differ widely in assigning causes for them. All economists affirm the operation of great tidal movements in trade which for long periods limit the demand for labor, and thus oblige a certain large quantity of unemployment. The C.O.S. investigator naturally finds that the individuals thrown out of work in these periods of depression are mostly below the level of their fellows in industrial or in moral character, and attributes to this 'individual' fact the explanation of the unemployment. He wrongly concludes that if these unemployed were upon the same industrial and moral level as their comrades who are at work, there would be work for all. He does not reason to this judgment, but, with infantile simplicity, assumes it." *

We find a similar assumption underlying the argument with regard to underpayment in "The Strength of the People." Mrs. Bosanquet takes for granted that payment is determined by quality of work, and concludes, quite logically, that the cure for a man's poverty is to make him do good work. To a casual observer the argument receives some support from appearances, as in the case of unemployment, for just as the unemployed are usually less steady and skilful than the employed, so is the sweated worker less efficient than the well paid worker.

To conclude that efficiency would secure good wages is, however, quite unwarrantable, for wages are determined in a state of free competition not by the intrinsic value of the work, but by the relative needs of the worker to sell and the employer to buy. Unfortu-

* "The Crisis of Liberalism," J. A. Hobson, p. 205.

nately, however, though good work does not always secure good wages, bad wages will usually produce bad work. "The father of a family who receives eighteen shillings a week and pays seven shillings for lodging cannot, if he also feeds his wife and children, either remain or become a very good workman. Before he can do better work he must be better paid. Mrs. Bosanquet thinks otherwise. Efficiency and, consequently, prosperity might, she appears to believe, be enforced upon the poor by the withdrawal of such help as is now accorded them. . . . The hunger and hardship of their daily lives do not furnish an adequate spur, but perhaps despair might do so. We seem to hear Mrs. Chick exhorting the dying Mrs. Dombey 'to make an effort.'" *

This attempt to abolish sweating by improving the sweated worker is on a par with that perennial crusade against prostitution, which consists in "rescue work" and the inculcation of personal chastity, leaving entirely out of consideration the economic conditions which give rise to prostitution. Both are attempts to eradicate social evils by improving the moral character of their victims, *without arresting the causes*, and therefore both are as useless as Mrs. Partington's mop.

But even if we grant that efficiency is the true cure for sweating or, to put it more broadly, that a man's social position depends on his character, we have still to consider what his character depends on. Does it not depend largely on his physique, his upbringing, and his general surroundings? Even if we admit that all energetic individuals may make satisfactory lives for themselves, how can we expect that the requisite moral energy shall be generated in the environment of poverty? It may be true, as Dr. Bosanquet says, that material conditions are largely independent of "the energy of the mind which they surround," but it is at least equally true that the energy becomes impossible under certain material conditions. The driving force of individual effort is a realization of higher wants. How are these wants to grow in such an atmosphere?

It is indeed hard to understand how this theory that the moral elevation of the masses must precede in point of time all successful reforms of environment can have survived the impact with fact which C.O.S. methods imply. With the slum child before their eyes, born with low vitality, reared by ignorant and poor parents, breathing bad air, wearing foul clothes, tormented with vermin, how can they assert that the problem is a moral one, that "in social reform character is the condition of conditions"? † "Only give scope of character, it will unfailingly pull us through." Of course material improvements will be of no use unless they react on character, but have we any reason to suppose that they will fail to do so? Is it not likely that the child bred in cleanly habits will wish to be clean, and, in general, is not the way to raise the standard of living to accustom the young to higher ways of life? Even if it is true that character is the most important element in social reform, it

* "Sweated Industry," Clementina Black, p. 155.

† "Aspects of the Social Problem," B. Bosanquet, Preface, p. vii.

is equally true that habit is the most important element in the formation of character, and habits of life are conditioned by environment.

But in all this talk about character it is well to consider whether the characteristics on which Dr. Loch and his followers lay so much stress are the most important for the future of our country.

It has been said that the C.O.S. holds a brief for the independence of the workers. Certainly this is the virtue on which these writers chiefly insist. The constantly recurring argument against old age pensions, against school feeding or school clinics, is that such State aid will tend to relax the effort to be entirely self-supporting. The C.O.S. ideal is that every head of a family should provide for his children, and even for his collateral relatives if they happen to be incapable of providing for themselves. "That terrible pressure of the poorer upon the poor, which Mr. Booth regards as so serious an evil, appears to Mrs. Bosanquet * an element of hope and strength. Morally the charity of the poor to one another is undoubtedly a beautiful thing; economically it is assuredly one of the causes that increase and aggravate poverty, and such diminution of pauperism as is produced by the maintenance out of the workhouse of an aged or sick relative may, in the long run, lead to the destitution of a whole family The last result of such maintenance may, if widespread, be far more nationally expensive than if all the sick and aged were supported out of the public purse." †

But apart from the question whether it is cheaper for us to support the sick and the aged or to bind that burden exclusively on the wage earner, it remains for us to enquire whether a thrifty, calculating habit of mind, a tendency to count the cost to the uttermost farthing before giving way to a generous or æsthetic impulse, to prefer always the solid necessaries of life before its joys and delights, to limit one's outlook to the material wellbeing of oneself and one's blood relations, whether such a disposition is the one and only basis of national prosperity. What becomes of the graces of life under such a régime, what becomes of the search after beauty and knowledge, what becomes of that training in corporate action on which all successful administration depends and of the sense of human solidarity which lies at the root of citizenship?

But now, apart from theory, let us test this statement as to the all-importance of character by what we see around us. Is it true or is it not true that a man's personal character determines the comfort and wellbeing of himself, his wife, and family? If so, the agricultural laborer at twelve shillings a week, whose family cannot have clean skins, clean clothes, and enough to eat, must be a worse man morally than the fox hunting squire who is his landlord, and the house mother, toiling early and late to keep her children decent, a worse woman than the squire's wife waited on by five servants.

Is it true or is it not true? If not, then not character, but the accident of birth is the condition of conditions, together with the laws and customs of the time and country into which a man is born.

* See "The Strength of the People."

† "Sweated Industry," Clementina Black, p. 155.

Now these laws and customs are after all of human origin. We, the governing classes, are responsible for them. The C.O.S. philosopher appears to think that they are God ordained and came down from heaven ready made, but does not attempt to reconcile such a view with his studies of history and of the varying laws and customs of different countries at the present time.

Social conditions are amenable to human action. In a democratic country laws and customs are modified by public opinion acting on and through the Government. What becomes then of this terror of State interference, with its debilitating effect on individual character? It stands revealed as a satisfaction with social conditions as they exist at the present time in England and a dislike to any proposed modification of them. "We like things very well as they are. We have much and you have little; but you must cut your coat according to your cloth, as we do. If you are very thrifty, very sober, very industrious, if you put off marrying till you have insured your life and built yourself a really nice cottage with a bath room, and put by a nice little annuity for your old age, there will still be time for you to produce two or three strong healthy sons to work for our children. We may go to our clubs, our dinner parties, and our theatres, but you must not frequent the village alehouse. We may send up our sons for scholarships at Oxford, but you must pay out of your hard earned wages for any higher education that your children may desire. You must pay your rates and taxes as we do. There is no reason why we should bear a disproportionate amount of the burden; for though our wealth is greater, more is expected of us and our needs are greater. Any attempt, however, on your part to secure for yourselves any special return for your expenditure is most mistaken. It is true that the vast sums spent on the army and navy provide convenient and respectable careers for the less brilliant of our sons; while the more brilliant can obtain official posts at home or in India, well paid out of public money. It is true that it is the streets where we live that are well lighted and paved out of the rates, but this is all as it should be, and any attempt on your part to have your children fed when you are out of work or medically treated at the public cost is most ill judged. School meals and nursery schools would relieve your wife of part of her unceasing toil and might enable her to keep your home and your children cleaner, while school clinics might make a vast change in the health and wellbeing of the coming generation and in the future of our country; but what are these advantages compared with the sacredness of individual responsibility and of family life? It is the duty and privilege of every man to organize his life in view of the whole normal responsibilities which as a father he has accepted, and any State assistance which interferes with that duty and privilege is a cruel kindness. So important is your individual independence that it must not be jeopardized even to improve the health and save the lives of your children. It is better for England that her citizens should grow up crooked, diseased, and undersized than that they should believe in mutual aid and learn to look upon State funds as common funds, to be wisely administered for the common good."

Such, in plain words, is the C.O.S. attitude towards poverty. So stated the theory sounds offensive and absurd; but when we meet with it interwoven with high sounding philosophical phrases and also with the record of many years of unselfish and benevolent effort, we are apt to be hoodwinked as to its real character. There is, moreover, insidious attraction for the well-to-do in this notion that destitution is but the natural working out of human character. If the present condition of affairs suits us, much satisfaction is to be derived from the assurance that any alteration of outward conditions, any change in human laws or institutions, would be worse than useless. The theory thrives and spreads among our upper and middle classes because it strikes root into the indolence and self-satisfaction of, an easy and sheltered life.

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THE NECESSARY BASIS OF SOCIETY.

By SIDNEY WEBB.

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THE NECESSARY BASIS OF SOCIETY.[1]

IN choosing for my subject "The Necessary Basis of Society," I shall not deal with any plank of the platform of the Liberal, the Conservative, or the Labor Party. Nor is it my intention to argue the more fashionable thesis of to-day, that either Socialism or Individualism, according to taste, is the more desirable principle on which to organize society. My aim is the more limited and, I venture to hope, the more practically useful one of bringing to your notice certain considerations on which all political parties can agree; considerations without attention to which, I believe, it is impossible to expect to have, on any principles whatsoever, even a decently successful social order. However much the rival partisans may quarrel among themselves as to what sort of social order they wish to have —however much in this respect the Liberal may differ from the Conservative, the Republican from the Royalist, the Democrat from the Aristocrat, the Trade Unionist from the Capitalist, the Socialist from the Individualist—there are, as I venture to believe, certain fundamental matters of social organization which they can (and, if they are well-informed, reasonable beings, must) accept as indispensable to any successful carrying out of their own projects and ideas.

I invite you, in the first place, to consider for a moment some of the characteristics of popular government. It has been, in a sense, the special task of the nineteenth century, in our conceptions of social organization, to bring into prominence the claims, and needs, and rights of the average man, the typical citizen, the normal human being. I do not need to expatiate on the triumphant progress round the world of what we may call the ideas of 1789; on the rout and extermination of the notion that society ought or can even properly be governed for the advantage of a privileged class; or on the universal acceptance of the Democratic assumption that it is by its results upon the life of the whole body of citizens that every government must stand or fall. One effect of this triumph of Democracy has been to influence us all in favor of large and sweeping applications of governmental administration. That which is used or enjoyed or participated in by every citizen alike has necessarily come to seem much more "Democratic" than that which can only be used or enjoyed or participated in by a few people. Seeing that all have to pay for governmental action, we get into the habit of thinking it exceptionally appropriate—even, we may say, specially fair—to employ the forces of government in such ways only, and for

[1] These pages contain the substance of an Address given to the Social and Political Education League in London, May 14th, 1908, and of an article in the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1908.

such ends only, as concern us all. So much is this the case that there are actually people to-day, thinking themselves educated, who make this a test of legislation. If a measure does not extend to the whole population they denounce it as "class legislation," the implication being that "class legislation" is bad, or wicked, or, at any rate, undemocratic. It is characteristic of the infantile condition of American political thought that in some of the United States "class legislation" is actually forbidden by the State Constitution. The result of this conception has been that the work of government, so far as it has been based on Democratic ideas, has so far reminded us rather of the crude and clumsy proceedings of an army of occupation than of any fine adjustment of services to needs. It has, even in the most advanced countries, progressed little further—to use a pregnant phrase of Mr. H. G. Wells—than dealing with things in a wholesale sort of way. But the wholesale method of supplying human needs is very far from ensuring accurate adjustment. We are apt to forget that the average citizen or the normal human being is a mere abstraction, who does not exist. You and I have never seen him in the flesh. So varied is our individuality that whatever is handed out to all alike must necessarily fail to meet our requirements with any exactness. This is not a valid objection to nineteenth century achievements. A regiment of naked men needs clothing too urgently to allow us to grumble that the standard sizes of the regimental contractor make all the uniforms, if closely scrutinized, nothing better than misfits. The Early Victorian community, bare of schools, or drains, or Factory Acts, had to get itself supplied with the common article of standard pattern, so to speak, by wholesale, in order to be able to survive at all. But this necessity ought not to blind us to the fact that, when we come to scrutinize them closely, all these governmental products, supplied on the conception of Democracy as necessarily a wholesale provider, are, one and all, like the army contractors' uniforms, nothing better than misfits.

My first proposition is, therefore, the paradoxical one that, whilst it may have been the most pressing business of nineteenth century governments to deal with the whole people, or, at any rate, with majorities, by far the most important business of twentieth century governments must be to provide not only for minorities, but even for quite small minorities, and actually for individuals. We are no longer content with the army contractors' standard sizes. The regimental boots and uniforms must be made to fit each individual soldier. This, when you come to think of it, is just as "Democratic" in any sense whatsoever, as the merely wholesale method. "Class legislation," in short, is not only not bad, or wicked, or undemocratic, but actually the only good, the only useful, and the only really effective legislation. Of course, it is not necessary to confine legislative advantages to one minority any more than to one individual. Every minority—every citizen, in fact—has to be supplied, under the one system as under the other, just as every soldier in the regiment has to have his suit of clothing and his pair of marching

boots. Only, on the one method, the fit is so bad that the soldier is galled, and his marching and fighting capacity falls far short of what can be attained. On the other method, an improved fit so much increases freedom of action that both comfort and efficiency are greatly increased.

An actual example of progressive government action may serve to make my meaning clearer. A century ago the provision of schools formed in England no part of governmental activity. The first need was to get supplied in sufficient quantity the most universal and least specialized type of school. The Democratic program was simply "schools for all." The ideal of advanced reformers was the universal provision of the "common school," the school common to all, in which, in every group of a few hundred families, all the boys or girls—some said all the boys *and* girls—should sit side by side, receiving whatever their intellects, whatever their idiosyncracies, whatever their opportunities, the same kind and degree of education. We may agree that these enthusiastic Democrats were right in desiring to get rid of purely artificial class distinctions in education. Moreover, a lonely village, like the cluster of homesteads in the early American backwoods, has necessarily got to put up with a single undifferentiated school. But we do not to-day, in any highly organized community, provide or expect to have provided, any monotonous array of such "common schools." We recognize now that children have infinitely varied needs and capacities in education. Where many thousands of children are together in the same locality, we have learnt how to avoid the more atrocious of the misfits that were involved in the "common school." And thus an Education Authority such as that of London already provides not one kind of school, but several dozen different kinds—not merely the ordinary boys' school and girls' schools and infants' schools, but also special schools for the quick and precocious, and special schools for the backward and feeble-minded; blind schools and deaf schools and cripple schools; day schools and boarding schools; truant schools and industrial schools; domestic economy schools and three or four kinds of trade schools; and half-a-dozen different types of secondary schools. The "schools for all," for which Bentham and James Mill and Francis Place strove a century ago, have become differentiated into these dozens of different kinds of school for differently situated groups of children. What was originally a common universal provision has become a highly specialized meeting of the needs of a series of minorities—many of them quite small minorities. And the end is not yet. We don't yet know how to provide each individual child with exactly the kind and grade and amount of education that its individuality requires. This, however, and not "common schools," has already become, in education, the Democratic ideal.

Or consider, in another sphere of government, how far we have already travelled in a quite analogous differentiation and specialization of Poor Relief. Originally the dominant conception of the Poor Law was the relief of destitution, visualized as the handing out

of bread or other necessaries of life, just to keep people from dying of starvation. Nowadays we ought not to think of dealing with our million of paupers in any such simple and uniform way. When you come to think of it, there is no average pauper any more than there is an average man. Hence the very notion of the simple undifferentiated "relief" of the destitute—the very conception of herding them all together in one common institution—is to-day quite comically obsolete, though we still find dear, good people, who really date back to before 1834, unable to imagine anything else, and still discussing little details about the horribly demoralizing mixed general workhouse poorhouse, as if it were not a scandal and a disgrace to us that this dreadful building, unknown in any other country, has not long ago been razed to the ground. What the modern enlightened administrator has learnt, though the average Poor Law Guardian cannot understand what it means, is that there is no category of the destitute ; that the people with whom he has to deal do not, in fact, form a single class at all, but a whole series of distinct classes, differing widely in their requirements. Thus, what we have to aim at providing to-day is not relief at all, but appropriate treatment for each class—foster parents or nurseries for such of the destitute persons as are infants, schools for such of them as are children, specialized infirmaries for such of them as are sick, highly equipped asylums for such of them as are of unsound mind, pensions or suitable homes for such of them as are permanently invalided or merely aged, farm colonies or training homes for the able-bodied for whom work cannot be found, and of dozens of more minutely specialized forms of treatment appropriate to such sub-classes as the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the candidates for migration or emigration, the feeble-minded, the sane epileptics, the chronic inebriates, and so on, most of which are actually now being undertaken, in rivalry with the Poor Law Authority, by the specialized Local Authorities established in connection with the Town or County Council. It is really ludicrous to think that, in this twentieth century, there are still people who think that all these different services, each requiring it own specialized technique, can be administered in each locality by a single body, the Board of Guardians in England and Ireland, and the Parish Council in Scotland, which can thus never possess either the knowledge or the competent staff to deal properly with any one of them. The survival down to the present day of such an anomaly as a special Poor Law Authority, with such an entirely obsolete institution as the mixed general workhouse, established to deal in an undifferentiated way with such an unreal abstraction as the "destitute," is a striking example of how imperfectly we have yet realized that government action of this "universal" character is entirely out of date.

From my fundamental paradox that governmental action, to be successful, must henceforth necessarily take the form, more and more, of provision for minorities, various inferences follow. We see at once how needful becomes, in every branch of administration and legislation, a high degree of specialized knowledge and expertness.

The provision for the average man, whether in the way of prohibitions or in matters of supply, is a comparatively simple matter. The draughtsmen of the American Declaration of Independence and the author of the "Rights of Man," writing as they did for the Political Man—quite as unreal a being as the Economic Man—found no difficulty in deducing from first principles all the government that they contemplated. I sometimes think that those who object to any other kind of legislation are often unconsciously biassed by a haunting suspicion that they, at any rate, are unequipped for it. In our own time it does not require much knowledge to draw up, let us say, a Factory Law on the lines of universal application still customary in the legislation of France. "Clause 1: The hours of labor shall not exceed eight per day. Clause 2: The Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of this law." This is scarcely an exaggeration of the type of legislation to which the conception of governmental action as concerned with the whole people inevitably leads. What we in England have learnt is that not until factory legislation has been broken up and sub-divided into highly specialized regulations, each affecting a particular trade or a group of trades—in short, not until government becomes a matter of dealing with minorities—becomes, in fact, nothing but "class legislation"—does it become either effective in itself or other than a clanking fetter and incumbrance upon our personal freedom. But well-fitting clothes involve skilled tailoring. Accordingly legislation and governmental administration necessarily become, in all highly organized communities—however Democratic they may be—more and more the business of persons elaborately trained and set apart for the task, and less and less the immediate outcome of popular feeling. Nothing was more inexact than the forecast that so alarmed our fathers, that Democracy meant government by the mob. The more strong and effective becomes the Democratic feeling, the more will legislatures and governments be driven to grapple seriously with the real grievances and needs, not of the people in the abstract, but of the people as they really are; the more will it become clear that the only way to do this is to provide what is actually required by the series of small minorities of which the people as a whole is composed; and the more this continuous series of class legislation, dealing successively with every class in the community, will necessarily involve, not the sweeping generalities and political abstractions which mark to-day the political thinking both of mobs and college common-rooms, nor even the comparatively simple, broad general issues that can be submitted to direct popular vote, or formulated by the merely amateur member of Parliament, but the highly elaborated technicalities by which the really experienced departmental administrator seeks to carry out the orders of the legislature. Already we come to recognize that it is neither the street-corner orator nor the Fellow of All Souls who makes the most successful member of a twentieth century Cabinet.

But this inference is not the one on which I want here to lay most stress. Nor do I wish to do more than glance in passing at

another consequence of government more and more concerning itself with minorities. It is almost impossible to get out of the heads of fastidious people of the last generation a shrinking terror of Democracy as involving the sacrifice of all that is delicate, all that is refined, all that is distinguished, to the needs and passions of the "vulgar herd." But the "vulgar herd" is, as we have now seen, no indissoluble whole, necessarily swamping any small minority. It is, in itself, nothing but a congeries of small minorities—each of them by itself quite as weak and powerless politically as the "remnant" of refined and distinguished folk, which may therefore quite comfortably reassure its timid soul. The most Democratic government of the ensuing century—based, as it must necessarily be, on the very idea of providing for each of the series of minorities of which the world is made up—is as capable of providing for one minority as for another, for its poets as for its apprentices, for its scientists as for its soldiers, for its artists as for its artificers, and with the advance of actual knowledge in the administration is even more likely to know how they can be fostered and really well provided for than the irresponsible plutocratic patron ever did.

And here I come at last to the proposition which I am more particularly concerned to press upon you to-night. As it is coming more and more to be the business of government to deal with minorities, to provide what is required for minorities, to legislate for minorities, because minorities are what the people as a whole is composed of, so we are discovering in one department of life after another, that it is upon the specialized scientific treatment of minorities—often of quite small minorities—that social well-being depends. It is curious to remember that practically all past Utopias seem to contemplate a world made up entirely of healthy adults! But it is not enough to provide the government that we might imagine would be required for a community of average, normal healthy citizens—that way, in the actual world in which we live, made up as it is entirely of citizens who are not average or normal at all, lie degeneration, disease and death. Consider first the case of physical health. If the community provides no exceptional provision for the sick—no special care of the tuberculous, no isolation hospitals for zymotic diseases, none of the social elaborations of modern preventive medicine—we know that disease will arise, and will spread, not to the weakly alone but also to the strong; that not only will the yearly toll of death be heavier than it need be, but that sickness will drag down and incapacitate also the average man, and abstract unnecessary days from social service; and, worse than all, even if it do not affect adversely that mysterious germ plasm on which the race depends, that it will, at any rate, generation after generation, impair the vitality and lower the efficiency of the community as a whole. Hence, every civilized government finds it imperative to provide elaborately for the quite small minority of the sick—to deal with them, in fact, individually, one by one—to insist on extensive precautions against disease; to press, indeed, upon everyone, so far as we yet know how, the obligation to be well—

that is to say, to promulgate and enforce what may be called a National Minimum of Health, below which, in the interest of the community as a whole, no one is permitted to fall.

Carry the conception a stage further. The past century has seen a gradual and empirical adoption of the principle of the segregation of persons of unsound mind—of special provision by appropriate institutions for even harmless lunatics and idiots, for epileptics and chronic inebriates, now about to be extended to the merely feeble-minded—partly, no doubt, out of humanity to the unfortunate individuals themselves, but more and more because of a recognition of the fact that their indiscriminate presence in the competitive world has a tendency to deteriorate the sane, to drag down the standard of intelligence and self-control, to lower the level of order as well as of intellect in the community as a whole. We now, in short, enforce a National Minimum of Sanity, below which no denizen of the world of free citizenship is allowed to fall.

And we have already gone much further. With the support—now unanimous, if somewhat belated—of the economists, we have recognized that the conditions of the wage contract can no more safely be left uncontrolled by law than any other department of civilized life, and we have the constantly growing series of Factory Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, Merchant Shipping Acts, Shop Hours Acts, Railways Regulation Acts, and now even a Trade Boards Act —all proceeding on the principle that it is absolutely necessary for social well-being that there should be an inflexible inferior limit below which the conditions of employment must not be permitted to fall.

And now at last the meaning of my title will, I hope, be clear. My thesis is that the Necessary Basis of Society, in the complications of modern industrial civilization, is the formulation and rigid enforcement in all spheres of social activity, of a National Minimum below which the individual, whether he likes it or not, cannot, in the interests of the well-being of the whole, ever be allowed to fall. It is this policy of a National Minimum which, in my judgment, is going to inspire and guide and explain the statesmanship and the politics of the twentieth century.

I have already described some of the ways in which this policy of a National Minimum has, usually without much comprehension of its bearing, influenced our social and industrial legislation. But it is clear that various other applications of the policy lie near at hand, to some of which we may, in conclusion, give our attention. In the Democratic politics of to-morrow we may expect to see the policy of the National Minimum translating itself into four main branches of legislative and executive activity. There will clearly have to be a legal minimum of wages, as there is already in Australasia, and as we have now, in the Trade Boards Act, already adopted in principle for the United Kingdom, with the general agreement of all parties. The employers will be under no legal obligation to employ any person whatsoever; but if they do employ him or her it will be a condition of every contract, not to be waived or ignored, that its

terms shall not be such as will impair the efficiency of the citizen or diminish the vitality of the race. To engage labor at wages insufficient to repair the waste of tissue caused by the employment is demonstrably to injure the community as a whole, and will be prosecuted as such in the criminal courts. Those whose labor, in the judgment of the employers, is not worth the National Minimum —the aged, the permanently invalided, the crippled and the blind, the mentally or morally deficient, the epileptic and the chronically feckless and feeble-minded—will be maintained by the community, as, indeed, they are now. But as every economist knows, of all the ways of maintaining those unable to earn a full livelihood, by far the most costly and injurious is to allow them to compete in the labor market, and thus to drag down by their very infirmity those who are whole. There are still people, of course, who simply cannot imagine how a legal minimum wage could possibly be enforced, just as there were, sixty years ago, economists who demonstrated the impossibility of factory laws. I don't think we need waste time tonight over their ignorance—for it is simply ignorance.

There will be a National Minimum of Leisure and recreation time secured by law to every wage earner. It will certainly be an implied condition of every contract of employment, rigidly enforced by law, that it shall leave untouched fourteen or sixteen hours out of each twenty-four, for needful sleep, recreation, exercise of mind or body, and the duties of citizenship and family life. Any attempt by man or woman to sell for wages any part of the fourteen or sixteen sacred hours will be blamed as virtual embezzlement, since this part of the twenty-four hours' day must be regarded as necessarily reserved for the purpose of maintaining unimpaired the efficiency of the race. Any employer purchasing them, or allowing them to be spent in his mill or mine, will be prosecuted and punished, just as if he had incited to embezzlement or had received stolen goods. This, indeed, is already law in principle, again with the general assent of all parties, though very imperfectly applied and enforced, in our Mines Regulation Acts, our Railway Regulation Acts, our Shop Hours Acts, and our Factory Acts. And with this will go the campaign for the actual prevention of Unemployment, and for securing to everyone full provision, along with training, whenever we have failed to prevent involuntary idleness.

There will be a National Minimum of Sanitation, enforced not merely on land or house owners or occupiers, but also on local governing authorities. The nation will find it preposterous that any parish or city, merely out of stupidity, or incapacity, or parsimony, should foster disease, or bring up its quota of citizens in a condition of impaired vitality. The power of the community as a whole will, somehow or other, be brought to bear upon every backward district, compelling it to bear its part in the constant campaign for the actual prevention of disease, to lay on pure water, to improve its drainage, and to take such action, even by municipal building, if need be, that no family in the land shall have less than "three rooms and a scullery" as the minimum required for health

and decency. Along with this must come the adequate provision of medical attendance, skilled nursing, and hospital accommodation for all the sick. White infants, in particular, are getting too scarce to be allowed to die at their present quite unnecessary rate. Within a generation of the adoption of such a policy the death-rate and sickness experience would show a reduction of one-third of what is at present endured as if it were the decree of Providence.

There will obviously be a National Minimum of Child Nurture —not merely of education in the sense of schooling, not merely in the provision of teaching, but in everything required for the healthy, happy rearing of the citizen that is to be. Besides schools and colleges of every grade, effectively open to all who can profit by them, there will have to be an adequate "scholarship ladder," securing maintenance as well as free tuition, right up to the post-graduate course, for every scholar proving himself or herself fitted for anything beyond ordinary schooling. And this provision will be enforced by the national power upon local school authorities, as well as upon parents and employers. What right has any part of the community to allow any part of its quota of citizens to be lost to the community by carelessness or neglect, or to be reared in ignorance, or to suffer even one potential genius to be snuffed out by hardship or privation? The next few years will see not only a great improvement in ordinary schooling, but also the doubling or trebling of our collective provision for child nurture from infancy to adolescence.

The lesson of economic and political science to the twentieth century is that only by such highly differentiated governmental action for all the several minorities that make up the community—only by the enforcement of some such policy of a National Minimum in Subsistence, Leisure, Sanitation, and Child Nurture—will modern industrial communities escape degeneration and decay. Where life is abandoned to unfettered competition, what is known to the economists as "Gresham's Law" of currency applies—the bad drives out the good: evolution means degeneration. To prevent this evil result is, as both Europe and America are discovering in the twentieth century, the main function of government.

Now, I dare say that some of you, knowing that I am a Socialist, will imagine that they see in this proposition nothing but a cunningly devized form of Socialism, put skilfully in a way not to shock the timid. On my honor I have no such guile. In my view, this policy of the National Minimum is a necessary condition of a healthy social order, whether you adopt the Individualist or the Collectivist principle in the organization of your State. You cannot have a successful and healthy Individualist State—whether of millionaires and wage slaves, or of peasant proprietors and small masters—without it. In fact, it is the necessary *basis* of Society, whether you intend the *superstructure* to remain Individualist or whether you wish it to become Collectivist. You will notice that to enforce the National Minimum will not interfere either with the pecuniary profits or with the power or the personal development of

the exceptional man. The illimitable realm of the upward remains, without restriction, open to him. The policy of the National Minimum does not involve any attack upon, or any diminution of, either rent or interest—the whole differential advantage of superior sites, and soils, and machines, and opportunities remains absolutely unaffected. That, by the way, is why I, as a Socialist, describe it only as the basis of social organization; it does not, like the "nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange," deal with the superstructure.

Nor does this Policy of the National Minimum abolish competition, which, as we may confidently reassure timid Individualists, can no more be abolished than gravitation. But in the wild anarchy of unregulated modern industry, competition is apt to be as indiscriminately destructive as was the fall of the Tower of Siloam. It is, I need hardly remind you, quite a mistake to suppose that the bracing and invigorating action of competition, or any other social force, is proportionate to its intensity. We do not nowadays plunge our babies into cold water in order to harden them, or deliberately bring up our sons—whatever we may do with those of the poor—between a gin-shop and a brothel, in order to strengthen their characters. In the domain of human experience and social organization generally, as I have read of biology, "Weak stimuli kindle life activity, medium stimuli promote it; but strong stimuli impede it, and the strongest bring it altogether to an end."[1] What the enforcement of a policy of the National Minimum does to competition, as we see by a whole century of experience of factory legislation, is to change its form and shift its incidence. By fencing off the downward way, we divert the forces of competition along the upward way. We transfer the competitive pressure away from a degradation of the means of subsistence of the mass of the people (where it does little but harm), to the intellect of everyone who has any, in the degree that he has it (where it quite usefully sharpens the wits). Only by constructing this Necessary Basis can the twentieth century community go forward—only in this way, in fact, can it, whether Individualist or Collectivist in its leanings, avert social degradation and decay.[2]

[1] Rudolf Arndt.

[2] For further explanation of the Policy of the National Minimum and answers to economic and other objections, see "Industrial Democracy," by S. and B. Webb (Longmans, 12s. 6d.), or "Socialism and National Minimum" (Fabian Socialist Series: Fifield, 6d. and 1s.).

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AFFORESTATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE United Kingdom is remarkable amongst civilized nations in two respects: it has a smaller area of forest than any other in similar latitudes; and though it has a Government Department called "Woods and Forests," that Department is not much more than an office for the State gardeners and gamekeepers. The science and the art of forestry, studied and practised by every other important nation and by ourselves in our Indian Empire and in our colonies, is so utterly neglected at home that people of ordinary intelligence rarely know that the science and art exist.

No doubt statistics afford us some excuse. By forests we do not mean the deer forests of Scotland and the heath-clad hills and moorlands which in England are known as Ashdown Forest and Dartmoor Forest and so on. We mean land covered with trees, and the percentage of forest in this sense is in Ireland 1·5 of the area, Wales 3·9, Scotland 4·6, and England 5·3, compared with 17 per cent. in France, 17·3 per cent. in Belgium, the most thickly populated of countries, 25·9 in Germany, 32·6 in Austria, 35 in Sweden and in Hungary, 42 in Russia, and 48 in Servia.

Our national want of attention to forestry is therefore accounted for by the scarcity of our forests. But, for reasons about to be explained, the time has come to establish in our country both forests and the science and art of forestry.

Report of the Royal Commission.

Such, at any rate, is the opinion expressed in the Report on Afforestation (Cd. 4460) of the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion, etc., issued in 1909.

The nineteen Commissioners comprised six professional men (two of whom were experts in forestry) and four officials (two State and two municipal); while of the nine politicians five were Liberals, including a Trade Unionist, two Conservatives, and one each from the Nationalist and Labor Parties. The Report was unanimous, with some reservations from one Commissioner, and proposed that the State should purchase suitable land in order to plant 150,000 acres yearly, at an average annual cost of £2,000,000, until a national forest estate of 9,000,000 acres had been created. In times of trade depression some of the labor required would be drawn from the ranks of the unemployed, a fair number of whom are fit to carry out the work with but little preliminary training.

As a piece of Collectivism the scheme is a striking one. No body of men as representative as were the Commissioners would have produced it unless a very strong case had been made out.

With but few exceptions, the Report was received with a chorus of approval by the press. The organ of the country gentlemen, the *Field*, in its issue of January 23rd, 1909, wrote :

> The opinion of the Commission upon Afforestation is emphatic. In effect they say : "Yes, afforestation is both practicable and desirable." It would be passing strange if the decision had been otherwise. For many years the authorities best able to form an opinion have been urging not only the wisdom, but the national necessity, of safeguarding our timber resources.
>
> We may reasonably hope that the work of this Commission will be positive, and not in the direction of that shunting which is so frequently the conclusion of costly official enquiries. To be effective, however, there should be no delay in the beginning. Nor is there any reason for hesitation. Upon the facts as to the necessity of systematic afforestation there is universal agreement, and the portions of the Report containing it may at once be taken as read. The existence of unemployed men is also too obvious for dispute. The real points of debate are : (1) Are the men fit for work ? (2) Will the work be profitable ? The assurances of the Commission upon these questions we cannot but regard as wholly satisfactory.

With this declaration on the part of progressive landlords little fault need be found, but the difficulty in practice will be to hold them and their agents to it.

Proposed National Forests.

The Commission report that 6,000,000 acres in Scotland, 2,500,000 in England and Wales, and 500,000 acres in Ireland, 9,000,000 acres in all, are fit for afforestation and should be afforested. They point out that the world supply of timber is being steadily depleted, that the price is constantly rising, and that (in 1907) we imported 8,315,937 loads of timber, valued at £20,127,943, from countries of similar climate and character to our own. This quantity of timber could be grown on 9,000,000 acres, planted to cut on a regular rotation, and the Commission report that exactly this area of suitable land is available for the purpose. This, of course, is a mere coincidence, and there is no reason to suppose that our imports will be constant at the figure of 1907.

There is, therefore, a clear primâ facie case for the promotion of afforestation ; but this is one of those services which private enterprise has not yet undertaken, and, indeed, is unfitted to undertake. The initial outlay is substantial. The Commission estimate of cost of land and planting is £13 6s. 8d. per acre. Interest and management expenses have to be added annually. For twenty years there is no direct return whatever, and for another twenty years the thinnings yield but a small income. When forty years have elapsed the crop can be sold at £60 per acre, and if left for eighty years it will realize £175 per acre. But the investment of a substantial capital which will cost money to protect for twenty years, will yield very little for forty years, and between that and eighty years will give in lump sums, according to the acreage cut, a return of £3 16s. 6d. per cent. on the whole outlay is not a business proposition for an individual, however young and however wealthy. The State, which can borrow cheaply, which lives for ever, and can therefore afford to take long views, is the only body which could undertake afforestation on a large scale.

Germany has had State forest departments for a century. Saxony has 429,300 acres of State forests and obtains a net return of 22s. an acre. In Prussia, Bavaria, and four other States, the net revenue of the State forests is between 10s. and 15s. an acre, whilst in Wurtemburg the return is as high as 25s. 3d.*

Nearly every important nation not only owns and works State forests, but undertakes the systematic teaching of forestry, the science and art of the profitable growing of timber for sale.

In Switzerland 71 per cent., in Hungary 68 per cent., in Russia 60 per cent. of the forests, 25 per cent. of the whole area, belongs to the State, and in Germany 52 per cent. of the forest area is State or municipal. In other countries the proportion is considerable, though smaller, save in British India, where it is nearly 100 per cent., and in the United Kingdom where it is 2 per cent.

Climate and Soil.

Yet our climate and soil are suitable for the growing of timber; and English wood is as good as or better than that of other countries, if it is properly grown. In practice our home grown timber is usually inferior, because our woods are used primarily for ornament and sport. We grow fine trees with spreading branches and abundant space for underwood; the timber merchant wants tall trees with no big branches, and for this purpose they must be grown close together, as in natural forests.

Why Afforest at all?

The Commission demonstrate that 9,000,000 acres of land, now used to little purpose, employing scarcely any labor, and producing nothing but game and a little mutton, could be purchased and planted by the State, would yield in a generation or so a very large amount of wealth, larger, indeed, than the estimate if the price of timber continues to rise in the future as it has in the past, and would in the end return what is for the State a fair profit on the whole enterprise.

But there are the special reasons for undertaking it. Commercially the proposition is sound but it is not exactly attractive. It is the expected social results which determined the Commission to recommend afforestation to the nation.

Forestry and Unemployment.

Afforestation has an important bearing on the problem of unemployment in two main ways.

1. It can be advantageously used as a direct palliative, or, to put it more correctly, a preventive of unemployment both during trade depressions caused by cyclical fluctuations and in the slack periods of seasonal trades.

* These figures are, presumably, the net annual income, that is the difference between receipts and working expenses per acre averaged over the whole area. The forests are mostly natural, and no doubt State property from time immemorial. These figures therefore have little relation to the finances of the scheme proposed for the United Kingdom.

2. Its permanent effect will be to help in, what is an essential part of the organization of the labor market, the better distribution of labor.

Everyone knows what the "casual labor system" means. Round the dock gates in London and Liverpool and Hull, and all our other great ports, to take only one example, there is constantly hanging an army of "under employed" men fighting for a bare existence, and that army is partly recruited by country-born men who have drifted away from the rural villages and farms. Now, if unemployment is to be satisfactorily dealt with, it is necessary, as the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission has shown, that the casual labor system should be abolished, the recruiting of the "casual" army stopped, and the present congested masses of the "under employed" dispersed. The men who are squeezed out in the process of decasualization will have to be absorbed eventually into regular and self-supporting employment, and one of the forms of that employment will be the work of afforestation. Thus afforestation will play an important part both as a preventive of the "drift to the towns" and as an absorbent of much labor which is at present unemployed or "under employed."* Incidentally, of course, the creation of forests would develop other industries beyond the mere growing and felling of timber, e.g., its conversion and manipulation, and the wood-working trades generally. It has been estimated by a high authority that the afforestation of a million acres would afford regular work on the land for 100,000† men, which means, to put it another way, life in the country for half a million persons, counting five to the family.

The peculiar value of afforestation as a preventive of unemployment is, however, its applicability to times of great industrial depression and to seasonal slackness. It is hardly necessary to say that it must not be used for relief works, which are thoroughly unsound, and can have no place in a well organized system. But the peculiarity of afforestation is that it lends itself admirably to temporary work. Planting can, to a great extent, be put in hand at intervals according to the state of the labor market, without detriment either to the work itself or to the interests of the community.‡ In giving evidence before the Royal Commission, Professor Schlich was asked, "If you had to regard periods of depression in the labor market,

* This does not mean that every under employed dock porter or builder's laborer could go straight to tree planting. Training will be a necessary part of such re-organization of industry. It is worth remembering, however, in this connection, that the Report on Afforestation found that "there are sufficient unemployed persons willing to submit to and able to satisfy ordinary labor tests, who could advantageously be employed without a period of special training." This is a conclusion based on the experience of a number of practical foresters and others who have actually used the "unemployed" in their work. (See the Report, 1909, Cd. 4460, pp. 15 foll.).

† The discrepancy between these figures and those at the end of the section is due to the deduction of labor displaced allowed for in the latter estimate.

‡ Provided that, as in India with famine relief works, schemes are carefully elaborated to this end beforehand.

would it very seriously interfere with systematic operations if you had to do little planting for two or three years, and had a correspondingly increased quantity once in three or four years, we will say?" His reply was: "I think it would make very little, if any, difference, provided you did a certain amount within a certain number of years, say within every ten years approximately the same amount. . . . Generally speaking, I can say it does not matter whether you do a double amount in one year and nothing in the next year in the shape of planting—really it makes no difference in the long run so long as you do every five years, or every ten years at the outside, approximately the same amount."

It is clear, then, that a large part of the work in the national forests could be (and ought to be as the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission suggests) "executed out of loans on a ten years' program, and within the decade, made to vary in volume in such a way as to ebb and flow in a manner complementary to the flow and ebb of private industry."

It is clear, also, that another part of the national (or municipal) forests can be used to prevent seasonal unemployment. The actual planting of trees is confined to the winter months (roughly from October to April), whilst preliminary work, such as fencing, clearing the ground of brushwood, draining, etc., may be done either in winter or summer. Obviously, therefore, sylvicultural operations will fit in with agriculture. Thousands of men who will be busy during the summer at haymaking, harvesting and the hoeing of roots, can find employment in the woods when ordinary farm work is slack during the winter. Moreover, with a proper organization of the labor market, that is to say, with national labor exchanges and training establishments in full working order, there is no reason why forest work—the rougher and less specialized departments of it at any rate—should not be the alternate trade of many urban laborers, men in the building trade for instance. There is afforestable land in the neighborhood of many great cities (such as London, Portsmouth, or the towns of the West Riding), while several of the great municipalities (e.g., Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool), have water catchment areas, which really need afforesting.

Two and a half million acres is England's share of the area proposed to be planted. It is here that forestry has its principal bearing on the unemployed question. In Surrey, Kent, and Sussex, not to speak of Essex, there are 36,000 acres of afforestable land, about 90,000 acres in Hampshire, nearly 300,000* in the South-West of England. Here are demonstration areas and training grounds close at hand, where men can be tested and, if necessary, trained until they are fit to be drafted to the Yorkshire moors or the highlands of Scotland. In Scotland there would not be enough men unemployed in times of depression to do the work on the large areas proposed to be acquired unless men previously trained in England could be drawn upon.

* Moreover, out of 28,000 acres of hill and heath land in Suffolk about three quarters, or 20,000 acres, could be successfully planted.

Enough has been said to show the special value of afforestation in dealing with the unemployed problem. Important questions then arise as to the number of men employable on any given area of woodland and the amount of supervision and training necessary.

This is what the Commissioners arrive at in the way of employment:

(a) *Temporary.*—Temporary employment is afforded annually to 18,000 men during the winter months. Subsidiary occupations would employ as many more. This is equivalent to the labor of 12,000 men for one year and increases gradually as the scheme matures.

(b) *Permanent.*—Permanent employment is afforded to one man per 100 acres afforested, rising to 90,000 men when the whole area has been dealt with. The scheme is a "snowball." At first the labor of 12,500 men will be required; ultimately it will rise to 90,000. The subsidiary industries will absorb a much larger number, so that finally this new industry will support an additional population of about two to two and a half millions.

Forestry and Small Holdings.

A large forest scheme started at several centres in England will greatly assist the development of many land reforms. For, to quote from the Report, "the conversion of comparatively unprofitable lands into forests enhances the productiveness of adjacent areas and should promote the development of the small holdings movement." This is fairly well understood in Scotland, and it should be the business of all south of the Tweed to see that it is equally well understood in England.*

The English Small Holdings Act on its introduction aroused great expectations among the rural population, which have since in many counties been disappointed. With the help of well considered afforestation schemes, the hopes of those fortunate enough to live in their neighborhood stand more chance of being realized. As an instance of the way in which a system of small holdings can be set upon a sound financial basis the evidence of Mr. Rawlence is much to the point. He stated that in Dorset, Wilts, Hants, and Kent (to which may be added Devon, Somerset, Yorkshire, Wales, and many other areas), there "must be hundreds of thousands of acres, taking that land the normal [annual] value of which would be less than five shillings per acre." He also gave instances of estates sold or for sale at £10 or less per acre, and added: "If you want to buy land of that sort, the better plan will be to buy an estate of 700 acres, taking my illustration; and you would probably let several small holdings for almost as much as the whole farm is let, and you would have the residue left [for forestry purposes] practically for nothing."

* The Commission report that only half a million acres need be acquired for forest purposes in Ireland. This is a timid recommendation; but to analyze the situation there, which is complicated by all kinds of political issues, would require too much space.

The advantage to the small holder of being able to earn good wages during the winter in the adjoining State forests is too obvious to need enlarging on. It will serve to tide him over the period it takes for his farm to become economically self-supporting, and afford him ready money for rent and the interest on the capital required for stock. If the county councils do not fall in with this idea, there is no reason, save the defects of the present Board of Agriculture, why the State itself should not establish the subsidiary small holdings, under section 20 of the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1908. There will be a further advantage in that co-operation, which is so essential to the success of the small holder, ought to be initiated and fostered by central State action, and these "national" small holdings will provide an invaluable opportunity for this purpose.

Opposition to be Overcome.

In England: for Hunting and Sheep Farming.

In England, apart from the grouse shooting on the Yorkshire moors, the hunting rather than the shooting interest is to be feared. For example, there are, according to the Commissioners, many suitable areas in the West of England; for instance, in Somerset alone the Mendips, the Quantocks, and Exmoor. Now the prosperity of the present rather scanty population of Exmoor is based on two things—sheep grazing and the existence of the Devon and Somerset stag-hounds. It is true, as the Report points out, that much land could be devoted to forestry that is now being used as pasture for sheep, and that the system of farming could, without difficulty, be adapted thereto. If the poor upland pasture were improved by suitable cultivation and the use of artificial manures, as is being done with great success in Belgium and Denmark, and to a lesser extent in England itself, the diminished area of grazing could easily carry the same number of sheep as before. If additional land were required to be given up to the forester, great stock would be substituted for small, and cattle breeding and dairy farming would replace the production of mutton.

But the opposition of the stag hunters is more serious. In England the ownership of land in many cases, if not most, does not imply the management of a business, but rather the enjoyment of a luxury. Consequently, even though it could be proved as a matter of estate management that a landlord who lent himself to a large scheme of afforestation on Exmoor would benefit himself materially, it does not follow that this would move him to support locally unpopular improvements. Still less would he or his agent be influenced by the fact that such a scheme could indirectly benefit the unemployed of Bristol, Bridgwater, and Taunton during times of trade depression. For if new work were started on a large scale in his neighborhood, there would be a demand not only for comparatively unskilled labor from the towns, but also for skilled woodmen, planters, and men brought up on the land from the neighborhood. This would inevitably send up the wages of the rural proletariat; and

however much some of us may wish to see that (as it is the necessary antecedent from a financial point of view of most land reforms), it would for that very reason be opposed by the existing territorial interests. Increased wages, though they would ultimately pay for themselves in the better quality of the work done, might at first lead to reductions in rent; and whereas rents are now rising, the rise might be stopped. Changes in husbandry—even changes which would ultimately increase rents—are not often welcomed by the landowner. His immediate interest "is in getting the utmost possible rent, which may (and often does) come from such a use of the land as involves its producing a smaller quantity of foodstuffs than some other use"; just as "the farmer's pecuniary interest lies in getting the highest possible percentage on the capital he employs, which may (and often does) lead him positively to restrict the intensity of his labor and the product of the farm."*

In Scotland: Grouse and Deer.

Scotland, where the Commission recommends that 6,000,000 acres be acquired for plantations, is where afforestation is likely to be carried out on a large scale. In that country, outside the fertile lowlands, all classes of the country population are well aware that the rural economy is based almost entirely on the use of the land for sport. And this is a very unsafe position. Fashions in shooting change. Just as pheasant shooting is losing the esteem of sportsmen because over preservation has made it too artificial (and as a table bird the tame hand-reared pheasant is little, if at all, superior to a barndoor fowl), so in deer forests, where the ground is often overstocked and the beasts' range limited, the stalker will seldom get such fine trophies as he can in Germany and Eastern Europe, where the deer live under more natural conditions. But the conversion of bare mountain land and heath into forest will not destroy the shooting. Except for rabbits (which are incompatible with afforestation, but which in any case are of no account in the Highlands), game will still flourish, though its character may be changed. As a well informed article in the *Academy* puts it: "People can make shooting for black game, capercailzie, and pheasants instead of grouse at no pecuniary loss. They can keep deer from destroying the young trees by giving them fodder, as they do in the German deer forests." Pheasants reared in large areas of dense forest would be wild and gamey enough to satisfy the most critical shot or maître d'hôtel, and this kind of shooting would soon recover its value. The able writer of the *Times* articles on British forestry, published between February and May, 1908, observes upon game preservation that "Any misgivings as to the effect of forestry upon pheasant shooting may be allayed by recollecting that the battue system is a fashion imported from Germany, where scientific forestry has been longer established than in any other country."

* Sidney Webb: preface to the English translation of Hasbach's "History of the English Agricultural Laborer."

It may seem strange to devote so much consideration to uneconomic sports hitherto enjoyed only by the leisured rich. But, according to the Royal Commission, the sporting rights would serve to cover the expense of local taxation and part of the upkeep of the woods until they began to pay expenses. In fact they are an economic asset of immediate value; and their exercise need not interfere with the proper tending and profitable exploitation of the forests, although perhaps their enjoyment in a more democratic fashion than at present will have to be deferred until the national income is more equably distributed. In the near future the State might let shootings to co-operative societies of sportsmen, upon trustworthy guarantees of fair usage.

The Scots will, therefore, be well advised to accept the Commissioners' scheme; for they will be in the pleasant position of eating their cake and having it too, at least a part of it. And on points like these those who wish to see the scheme carried through in its entirety do well to be posted. There are differences of opinion as to the best scale for a start. Mr. R. C. Munro Ferguson, M.P., who has been a conspicuous advocate of forestry in Scotland, said, in July, 1910: "The agricultural interest is exceeding sensitive as regards the afforestation policy of the Commission on the ground that it may absorb some undue proportion of the available resources." This would be perfectly true if he had stopped there, but he continued: "That, however, is a groundless fear, because it must be a matter of some years before any large scheme of afforestation can be undertaken, and an expenditure averaging £50,000 for the first six or eight years is probably as much as could be well laid out on the requisite preliminary machinery." Here his view entirely conflicts with the view of most experienced men. They are of opinion that too much time is being spent in talk, and that there are plenty of men and sufficient experience accumulated in the United Kingdom to allow the work to be begun on a far larger scale with every promise of success.

The Opposition of Land Agents.

Even if landowners were less unprogressive than is often alleged, and many were prepared to support a large development of State forests in their neighborhood and run the risk of the increased value of the adjoining estates being largely absorbed by taxation, there would remain another very formidable class to be reckoned with.

Compare the amount received by the landlord and his agent. The landlord does 5 per cent. of the work and receives 95 per cent. of the rent; that is to say, the work of the landlord is rewarded 361 times as highly as that of the agent. Here is a disproportion that exists in no other business. If we turn to the provisions of the Commissioners' larger scheme, we find that the administration charges required to produce a net revenue of £17,500,000 amount to no less than £1,800,000, or nine and a half per cent. on the total of the two sums. The inference is obvious: either the agent is very much

underpaid, or the work is often badly done. Both conditions are true at once in varying degree. The result is that the land agent, as compared with other professional men, can only make a living by managing a very large tract of land in a routine fashion. He has not the time, even if he had the knowledge to do his part in adapting the husbandry of the estate to changing conditions. Were he to do so he would lose in two ways. Firstly, he would manage less land and get a correspondingly smaller income; secondly, until the improvement on the land he still managed became productive he would lose a part of his percentage on that. This is particularly true of forestry, because farm land given up to plantations would hardly become productive during the agent's lifetime. The consequence is that English land agents as a class (since they are but human) are quite ignorant of scientific forestry. Hence if their business were curtailed in one direction by the creation of large State forests, they could hardly hope, under any proper system of administration that is likely to be set up, to expand it in another by assuming the direction of these forest estates. Nor do they show any serious signs of improving. Only a few years ago the lecturer in estate agency and forestry at a well known college, which has been compared in efficiency with the Agricultural University at Copenhagen, qualified for his duties in teaching forestry by a short visit to Germany. And a few months ago a very capable land agent in charge of some large woods in the south of England told the writer that he was ignorant of the art, and more than hinted that it did not matter in the least.

Artists and Scenery.

There remains a final objection which, as it is often raised by those who profess to love "natural" scenery, must be met and answered. It is said that afforestation will destroy the "natural" beauty of the moors and mountains, and that economic forests must necessarily be ugly. This is not so, for 2,500,000 acres devoted to forests in England will leave plenty of open space, while the additional charm of real forest scenery will be added. The author of the very able series of articles on "British Forestry" in the *Times* (February to May, 1908), completely disposes of the objection:

> If woods are to be preserved they must be managed on an economic basis. We hope to convince readers that this can be done without sacrifice to sylvan beauty—that the best æsthetic results indeed can only be obtained as the outcome of sound forest treatment. The most delectable and special characteristic of English scenery consists in richly timbered parks, the finest of which owe their origin to ancient forests. Take as an example in the South the park at Ashridge. Nowhere else shall you see such statues of beeches in dense masses, in detached groups, and standing singly—the very perfection of tree growth. But do not imagine that such a result can be attained by dotting beeches about on open ground. The Queen beech at Ashridge had never attained her height of 135 feet with 90 feet of clean bole unless she had shared with ten thousand sisters the discipline of high forest.

Similarly Maeterlinck has waxed eloquent on the beauties of serried ranks of forest trees. Dealing with arboriculture in a park he says:

Plant it with beautiful trees, not parsimoniously placed as though each of them were an object of art displayed on a grassy tray, but close together like the ranks of a kindly army in order of battle. . . . Trees never feel themselves really trees nor perform their duties unless they are in numbers. Then at once everything is transformed—sky and light recover their first deep meaning, dew and shade return, silence and peace once more find a refuge.

Of the common Scots pine he adds:

You can picture nothing to compare with the architectural and religious alignment of the innumerable shafts shooting towards the sky, smooth, inflexible, pure. . . .

It is to be hoped that the town councils of England will lay the words of the practical man and the poet to heart, so that we, too, may have nobly timbered woods close to our big towns such as give a distinctive charm to many Danish, Belgian and German cities.

A New Department Wanted.

The Commissioners appear to have recognized this, for they advise that their scheme be administered by Commissioners specially appointed for the purpose. This is an admission that the Departments of Woods and Forests and of Agriculture, as at present organized, are unfit for it. With one or two exceptions, the officials capable of executive work have only the ordinary land agent's training. Mr. Munro Ferguson, in a letter to the *Times* in 1910, pleaded that we are not in a position to find offhand skilled subordinate officials and working foresters for executive duties. But this plea must not be exaggerated. "Offhand" does not mean five to eight years. The first essential step is a properly constituted Forestry Department. It would be idle to try developing this out of the Office of Woods and Forests, if "development" implied retaining anything more than the name of the department. Its first duties will be to secure demonstration forests, provide the necessary sylvicultural training for the executive staff, make a survey of lands suitable for forests, and prepare schemes for planting them. So soon as this new department is ready to act, the Commissioners' scheme should be entrusted to it for execution. It may well have recourse to the large water "catchment" areas which several municipalities possess in the Midlands and the North of England, and which are being planted in a tentative fashion. These will be very useful as demonstration areas and training grounds. Moreover, since the representatives of these towns have already asked for expert advice and financial aid, the new Forest Department should be able to secure efficient management. We must not forget the recommendation of the Royal Commission that "this form of State work can best be performed by a central authority," a recommendation which all Progressives, with the object lesson of the administration of the Small Holdings Act before them, will cordially endorse.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, what is now needed in this matter is not enquiry, but agitation and definite State action. The experts have done their part. The case is made out. The only danger is lest a

scheme which has few, if any, open enemies should, through public apathy and official incompetence, be allowed to lapse. Reformers should press for proper publicity on matters of afforestation and especially for :

1. A well equipped executive Forest Department under the reformed Board of Agriculture, with an expert body to make a proper return of the land suitable for afforestation, to give advice, and to prepare schemes.

2. A settled policy of steady acquisition of land by the State and local authorities to be used for afforestation ; the local authorities to be advised by and, if necessary, subsidized and controlled by the Forest Department.

3. Proper technical instruction in forestry, both in rural schools and colleges and in the universities.

It is only by these means that this important measure of national reconstruction can be brought into being.

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FRANCIS PLACE

THE TAILOR OF CHARING CROSS

BY

ST. JOHN G. ERVINE

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FRANCIS PLACE,

THE TAILOR OF CHARING CROSS.

FRANCIS PLACE was born on November 3rd, 1771, in a "sponging-house," or private debtors' prison, in Vinegar Yard, near Drury Lane, kept by his father, Simon Place, who was at that time a bailiff to the Marshalsea Court. He died on January 1st, 1854, at a house in Foxley Terrace, Earl's Court, at the age of eighty-two. His death attracted almost as little attention as his birth. He might have passed out of the memory of men had not Mr. Graham Wallas dug out the facts of his career from a mass of unattractive manuscripts, and printed them in his admirable "Life of Francis Place." Yet no man of his century was more necessary to the establishment of democracy in England than he. He was essentially the practical man in politics. Other men saw visions and dreamed dreams, but he, when they related their visions and retold their dreams, turned the visions into acts and the dreams into laws. He was an agitator of a totally different type from the agitator of common imagination. He had not the gift of oratory, and was a little distrustful of those who had; he could not stir an audience by emotional appeals, nor did he aspire to do so; he could not force men to deeds by finely written statements, though he tried to do so: he was too prolix, too eager to state all that there was to state, whereas the art of writing consists in knowing what to omit; but he could prepare plans for using to the best advantage the emotion which orators evoked. He made ways for the safe passage of democracy, and devised schemes for its protection while it was still weak. When the visionaries came to him and said, "The people must be free," he replied: "Yes, but how shall we make them free?" And then, so practical was he, instantly set about discovering a means to this end. The idealist and the practical man too frequently work in opposition to each other. It was fortunate for the cause of democracy that Francis Place, entirely practical, should always have desired to work with the idealists who were setting up the structure of a commonwealth in England in the early nineteenth century.

Boyhood and Education.

His father was a rough, careless, and sometimes brutal man, whose habitual method of communicating with his children was to assault them. "If he were coming along a passage or any narrow place such as a doorway, and was met by either me or my brother, he always made a blow at us with his fist for coming in his way. If we attempted

to retreat he would make us come forward, and as certainly as we came forward he would knock us down." Mr. Place, after a number of years' service as a keeper of a sponging-house, took a tavern, but he spent so much of his money in the State lotteries that he frequently had to resort to his old trade as a journeyman baker in order to retrieve his losses, his wife in the meantime maintaining their family by needlework. From the age of four until he was nearly fourteen Francis was sent to one of the private adventure schools which abounded in the neighborhood of Drury Lane and Fleet Street in the eighteenth century. The instruction given to him was of poor quality, but he was quick-witted and eager to know, and he easily became head boy in his school. His thirst for learning, however, did not prevent him from taking part in the street life of his day. He was, writes Mr. Graham Wallas, skilled in street games, a hunter of bullock in the Strand, an obstinate faction fighter, and a daily witness of every form of open crime and debauchery.

When the time came for him to leave school, he being then about fourteen years old, his father decided to apprentice him to a conveyancer, but he refused to become a lawyer; and his father, thus flouted, strode into the bar-parlor and offered him as an apprentice to anyone who would have him. A drunken breeches maker, named France, accepted the offer, and to him the boy was formally bound. During this time he became associated with a "cutter club"—an eight-oared boat's crew—who used to drink and sing together in the evening. The coxswain of this crew was subsequently transported for robbery, and the stroke oar was hanged for murder. A certain quality of pride saved Francis Place from dissoluteness, and in 1790, when he was eighteen, and had given up his indentures, he met his future wife, Elizabeth Chadd.

Marriage.

The effect of this meeting was to check any tendency to viciousness he ever had. He then began the career of extraordinary endeavor, which lasted for the remainder of his life. His fortunes at this time were not happy. His trade was a declining industry, and, although he was a highly skilled workman, he could not earn more than fourteen shillings a week. His family was impoverished; his father, in ill-health, had sold his tavern and had lost the proceeds in a lottery, and his mother was obliged to work as a washerwoman. The time did not seem propitious for marriage; but Place, always indomitable and always hopeful, was prepared to take risks which Elizabeth Chadd, unhappy at home, was willing to share, and in March, 1791, when he was nineteen and a-half, and she was not quite seventeen, they married and went to live in one room in a court off the Strand. Their joint earnings were under seventeen shillings a week. "From this we had to pay for lodgings three shillings and sixpence a week, and on an average one shilling and sixpence a week for coals and candles. Thus we had only twelve shillings a week for food and clothes and other necessaries."

When he was twenty-one, and the father of a child, a strike took place in the leather breeches trade. At this time the Combination Laws were still in force. There were, however, a number of societies of a purely benevolent character in existence, and to one of these, the Breeches Makers' Benefit Society, Francis Place belonged. He has left an interesting account of this society and the strike which it caused: "The club, though actually a benefit club, was intended for the purpose of supporting the members in a strike for wages. It had now, in the spring of 1793, about £250 in its chest, which was deemed sufficient. A strike was agreed upon, and the men left their work."

The conditions of labor in this trade were exceedingly bad. A skilled workman, regularly employed, could earn a guinea a week; but regular employment was seldom to be had, and, generally speaking, wages for good workmen, often employed, were never more than eighteen shillings a week, and frequently a good deal less. Unfortunately for the leather breeches makers, the employers made a counter move, which eventually destroyed the strike. They urged their customers to buy stuff breeches instead of those made of leather, and at the same time organized a boycott of all leather breeches makers, whether they were concerned in the strike or not. The Combination Laws theoretically applied to all members of the community, to employers as well as to workmen, but although they were rigorously enforced against workmen, Place, in after life, was unable to discover a single instance of their having been enforced against employers.

First Efforts at Organization.

Although Place was a member and a regular subscriber to the funds of his society, he seldom attended any of its meetings, and he was unaware of the fact that a strike had been decided upon, or that it had actually taken place, until he received his dismissal from one of his employers. The moment he heard of the strike he went to the club house, where he was informed that every man out of work would receive seven shillings a week from the funds. He made enquiries, and learned that there were as many members of the society as there were pounds in the chest, and saw that the funds would be exhausted in three weeks. His genius for organizing began to stir. The stewards of the club had no plans laid. It seemed to them that all that was necessary was to declare a strike and pay out seven shillings a week to the members until the funds were depleted. They hoped that by that time the employers would also be exhausted. Place changed all that. He suggested that those members who were prepared to leave London, undertaking not to return for one month, should receive a week's payment in advance. These men would not receive any further sum. A number of the members accepted the offer because of the custom of the trade that a tramping journeyman should receive a day's keep, a night's lodging, and a shilling the next morning, and in some of the larger towns a breakfast and half-a-crown from country leather breeches makers' shops to help him along until he had obtained work.

When this matter was settled, and the fund was thereby relieved, Place proposed another scheme of an ingenious character, whereby each man remaining in London, instead of receiving seven shillings per week, should make up two pairs of breeches of a particular quality, for which he should be allowed four shillings each pair. These breeches were sold in a shop taken for the purpose, Place being employed as manager for twelve shillings a week. The effect of these proposals was that the fund, instead of being exhausted at the end of three weeks, lasted for three months. The strike, however, was unsuccessful. When the money was expended the men had to return to work on the employers' terms, and those of them, like Place, who had been conspicuous in the strike, were refused employment of any sort by any leather breeches maker. The failure of the strike was due to the facts that the industry was a declining one and that the masters, being few in number, were able to combine with little trouble against their workers.

A Time of Acute Poverty.

To this time of strike organization there succeeded, for Place, a time of acute poverty. For eight months he could not obtain work of any kind. He had expended his small savings during the period of the strike and so was without resources. His only child had sickened of smallpox and died. He and his wife suffered every privation that comes from lack of food and adequate shelter. They had pawned all that they had to pawn, obtaining for this purpose the services of an old woman who lived in the same house; for, though they were actually enduring hunger, neither he nor she would go to the pawnbroker in person. When they could no longer find pledgable goods, the old woman, guessing their state, informed the landlord of the house, and he offered them credit for everything he sold, whilst his wife almost forced them to accept bread, coals, soap and candles. "And at the end of our privation, notwithstanding we were only half fed on bread and water, with an occasional red herring, we were six pounds in debt to our landlord."

When it seemed that the boycott upon him would not be removed, Place decided to leave his trade, and sought employment as overseer of parish scavengers at eighteen shillings a week. He obtained the post, but a few days before he was expected to begin his duties, one of his former employers sent for him. He declined to go, suspecting that this was a trap, such as had already been laid for him, to obtain an admission from him of the existence of a trade club, in order to secure his prosecution under the Combination Laws. Mrs. Place, however, went in his stead, "and in a short time she returned and let fall from her apron as much work for me as she could bring away. She was unable to speak until she was relieved by a flood of tears." He and she set to work, laboring sixteen and sometimes eighteen hours a day. "We turned out of bed to work, and turned from our work to bed again." In a short time they were able to redeem their furniture and to purchase necessaries. They moved to a more convenient home, and so prosperous did they become that Place was able to assist his mother to some extent.

Self-Education.

During this terrible period of his life Place read a great many hard books, "many volumes in history, voyages and travels, politics, law and philosophy, Adam Smith and Locke, and especially Hume's Essays and Treatises. . . . . I taught myself decimals, equations, the square, cube and biquadrate roots. I got some knowledge of logarithms and some of algebra. I readily got through a small school book of geometry, and having an odd volume, the first of Williamson's Euclid, I attacked it vigorously and perseveringly." Prior to this time he had read "the histories of Greece and Rome, and some translated works of Greek and Roman writers; Hume, Smollett, Fielding's novels and Robertson's works, some of Hume's Essays, some translations from French writers and much on geography, some books on anatomy and surgery, some relating to science and the arts, and many magazines. I had worked all the problems in the introduction to Guthrie's Geography, and had made some small progress in geometry." In addition he had read "Blackstone, Hale's 'Common Law,' several other law books, and much biography." He obtained these books partly through the good offices of an old woman who acted as caretaker of chambers in the Temple—she borrowed the books from the rooms she cleaned—and partly through hiring them from a book shop in Maiden Lane, Charing Cross, "leaving a small sum as deposit and paying a trifle for reading them."

After a few months of prosperity his work slackened, and again he found himself unemployed. He immediately set about reorganizing the Breeches Makers' Benefit Society, set it up in 1794 as a Tontine Sick Club, himself the secretary at a salary of £10 per annum, and was able to obtain in the spring of 1795, without a strike, the increase of wage which had unsuccessfully been demanded in 1793. This success, apparently, was too much for the members of the society. They seemed to imagine that their labor troubles were for ever at an end, and they dissolved the society, sharing the funds among the members. Place lost his post. For a time he was employed by other trade clubs to draft rules and articles, and was appointed secretary and organizer of the carpenters, plumbers, and other trade clubs. He was now twenty-three years of age.

The State of Europe.

The history of the world at that time was one of change and revolution. Ancient institutions were toppling, and great traditions were dissolving. In America and in France, republics had been established. In England, the old order was speedily giving place to the new: the aristocrat and landed proprietor was collapsing before the plutocrat and factory owner. In Ireland, discontent was about to swell into rebellion. The naturalistic philosophers had dealt stout blows to religion and the divine right of kings—the whole social theory was being revised and restated. The spirit of Voltaire and Rousseau was abroad in England, preparing the way which later on was to be trodden by Byron and Shelley. Thomas Paine had lately published "The Rights of Man," the most famous of all the replies

to Burke's "Reflections upon the French Revolution," and a million and a half copies had been sold in England alone. Later came the "Age of Reason," which, shattered Place's Christianity.

It was natural, therefore, that in the great recasting of the world's beliefs which then took place, Francis Place should turn his mind towards those who were identified with the building of a democracy in England. In 1794 he became a member of the London Corresponding Society—"the mother," as Burke called it, "of all the mischief." It was characteristic of Place that he joined the society at a time when many of its members had been frightened into resignation through the persecution of some of its officers. "Many persons, of whom I was one, considered it meritorious and the performance of a duty to become members now that it [the society] was threatened with violence." It seems incredible that this society, with mild intentions, should have so terrified the oligarchy as it apparently did. Its political program consisted of universal suffrage, annual parliaments, payment of members, and its object was to "correspond with other societies that might be formed having the same object in view, as well as with public-spirited individuals." The title of the society led many persons to believe that its function was to correspond with the Government of France: the state of the public mind at that time was so panicky that such correspondence was instinctively assumed to be of a treasonable character. The society, however, had no relationship with the French Government. Its constitution was framed for the purpose of enabling working class organizations throughout the country to communicate with each other by letter without violating the law against the federation of political bodies.

The London Corresponding Society.

In May, 1794, Thomas Hardy, the secretary and founder of the society, together with ten other persons, was arrested for high treason. Place became a member of one of the committees which were formed to arrange for the defence of the accused men. The result of the trial was that the prisoners were acquitted, and instantly there came a great accession to the membership of the society. Place became a person of consequence, generally taking the chair at committee meetings. He began to urge that method of political agitation which remained his method for the rest of his life, and which he practised with singular success. He opposed himself to those who were continually urging that public demonstrations should be held chiefly to scare the oligarchs into granting reforms. Place did not believe in the excessive susceptibility of the governing classes to terror. "I believed that ministers would go on until they brought the Government to a standstill—that was until they could carry it on no longer. It appeared to me that the only chance the people either had or could have for cheap and good government was in their being taught the advantages of representation, so as to lead them to desire a wholly representative government; so that whenever the conduct of ministers should produce a crisis, they should be qualified to support those who were the most likely to establish a cheap and

simple sort of government. I therefore advised that the society should proceed as quietly and privately as possible." His advice at this date was disregarded, and the scarifying demonstrations were held; but the oligarchy, instead of frantically passing ameliorative Acts, promptly passed Treason and Sedition Bills, suspended Habeas Corpus, and clapped the agitators into gaol without trial. The effect of this was almost to destroy the society, the more timid members scurrying out of it in that panic which they had hoped would fall upon the governing classes. It lived on in a state of depressed vitality, but Place, finding his advice several times foolishly disregarded, resigned from it, and in 1798, the year of the Irish rebellion, it died.

Attempts to Establish a Business.

While Place was engaged in these political adventures, he was also endeavoring to raise his status from that of a journeyman to that of an employer. He thought of a method of doing this which he calculated would take six years to execute, although, as the event showed, he was able to do it in four years. The success of the scheme depended upon patience, much knowledge of human nature, very hard work and an indomitable will. Place possessed all these qualities. He began to build up a connection by getting a few private customers, and then he set about obtaining credit from drapers and clothiers. "I knew that by purchasing materials at two or three shops, however small the quantities, and letting each of them know that I made purchases of others, each would sell to me at as low a price as he could, and each would after a time give me credit." He did this, and soon found, as he had anticipated, that offers of credit were made to him. "From this time I always bought on short credit; instead of paying for the goods, I put by the money, taking care always to pay for what I had before the term of credit expired. I thus established a character for punctuality and integrity . . . and, as I foresaw, I should, if I could once take a shop, have credit for any amount whatever."

Misfortune in Business.

Unfortunately, his fortune did not flourish as well at first as he had hoped. His charges were low and his customers were few, and some of them neglected to pay for the goods with which he supplied them. His family, which now consisted of himself, his wife, and two children, began to suffer hardship again, and his wife, whose nerve had been shattered in the bad time that succeeded the strike of the leather breeches makers, urged him to give up his hope of becoming a master and resume his occupation as a journeyman. He steadfastly refused to do this, insisting that he would work himself into a condition to become a master tradesman. During this period, one of "great privation," he displayed that immense strength of purpose which distinguished him always, and which, a little later than this, was to endure a greater trial still. Only a man of unbounded self-confidence would have faced the chilly, grey view which lay before

Francis Place at that time. Only a man of unquenchable spirit would have thought, when he was half-starved, of learning French so that he might give his children "the best possible education which my circumstances could afford." He propped his French grammar before him while he worked, and learnt it by rote. He spent his evenings in reading Helvetius, Rousseau and Voltaire, and despite his acute poverty, men of advanced views began to seek him out in order that they might talk to him on the topics of the time.

His fortune improved a little, and in 1799 he and a fellow-workman entered into partnership and opened a tailor's shop at 29 Charing Cross. The stock was obtained on credit, and the joint cash funds of the partners on the opening day were one shilling and tenpence! In two years they were employing thirty-six men! It was now, when prosperity seemed to be leaping upon him, that Place suffered his greatest trial. His partner married a woman who could not agree with Place, and, apparently at her suggestion, and on the strength of the promise of a large loan, he forced the business into liquidation and bought the goodwill for himself. Poor Mrs. Place lost her spirit altogether. "She saw nothing before her but destruction. . . . . Industry was no use to us, integrity would not serve us, honesty would be of no avail. We had worked harder and done more than anybody else, and now we were to suffer more than anybody else." For the rest of her life she was haunted by the fear of poverty. But this sudden disaster did not destroy Francis Place. He convinced his creditors that he had been vilely served by his partner, and they offered him so much assistance that, in 1801, three months after he had first learnt of his partner's perfidy, he opened a finer and bigger shop on his own account at No. 16 Charing Cross. From this time onwards his affairs prospered, and in 1816 the net profits for the year from his business were more than three thousand pounds. He retired from trade in 1817, his age being forty-six years, and devoted himself to politics.

Place had one very notable quality—the power to concentrate on a particular piece of work—and during the first five years that he was tenant of the shop in Charing Cross, he devoted himself entirely to the task of building up his business. The time, as has been said, was troublous, and the borough in which he lived, that of the City and Liberty of Westminster, was the vent of discontent. By arrangement, the two seats for the borough were shared by the Whigs and the Tories. Radical candidates sought election without success. At the end of five years' tenancy of his shop, Place began to relax his attention from business considerations and revived his interest in politics. At first he found his friends among the well-to-do Whig tradesmen, most of whom were electors of the borough and great admirers of Charles James Fox, Sheridan and Erskine. Place, who "never had any respect for Fox or Sheridan, and not much for Erskine," bantered his friends on their regard for the Whigs, "who cared little for the people further than they could be made to promote their own interests, whether those interests were popular or pecuniary." Indeed, his hatred of the Whigs was almost excessive.

Always they were "the dirty Whigs," the sole difference between them and the Tories being that "the Tories would exalt the kingly power that it might trample upon the aristocracy and the people, while the Whigs would establish an aristocratical oligarchy to trample on the king and the people." About this time Cobbett, for whom Place had very little respect, was endeavoring, in his *Political Register*, to revive the democratic movement, and seeing in the borough of Westminster a likely seat for a democratic representative, he wrote four "Letters to the Electors of Westminster," which were printed in his journal. The last of these letters was published just after Lord Percy, eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland, and "a very young man, without pretensions to talents of any kind," had, through a ministerial trick, been returned unopposed for the borough. The letter bitterly reproached the electors for allowing themselves to be hoodwinked as they had been, and it had considerable effect upon those who read it.

Westminster Politics.

But the reproaches of Cobbett were not the only force which set going a movement among the electors to secure independent representation for Westminster. The conduct of the Duke of Northumberland during the sham election was one factor, Sir Francis Burdett was another. The duke ordered his servants, clad in showy livery, to distribute bread and beer and cheese among a number of ruffians who congregated about his house. The servants tossed chunks of bread among these men and women, who were, of course, alleged to be the free and independent voters of Westminster. The spectacle of these people clawing at the bread and lapping up the beer, which had been upset from the barrels and was running through the gutters, filled the electors themselves with disgust. In 1807 Sir Francis Burdett, a very wealthy man, sick of the intrigues of parties, was nominated, almost against his desire, as a candidate for the borough, together with one James Paull, who had polled a respectable number of votes at a previous election. Place, who had begun to extend his circle of acquaintance in the district, took charge of the electoral arrangements, and, despite the fact that the two candidates quarrelled four days before the date of the poll and fought a duel in which they were both seriously wounded, managed to get Burdett elected. Paull's candidature had been dropped. For three weeks Place worked at the committee rooms from seven o'clock in the morning until twelve o'clock at night. The difficulties seemed almost insuperable, and the discouragements offered to the Radicals were enormous. They had decided not to have any "paid counsellors, attorneys, inspectors or canvassers, no bribing, no paying of rates, no treating, no cockades, no paid constables, excepting two to keep the committee-room doors." They simply informed the magistrates of what they were doing, and left the responsibility of keeping the peace to them.

Place had organized this election so remarkably that he was resorted to by all sorts of persons for advice in connection with de-

monstrations, and the Westminster Committee became the recognized political authority in the borough. Sir Francis Burdett, sincerely democratic, was not a very able man, and a few years later he allowed himself to be convinced that Place was a Government spy. The grounds for this charge were too flimsy to bear examination, but for nine years Place and Burdett did not speak; and, owing to the aspersions made upon him, Place withdrew from active association with his former friends, although he always gave his advice to them when they asked for it, which was frequently. What follows explains why.

Imprisonment of Sir Francis Burdett.

It happened in the course of time that Burdett came into collision with the Government in defence of free speech. He had made a speech in the House of Commons protesting against the imprisonment of one John Gale Jones, who had been committed to Newgate for organizing a discussion at a debating society on the action of the Government in prohibiting strangers from the House during the debate on the Walcheren expedition. Burdett printed his speech in Cobbett's *Register*, and this act was held to be a breach of privilege. A motion to commit Burdett to the Tower was carried by a majority of 38, but Burdett, barricading himself in his house at Piccadilly, announced that he considered the Speaker's warrant to be illegal, and that he would resist its execution by force. The soldiers were called out, the mob became agitated, and the City authorities, who were antagonistic to the Government, tried, without success, to convince the Government that their conduct was illegal. A council of war, to which Place was invited, was held in Burdett's house. A number of half-crazy people were present, one of whom had devised a plan for defending the house from the attack of the soldiery. Gunpowder mines were to be laid in front of the house, so that the attacking soldiers might easily be blown to a place where there is neither war nor rumors of war. The common sense of Place was obviously necessary to restrain these wild conspirators. "It will be easy enough," he said, "to clear the hall of constables and soldiers, to drive them into the street or to destroy them, but are you prepared to take the next step and go on?"

They were not prepared to take the next step; they knew that it was impossible for them to do so; and so the crazy scheme crumpled up. Place did not object to the proposal to resist the soldiers by force because it was a proposal to declare civil war, but because it was impossible for the rebellious Radicals to make any sort of a fight. "There was no organization and no arms, and to have resisted under such circumstances would have been madness." All they could do, he urged, with any hope of success was to use the police forces of the City against the Government. For various reasons, the City forces were unavailing, and Burdett was arrested and conveyed to the Tower. Whilst he was in prison, Place was called upon to serve on the jury which inquired into the circumstances in which Joseph Sellis, valet to the Duke of Cumberland, died.

Charged with Treachery.

The duke was very unpopular with the populace, and most people desired that the jury should return a verdict to the effect that the valet had been murdered by his master. Place, having carefully investigated the evidence, came to the conclusion that Sellis died by his own hand, and succeeded in bringing the other jurymen to the same conclusion, although they were all prejudiced against the duke. It was because of his conduct on this occasion that Place was accused of being a Government spy, and through it, with the help of the malicious, he lost the friendship of Burdett. For ten years the word "spy" was the favorite taunt thrown at him by those whom he displeased.

The effect of this on his career was partly good and partly bad: bad, because it led to his abstention from movements in which he would have been of the greatest service; good, because the leisure he now had enabled him to get into contact with men who had other points of view than mere Radicalism. He became acquainted with Thomas Spence, the land nationalizer, and with Robert Owen. Spence was a very honest, very poor, and very single-minded man, who loved mankind in the abstract so passionately that when he contemplated mankind in the concrete he lost his temper. He had fixed his mind so completely on land nationalization that he could not see or think of anything else. He suffered very great privations in propagating his views, getting his living by trundling a barrow about London, from which he sold saloup and pamphlets denouncing landlords and their villainies. He was John the Baptist to Henry George. The nationalization of land meant to him the establishment of the kingdom of heaven on earth and the birth of a new race of men. The man who is optimistic about the future is invariably pessimistic about the present, and it was so with this poor Spence. No man loved humanity so purely as he, and no man lashed his fellows with his tongue so bitterly. He reviled the men about him because they were not the men of his dream . . . . Contact with this one-idea'd man sharpened Place's belief that the men of the vision can only be brought to reality out of the flesh and blood of the men of fact.

Robert Owen.

Robert Owen, that curious compound of a man of vision and a man of affairs, came to Place in 1813 with his "New View of Society." He was "a man of kind manners and good intentions, of an imperturbable temper, and an enthusiastic desire to promote the happiness of mankind." Like all men who have discovered the secret of human ills, Owen was convinced that his project, so "simple, easy of adoption, and so plainly efficacious . . . . must be embraced by every thinking man the moment he was made to understand it." It is, perhaps, the fundamental defect of the idealist mind that it forgets that human nature is not a rigid, measurable thing, and that the charm of human beings is not in their resemblances, but in their differences. Owen looked upon the world and saw it peopled by

millions of Robert Owens; and, since he knew what Robert Owen desired, he imagined that he also knew what all men needed and desired. Once, after he had seen Owen, Place wrote in his diary: "Mr. Owen this day has assured me, in the presence of more than thirty other persons, that within six months the whole state and condition of society in Great Britain will be changed, and all his views will be carried into effect."

Place also became acquainted with many of the Utilitarian philosophers. James Mill, the father of John Stuart, and Jeremy Bentham became his close friends, and from them he derived an amount of knowledge which he could not otherwise have obtained. James Mill was a man of notable austerity of manner, as those who have read John Stuart Mill's Autobiography will know. He must have been an uncomfortable sort of man to live with, for he could not, as Place could, comprehend the value of idleness. He saw the world as an enormous schoolroom, and all the men and women merely scholars, but he did not appear to see any place in which the knowledge when obtained would be used. Like St. Francis of Assisi, he despised every worldly thing; but, unlike St. Francis, he had no hope of a better place. He simply acquired knowledge for knowledge's sake. Whenever Place visited the Mills, he, like all who stayed with them, was put through his lessons as relentlessly as John Stuart and Willie and Clara Mill. For four hours every day he was compelled to grind at Latin, repeating the declensions afterwards to the inexorable Mill. Out of this tremendous industry, this search for knowledge, there came that spirit which tests and is not afraid to reject. The Utilitarians had for their watchword "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." James Mill did not believe in happiness at all, but he was prepared to make the best of a hopeless case, and so he and his friends set themselves to the task of delivering England from the mess in which they found her.

Malthusianism.

Place saturated his mind with the writings of the political economists, and about this time he got the one bee which he ever had in his bonnet. He read Malthus's "Principle of Population," and became a Neo-Malthusian in theory, for in practice he had fifteen children. Until he died he believed that the redemption of the people from poverty could only be brought about by the limitation of families. Laws wisely administered might do much, but they would only be so much trifling with a great problem. It is astonishing, when one reflects upon the fact that he possessed rather more common sense than is generally given to men, that he should so easily have believed this economic fairy tale. But although he held this belief very firmly, he did not, as the one-idea'd do, preach it exclusively. He saw that Neo-Malthusian doctrines were not likely to impress ignorant and impoverished men, and he set about the work of creating an instructed and prosperous race. There was an enormous amount to be done. The Combination Laws were still in force, and these alone made it impossible for the working class to

improve their status. The theory of individualism at that date had completely gone out of its mind. There were no trade unions, no Factory Acts, no Public Health Acts, no Education Acts, no Workmen's Compensation Acts ; the Corn Laws were still unrepealed ; the franchise was a limited one; the Poor Law was that of Elizabeth. The agricultural laborer was in a state of frightful demoralization, and the town laborer was little better. There was such a state of affairs in England as should have inspired any self-respecting deity to fury, and have reduced the most optimistic of men to a state of chronic depression. The odd thing about human nature is that it never despairs, and although that terrible time in England seems to us, who stand at this distance from it, to have been one in which obstacles were piled so high in the way of the reformer that progress was almost impossible, the reformers of the day regarded them with as good heart as we regard the comparatively trifling obstacles that lie strewn about the field of endeavor to-day. If Carlyle, who came later, saw men as "mostly fools," Place saw them as "mostly ignorant," and so that this description might no longer be applicable to his countrymen he devoted himself to the business of education.

Elementary Education.

It is commonly alleged by the Church educationists that the system of elementary education in England was started by members of the Established Church. "There is a sense," the *Church Times* says, "in which every Christian is a member of the Church of England . . . . but a Quaker is an unbaptized person, and therefore not a Christian at all." In 1798, a young Quaker, named Joseph Lancaster, began to teach poor boys in a shed adjoining his father's house in the Borough Road. Lancaster was one of those men with whom Place frequently came in contact, a mixture of pure genius and pure folly. He could conceive big ideas, but he could not rear them after delivery. Place was the divinely-inspired foster-parent to the ideas of such men. He could not himself conceive large schemes, but he had the rare faculty of knowing a good idea when he saw it, and the still rarer faculty of being able to develop the idea and bring it to adult life. Lancaster was a wild creature, extraordinarily extravagant, somehow convinced that he had only to spend enough money for his difficulties to disappear. He was continually in danger of being committed to the debtors' prison. His proposal was to establish schools in which the pupils should be taught by older pupils—monitors. The whole education theory at that time, so far as working class children were concerned, was very hazy. The idea that the task might be undertaken by the State does not appear to have penetrated even Place's mind : he and his colleagues saw the Lancastrian schools resting for ever on a voluntary basis. In these circumstances, economy was essential. Subscriptions were not likely to be large or many, for a large number of influential persons were opposed to education for the working class. Lord Grosvenor, whom Place approached, "said he had a strong desire to assist the institution, but he had also some

apprehension that the education the people were getting would make them discontented with the Government . . . . *we* must take care of ourselves." He did not subscribe. It must not be thought, however, that the necessity for economy was the cause of the monitorial system being employed. Place himself was of opinion that the teaching of children by children was a better way of educating them than having them taught by trained men and women. On this basis the schools were started after a great deal of wrangling between Lancaster and the trustees whom he had persuaded to provide the funds needed. In 1811 the "National Society for the Education of Poor Children in the Principles of the Established Church" was formed, and elementary education, so to speak, found its legs.

The Lancastrian Schools.

The history of the Lancastrian schools is a saddening one. Lancaster quarrelled interminably, and finally he had to be pensioned off. The society was dissolved and a fresh one was formed, Place being a member of the committee. In drawing up the bye-laws of the new society he displayed his intense dislike of patronage of poor people. He deleted the words "poor" and "laboring poor" and any expression which "could give offence or hurt the feelings of anyone." He never at any time forgot that he, too, had suffered poverty; and even in connection with his fad, Neo-Malthusianism, he retained undiminished his loyalty to his class. "Mr. Malthus," he writes, concerning "Principle of Population," "denies to the unemployed workman the right to eat, but he allows the right to the unemployed rich man. He says, 'Every man may do as he will with his own,' and he expects to be able to satisfy the starving man with bare assertions of abstract rights. Mr. Malthus is not speaking of *legal right*, for, he says, the poor have a *legal right*, which is the very thing he proposes to destroy. It is an abstract right, which is denied to the poor man, but allowed to the rich; and this abstract, which has no meaning, although dignified with the title of the 'law of nature, which is the law of God,' is to be explained and taught to the poor, who are to be fully convinced."

Place worked with great assiduity for the success of the Lancastrian schools, and endeavored to start a series of higher schools on a similar basis, for which Jeremy Bentham devised a scheme of education. He mapped the whole of London into districts, in each of which there was to be a school to which poor parents could send their children on payment of a penny a week. This payment was to save the pupils from the stigma of charity. But all his educational plans failed. The monitorial system was a bad one; Lancaster was plotting against Place; and, worst of all, the committee began to quarrel among themselves. Place was an atheist, and he made no secret of his disbelief in God. Lancaster wrote to members of the committee, alleging that Place secretly designed to remove the Bible from the schools, and succeeded in creating so much ferment that, although he personally was discredited, Place found it no

longer possible to work with his colleagues, and so he resigned his position.

Joseph Hume.

By this time he was well acquainted with Joseph Hume, whom he supplied with facts and material for argument in favor of reforms in the House of Commons. The combination of talents that here took place was a remarkable one. Hume, a very sincere Radical, had enormous vitality and was absolutely impervious to discouragement. He could not be put out of countenance by anyone. Place was industrious and certain. He could draw up rules and schemes easily. When he presented a document to a member of Parliament, the member could be assured that it contained facts and not fancies. These two men in conjunction, the one in the House, the other outside, both of them the butts of the wealthy and the powerful, between them compelled the oligarchy to do their will. But Place was the greater man of the two. Hume had the sense to do what Place told him, though now and then, as in the case of the Combination Laws, he had to be urged somewhat strenuously to action. When Hume had to speak in the House, he went as a matter of course to Place for instructions, and Place primed him so well that he always made a mark in the debates.

Reference has several times been made in this short sketch to the Combination Laws. During the eighteenth century there had been passed a series of statutes directed against combinations of journeymen in particular trades. The first of the series was an Act of 1721 "for regulating the journeymen tailors within the bills of mortality," and the last the General Act of 1799 "to prevent unlawful combinations of workmen." A unanimous refusal to work at reduced prices was regarded as sufficient evidence of unlawful combination, and the non-acceptance by an unemployed journeyman of work offered to him by an employer in his trade meant liability to undergo a long period of imprisonment or to be impressed into His Majesty's sea or land forces. These laws were the most serious obstacle that lay in the way of labor. So long as they were on the statute book the condition of the working class nearly approached that of slavery. It was to remove them from the statute books that Francis Place worked, and in 1824-5, working almost single handed, he managed to do it. "The Labor Question," wrote Mr. Gladstone in 1892, "may be said to have come into public view simultaneously with the repeal, between sixty and seventy years ago, of the Combination Laws, which had made it an offence for laboring men to unite for the purpose of procuring by joint action, through peaceful means, an augmentation of their wages. From this point progress began."

The Combination Laws.

In 1810, the *Times* prosecuted its journeymen compositors for belonging to a combination and taking part in a strike. This is the text of the sentence inflicted upon them by Sir John Sylvester (Bloody Black Jack), the Common Serjeant of London:

"Prisoners, you have been convicted of a most wicked conspiracy to injure the most vital interests of those very employers who gave you bread, with intent to impede and injure them in their business; and, indeed, as far as in you lay, to effect their ruin. The frequency of such crimes among men of your class of life, and their mischievous and dangerous tendency to ruin the fortunes of those employers which a principle of gratitude and self-interest should induce you to support, demand of the law that a severe example should be made of those persons who shall be convicted of such daring and flagitious combinations in defiance of public justice and in violation of public order. No symptom of contrition on your part has appeared, no abatement of the combination in which you are accomplices has yet resulted from the example of your convictions."

Bloody Black Jack thereupon sentenced the prisoners, who had asked for higher wages, to terms of imprisonment varying from nine months to two years.

In the same year that this happened the master tailors tried to obtain an Act of Parliament to put down a combination of their workmen, and Place, who was a master tailor, was invited to join the committee. He refused to join the committee, but they elected him a member of it against his will. He attended one meeting and told the masters as plainly as possible why he would not join them, and why they ought to abandon their project. They declined to do this, and a committee was appointed by the House of Commons to take evidence. Place went before the committee and offered to give evidence, which was accepted, and succeeded in bringing to the ground the proposal to quash the union. He now began seriously to get the laws repealed. He could not hope for assistance from the workmen themselves, who had made up their minds that the laws were irrevocable. Whenever a dispute took place between employers and workmen, he interfered, "sometimes with the masters, sometimes with the men, very generally, as far as I could, by means of one or more of the newspapers, and sometimes by acting as a pacificator, always pushing for the one purpose, the repeal of the laws." He wrote letters to trade societies, sent articles to newspapers, interviewed employers and workmen, and collected as much evidence as possible to assist him in his purpose. He lent money to the proprietor of a small newspaper in order that he might propagate his views in it, and he had copies of the paper distributed among people who were likely to be affected by it. He induced Hume to take interest in the proposal, and in five years had worked up so much feeling on the subject that he began to think the repeal of the laws was now certain. He was too optimistic, however, and it was not until 1822 that Hume gave notice of his intention to bring in a Bill for that purpose. This Bill was mainly intended to be a demonstration. "I was therefore in no hurry to urge Mr. Hume to proceed beyond indicating his purpose. I supplied him with a considerable quantity of papers, printed and manuscript, relating to the subject, advised him to examine them carefully, and promised my

assistance to the greatest possible extent for the next session. These papers were afterwards sent to Mr. McCulloch, at Edinburgh, who was at this time editor of the *Scotsman* newspaper, and he made admirable use of them in that paper. This gave a decided tone to several other country papers, and caused the whole subject to be discussed in a way, and to an extent, which it had never been before."

The Repeal of the Combination Laws.

Unfortunately, a Mr. Peter Moore, member for Coventry, in 1823 produced a rival Bill, which so scared the House of Commons that when Hume introduced Place's measure in 1824 it met with considerable opposition. In view of the temper of the House, Place advised Hume to abandon the Bill and move for a Select Committee to enquire into the working of the laws. The timidity of the general body of the House spread to some of Hume's supporters, who induced him to whittle the motion to nothing. Place began to stir. He lectured Hume at great length, wrote a letter to him to be shown to his wavering friends, and drew up memoranda for Hume's own benefit. The upshot of the affair was that Hume was bullied by Place into moving for the committee, which was appointed. A great deal of publicity was given to the fact that the committee was sitting, and delegates from workmen's societies began to arrive in London from all parts of the country. Place interviewed them all. "I heard the story which everyone of these men had to tell. I examined and cross-examined them, took down the leading particulars of each case, and then arranged the matter as briefs for Mr. Hume, and, as a rule, for the guidance of the witnesses, a copy was given to each." Place had to encounter great difficulties in preparing matter for this committee. The members of the committee would not allow him to assist Hume officially, and they professed great indignation at finding Hume's briefs made out in Place's handwriting. They talked of calling him before them for tampering with the witnesses, a course of action which would have pleased him immensely, but, preserving their sanity, they did not do so. The witnesses, too, were difficult. Many of them had pet theories of their own to expound, and Place was hard put to it to induce them to keep their theories to themselves. All of them expected that wages would instantly rise when the Combination Laws were repealed. "Not one of them," says Place, "had any idea of the connection between wages and population." Presumably Place, who spent three months in arranging the affairs of this committee, did a little unobtrusive propaganda on Neo-Malthusianism on discovering this.

His tactics in connection with the Select Committee seem to have been extremely able. The mere secretarial work which he performed was enough to try the strength of several men; but, in addition to this, he found time to think out the best way of circumventing the upholders of the laws. He had to make it clear to his friends that speechmaking would be a mistake, and that instead of

the committee presenting a report in the customary manner, it would be better to submit their recommendations at first in the shape of resolutions, and then, when argument had been expended and members of the House were tired of the subject, present the report.

This was done, and all went well until the Attorney-General persuaded Hume to allow a barrister, named Hamond, to draft the Bills. Hamond made a sad mess of the business, and the reformers were now in a difficulty. The Bills were not what they wanted, but if they were not careful they might lose even those. The difficulty was surmounted by Place, who simply redrafted the Bills as he desired them to be and said no more about it. Hamond, having received his fee, did not bother further, and in due course the Bills were passed through the Commons without anyone quite understanding what had happened, and, after a period of peril in the Lords, they became statutes. The Combination Laws were repealed and working men were free to combine for their own protection.

After the Combination Laws.

Place, having soaked his mind in the economics of the time (he had too much respect for economists) naturally enough failed to appreciate the necessity for Trade Unions. He imagined that the repeal of the Combination Laws would make them unnecessary. "The combinations of workmen are but defensive measures resorted to for the purpose of counteracting the offensive ones of their masters. . . . Combinations will soon cease to exist. Men have been kept together for long periods only by the oppression of the laws. These being repealed, combinations will lose the matter which cements them into masses, and they will fall to pieces." He had not at that date discovered that the securing of victory is not nearly so important as the maintenance of victory. When the Combination Laws were repealed the country was enjoying great prosperity, and the freed workmen speedily set about demanding a more adequate share in it. Strikes broke out everywhere. A section of the employing class began to agitate for the re-enactment of the laws, and Place, fearful lest this should happen, urged the workmen to desist from striking. But the workmen were not going to be persuaded even by good friends like Place to desist from enforcing their demands. They were profoundly convinced that the law had been used for the purpose of keeping down wages, and they were determined to get them raised, particularly as the cost of living was rapidly increasing. In the cotton trade a great lock-out by the masters took place. The shipbuilders refused to confer with their workmen on the question of grievances, and issued a note to the effect that members of the Shipwrights' Union would not be employed by them. "The conduct of both the sailors and shipwrights was exemplary, no disorderly acts could be alleged against them. But as the shipping interest . . . had the ready ear of ministers, they most shamefully misrepresented the conduct of the men, and represented the consequences as likely to lead to the

destruction of the commerce and shipping of the empire. Ministers were so ignorant as to be misled by these misrepresentations, and were mean and despicable enough to plot with these people against their workmen. The interest of the unprincipled proprietors of the *Times* newspaper was intimately connected with the 'shipping interest,' and it lent its services to their cause. It stuck at nothing in the way of false assertion and invective; it represented the conduct of Mr. Hume as mischievous in the extreme, and that of the working people all over the country as perfectly nefarious; and it urged ministers to re-enact the old laws, or to enact new ones, to bring the people into a state of miserable subjection." It will have been observed by those who read the press carefully during the Railway Strike in 1911 and the Coal Strike of 1912 that capitalist journalism has not changed its character.

Attempt to Re-enact the Combination Laws.

To this agitation there followed something which is one of the most discreditable of the many discreditable things that politicians have done. The shipbuilders, lying hard, induced Mr. Huskisson and Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel to give notice of their intention to re-enact the Combination Laws. Huskisson had already solemnly assured Hume that he had no intention whatever of doing this, and Hume, believing Huskisson to be a man of honor, had accepted his word, and so was unprepared to counter his motion for a committee. Fortunately, Huskisson had drafted his motion clumsily. He asked for a committee "to enquire *respecting the conduct of workmen*" Hume and Place were quick to see that such an enquiry could only be adequately conducted if the persons into whose conduct enquiry was to be made were given an opportunity of rebutting the charges made against them, and, to the astonishment and disgust of Huskisson, they demanded that the workmen should be brought before the committee and examined. Another factor in favor of Hume and Place was that the Easter holidays were approaching and the committee could not meet for at least a fortnight. Place used the time to great advantage. He wrote to the trade societies, urging them to send delegates and to collect money for the payment of parliamentary agents and expenses; he collected money himself; he wrote a pamphlet exposing Huskisson's speech, and had it carefully distributed. He and Hume "nobbled" the Attorney-General and succeeded in persuading him to refuse to draft Huskisson's Bill. They filled the passage leading to the committee room with workmen demanding to be examined. Place wrote letters here and letters there, put witnesses through their paces, interviewed members, induced witnesses to demand payment for their services, which had been refused, although it was made to employers without cavil, and annoyed the committee so intensely that they talked of having him brought to the bar of the Commons. He and Hume could not prevent a new measure from being passed, but they were able to mould it to so great an extent that it differed very slightly from the previous measure moved by Hume. In the Commons,

during the committee stage, the ministers attacked them grossly. "Wallace gave loose to invective and was disgracefully abusive. Huskisson became enraged and most grossly insulted Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse. Mr. Peel stuck at nothing. He lied so openly, so grossly, so repeatedly, and so shamelessly, as even to astonish me, who always thought, and still do think, him a pitiful, shuffling fellow. He was repeatedly detected by Mr. Hume and as frequently exposed. Still he lied again without the least embarrassment and was never in the smallest degree abashed."

Agitation for Reform.

The repeal of the Combination Laws was not the only service which Place rendered to the cause of democracy, but it was the greatest. He might then reasonably have desisted from his labors, for he was growing old, and had suffered a great loss in the death of his wife, but he was of that order of men for whom there is no rest in life. There was work still to be done which he, better than other men, could do. The entire system of parliamentary representation needed reforming, and Place threw himself into this work with as much vigor as he had displayed over the Combination Laws.

George IV, a man of ungovernable temper, who was likely, said one of his tutors, to be "either the most polished gentleman or the most accomplished blackguard in Europe, possibly an admixture of both," died on January 26th, 1830. He was a god with clay feet, from the point of view of Whigs and Radicals; for his sympathy with Whiggery during the time that he was Prince of Wales was an affectation chiefly for the purpose of annoying his father. The movement for reform, begun in the reign of George III, was opposed, with the King's concurrence, by the ministers of George IV. A few months before he ascended the throne, the massacre of Peterloo took place. He opposed, on religious grounds, the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill until the Duke of Wellington informed him that either he would have to compromise with his religious conscience or make ready for civil war in Ireland. The King compromised. All compromise denotes friction and ill temper, and the circumstances of the time made it inevitable that the conduct of the State should be difficult. The Duke of Wellington, who as a politician lost the reputation he had gained as a soldier, was of the damn-your-eyes type of statesman, a type which, while picturesque, is unpleasant to live under. He rigidly opposed himself to any reform of the parliamentary system, and soon after the accession of William IV he was forced to resign the premiership. The state of Europe was again disturbed. The Three Days Revolution had taken place in Paris, and Louis Phillippe, a constitutional monarch, had supplanted Charles X, a despot. This change heartened the reformers in England. A little later came another revolution; Belgium broke away from Holland, but here there was less heartening for the reformers, who feared that the King's ministers, in consort with the governments of Prussia and Holland, might make war on France. Had such an alliance been formed for such a purpose,

there might have been in England a revolution approaching in fearfulness that which took place in France in 1793. Place, indeed, was prepared for this to happen. In the towns the housekeepers were banding themselves together and threatening to refuse to pay taxes should war be declared. In the country the laborers were burning hayricks in thirteen counties. In London, workmen, stirred by Robert Owen and Thomas Hodgskin, the forerunner and inspirer of Karl Marx, were in that mood of sullenness which is the prelude to revolt. Reform had to be, and so the Duke went out of power and the Whigs, under Earl Grey, came in.

The Reform Bill.

The Whigs, always valiant and progressive when the prospect of office was remote, were strangely reticent about their principles when the prospect of office was near. Place conceived it to be his duty to make them voluble again, and so he began once more his old task of organizing agitation. Letters were written here, there, and everywhere; deputations were arranged; public opinion was moulded through the press and from the platform; and at length backbone was put into ministers, who would much rather have been spineless. The Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on March 1st, 1831. It was a better Bill than Place had expected. Its sponsors thought it was worse than he expected, and they were prepared for his rage; but while he proceeded to agitate for more, he was fairly content with what he had received. The Bill received a second reading on March 21st, by a majority of one, which meant that defeat in committee was certain. On April 19th and 21st the Government were defeated, and on April 22nd the King prorogued Parliament, which immediately dissolved. The new Parliament met on June 14th, having a majority of over a hundred in favor of the Bill, which was at once reintroduced. The Tories so successfully obstructed its passage through the Commons that it did not reach the Lords until September 21st. On October 8th the motion for the second reading in the Upper Chamber was rejected by a majority of forty-one. It was now that Place's fighting instinct was thoroughly aroused. On the day following the rejection of the Bill he organized a demonstration in its favor, which was held on October 13th, and was a great success. On Monday he attended four public meetings, and on Tuesday, hearing that the Whigs were likely to compromise over the Bill, he wrote a letter, which he hoped would be shown to the ministers, in which he hinted that a riot would probably take place. He addressed meetings, drew up a memorial to the ministers declaring that if the Bill were not passed in its original form "this country will inevitably be plunged into all the horrors of a violent revolution," and immediately took a deputation to see Lord Grey. The deputation was received by that lord at a quarter to eleven at night in a very hoity-toity manner. "Any disturbances would be put down by military force." Dissensions began to separate the reformers themselves. The middle class reformers were prepared to compromise on the

Bill, they to be included in it, the working classes to be excluded rom it. The fury of Place on this occasion was remarkable. He wrote to Grote, the historian, "they [the working-class] proved that they were ready, at any risk, and at any sacrifice, to stand by us. And then what did we do? We abandoned them, deserted, betrayed them, and shall have betrayed them again before three days have passed over our heads. . . . We, the dastardly, talking, swaggering dogs, will sneak away with our tails between our legs."

The amount of work he did was almost as great as he did when he organized the campaign for the repeal of the Combination Laws; and it was as effective, for the Government introduced a new Reform Bill which was as good as, if not better than, the old one. The troubles of the reformers were not yet over, for the Bill had to be forced through the Lords. Before the Bill reached that House there was an outbreak of cholera in England, which made political agitation almost impossible. "The King, under the influence of his wife, his sisters, and his illegitimate children," writes Mr. Graham Wallas, "was now nervous about the Bill, and disinclined to secure ministers a majority by creating peers." The Whigs were ignorant of this, although the Tories were aware of it. On March 26th, 1832, the second Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Lords. Place had drawn up a petition to the peers in favor of the Bill, and this petition, "quietly offensive," was printed in many newspapers. Contrary to expectation, the Lords seemed willing to read the Bill a second time, and this fact caused suspicion to grow in the minds of the reformers that an intrigue to spoil the Bill was being carried on. Place discovered that the intrigue was to substitute a twenty pound franchise for the ten pound franchise in London. On April 17th the Bill was read a second time by a majority of nine, but was wrecked in committee, by a majority of thirty-five, on May 7th. The King declined to create the peers demanded by Lord Grey, who resigned, and the Duke of Wellington was called again to power. This in itself was sufficient to inflame the people. A bishop was mobbed in church and the King was hooted on Constitution Hill. Queen Adelaide was publicly execrated. People made preparations for the revolution which they felt to be at hand, and military men set about drilling the reformers for the fight.

"Go for Gold."

A far simpler means of breaking the opposition than that of bloodshed was found by Place. He caused a number of bills to be posted about the country which bore this legend: To stop the Duke go for gold. The people were advised to draw their balances from the Bank of England and to demand payment in gold. The depletion of the reserve was not a thing to be contemplated by the directors of the bank with equanimity. The King, a poor creature, gave way, Lord Grey obtained his guarantees, and the Bill was safe.

Its passage, however, made small difference to the working class, in whose minds the doctrines of Robert Owen and Thomas Hodgskin began to develop. A new word was added to the language—

Socialism—and in 1833 Owen, with others, endeavored to form a national federation of trade unions. The originators of the movement, which quickly attracted half a million members, proposed to begin their work by declaring a general strike for an eight hours day on March 1st, 1834. This strike, however, did not take place, the funds of the federation having been wasted on a number of sectional strikes, and the movement almost died. On March 17th, 1834, six agricultural laborers were sentenced to seven years transportation for "administering illegal oaths" while forming a branch of the Grand National Trades Union. The declining movement was restored to strength, and strong efforts were made to secure the remission of this brutal sentence, but without success. There followed to this a period of industrial unrest, and then gradually the Grand National Trades Union drooped and died. But if the thing itself was dead, the discontent which caused it to be was still potent.

The Passing of the Reform Bill.

The enactment of the Reform Bill, after a discussion spread over a period of nearly a century, only added half a million persons to the list of electors. Almost the whole of the laboring class was still unenfranchised. On August 14th, 1834, destitution legally became a crime. The new Poor Law, with its principle of deterrence, was the instrument to this end. The Poor Law Commissioners asserted that, in the interests of the independent poor (a phrase without meaning), the condition of the pauper should be less eligible than that of the worst situated independent laborers, on the ground that if this were not so, there would probably cease to be any independent laborers. Two things were then operating on the working class mind: one was the treachery of the middle class, which, with the aid of the working class, obtained enfranchisement for itself, and then refused to assist the working class to similar political freedom; the other was the poverty brought about by the failure of the harvests and the depression of trade in 1837. Dear food, low wages, and scarcity of work made the difficulty of devising a condition of life for paupers which would be less eligible than that of the worst situated free laborer one which the administrators of the Poor Law could not surmount. They did their best, however, and the result was an agitation against the Poor Law, a demand for factory legislation and for political reform. Out of this discontent came Chartism.

Chartism.

In 1838 Francis Place drew up the "People's Charter," in which were set forth the famous six points: Manhood Suffrage, Equal Electoral Districts, Vote by Ballot, Annual Parliaments, Abolition of Property Qualification for Members of the House of Commons, and Payment of Members of Parliament for their services. The Chartist movement in England resembled the Fenian movement in Ireland, in that a great deal of fuss was made about nothing. The proposals contained in the "People's Charter," seem to us to be mild enough, but to the oligarchy of that time they seemed to denote the

end of all things; and men went into the streets and fought with the soldiers for the sake of the Charter. In 1839 ten men were killed and many were wounded in Newport, Monmouthshire. Three of the leaders were sentenced to death, their punishment being afterwards commuted to transportation. In 1842 there were riots in the northern and midland parts of England, and in 1848 the Chartists scared the wits out of England with a proposal to hold a demonstration at Kennington Common, which demonstration turned out to be as futile as the Fenian invasion of Canada.

Francis Place had little to do with the Chartists. His habit of mind was different from that of Lovett, Vincent, Cleave, and the other leaders of the movement. He was a Malthusian economist, they were Socialists and angry class warriors; and so, although he respected them and maintained friendly relations with them, particularly with Lovett, his association with them was of small account. His chief work was to draft the Charter and to secure the commutation of the death sentences into sentences of transportation. They belonged to the order of pioneers; he belonged to the order of men who come after pioneers. But though he could not work easily with pioneers, he was fully conscious of their utility. "Such men," he wrote, "are always, and necessarily, ignorant of the best means of progressing towards the accomplishment of their purpose at a distant time, and can seldom be persuaded that the time for their accomplishment is distant. Few, indeed, such men would interfere at all unless they imagined that the change they desired was at hand. They may be considered as pioneers who, by their labors and their sacrifices, smooth the way for those who are to follow them. Never without such persons to move forward, and never but through their errors and misfortunes, would mankind have emerged from barbarism and gone on as they have done, slow and painful as their progress has been."

Old Age and Death.

Place was now an old man. Misfortune closed in on him towards the end of his life. He had married a second time and the marriage was unhappy. He separated from his wife. He lost some of his money; and then, last scene of all, paralysis fell upon him and his brain became affected. Death came to him quietly in the night, when no one was by. He passed out, almost forgotten. "Can death," wrote Marcus Aurelius, "be terrible to him to whom that only seems good which in the ordinary course of nature is seasonable; to him to whom, whether his actions be many or few, so they be all good, is all one; and who, whether he beholds the things of the world, being always the same, either for many years or for few years only, is altogether indifferent?"

Francis Place was not of that order of democrats who believe that the common man knows more than the rare man. He had not the Chestertonian trust in instinct; he was an early Victorian Fabian. "We want in public men," he wrote, "dogged thinking, clear ideas, comprehensive views, and pertinacity, i.e., a good share

of obstinacy or hardheadedness." Kind hearts might be more than coronets, but good brains were better than either. On the other hand, he knew enough of rare men to know that they were fallible. Politicians with careers to fashion and reformers who have gone mad on their theories, these were creatures against whom the common man must always be on his guard. He could not suffer fools gladly, but he was not that worst of fools, the fool who will not learn from fools. Spence and Owen were fools in his eyes because they allowed themselves to become obsessed with one idea, but he was not oblivious of the fact that that idea was of value. It was his fortune not to possess a sense of humor; he could not joke. No man who can see the ridiculous can possibly be a leader; no man with a sense of humor can ever head a revolution, for the absurdities of enthusiasm will stand up before him so prominently that he will not be able to see the goal towards which the enthusiasts are marching. Keir Hardie leads men; Bernard Shaw laughs at them. Although Place had spent so many years of his life in pulling strings and had frequently seen men's motives laid bare before him, he did not become cynical. "I take the past," he wrote to Lovett, "and comparing it with the present, see an immense change for the better." In the same letter he wrote: "I saw that to better the condition of others to any considerable extent was a long uphill piece of work; that my best efforts would produce very little effect. But I saw very distinctly that I could do nothing better, nothing indeed half so good." He was full of rare courage and rare faith. I have called him a Neo-Malthusian, although that term did not come into use until the time of Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant, because his views were identical with those who were so named. He propagated his Neo-Malthusianism to his own detriment and loss. It was sufficient for him to believe in a thing to nerve himself to bring it to be; but he had to be convinced that the thing was worth while. He saw men as brains wasted. Great masses of people were born, passed through the world, and died without conferring any advantage on their fellows; not because they were indolent or indifferent, but solely because use was not made of them. It was his desire so to order the world that every man and woman in it could move easily to his or her place. That man is a democrat who believes in a world where the wise man may be wise and the fool may be foolish, and no one will call him out of his name or demand more from him than he can give; who believes in diversity rather than uniformity, knowing that it is the variations from type which make type tolerable. Fools and wise men have their place in the world; the one may be the inspiration of the other. Plato and Aristotle were the fulfilment of each other. Owen and Place made it possible for democracy to be in England.

Bring me my bow of burning gold!
Bring me my arrows of desire!
Bring me my spear: O clouds unfold!
Bring me my chariot of fire!

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

So wrote William Blake. If Owen wielded the sword and stretched the bow of burning gold, Place forged the one and made the other. It was that men might know that Place worked without ceasing; he made mistakes, but he had the right vision, and in good time men came to know more than possibly he had expected. It is our vision that matters, not the mistakes we make. We may go forth like Columbus, to discover a new way to the Indies, and fail in our endeavor. But what matter? We may discover the Americas.

The only book on the subject is: "The Life of Francis Place, 1771-1854," by GRAHAM WALLAS, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co.; 1898. Published at 12s. and subsequently reprinted at 2s. 6d. Both editions are out of print, and another edition was issued in 1919 by Messrs. Geo. Allen & Unwin, price 8/6 net.

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ROBERT OWEN

SOCIAL REFORMER

BY

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ROBERT OWEN, SOCIAL REFORMER.

I have never advocated the possibility of creating a physical and mental equality among the human race, knowing well that it is from our physical and mental varieties that the very essence of knowledge, wisdom, and happiness, or rational enjoyment is to arise. The equality which belongs to the new, true, and rational system of human existence is an equality of conditions or of surroundings which shall give to each, according to natural organization, an equal physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, and practical treatment, training, education, position, employment according to age, and share in local and general government, when governing rationally shall be understood and applied to practice.—"Life of Robert Owen," by Himself, p. iii.

ROBERT OWEN is a figure of great significance in the social history of the nineteenth century. It is easy to show the limitations of his educational theories; it is child's play to explode his particular form of Socialism; and it is not difficult to demonstrate that his style was ponderous and he himself something of a bore. Yet, when all these admissions have been made, "whatever his mistakes, Owen was a pathfinder." *

He was born into a time of crisis and convulsion,

"Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born."

The Industrial Revolution was ignored by some contemporary thinkers, and was a hopeless puzzle, a dark enigma, to others. It is Owen's glory that while still young, with little education, and all the cares of business and commercial responsibility on his shoulders, he saw his way to the solution of some of the most pressing social difficulties and anomalies, and put his ideas in practice in his own factory and schools with astonishing success. There are personalities, such as William Morris, or even Lord Shaftesbury, who in their different ways are more attractive, more affecting, more sympathetic, but the remarkable fact about Owen is that his ideas on social legislation were at once original and practical. Our factory legislation is still based upon his suggestions more than upon those of any other man; and if the unspeakable horrors of child labor under the early factory system have been mitigated, and the disgrace of England in this matter to a large extent removed, it should not be forgotten that Robert Owen showed the way.

Early Life.

Robert Owen was born in Newtown, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, on May 14th, 1771, and was baptized on June 12th following. His father, also a Robert Owen, was brought up to be a saddler,

* Helene Simon.

and probably an ironmonger also, the two trades being, in small towns, then often combined. The mother's name was Williams, and she belonged to a respectable family of farmers living near Newtown, where the couple settled on marriage. The elder Owen, in addition to his two trades, filled the office of postmaster, and had much of the management of parish affairs in his hands. There were seven children, of whom the subject of this memoir was the sixth. Two died young. The most characteristic of Owen's reminiscences of childhood is the incident, as related by him, of accidentally swallowing some scalding "flummery" or porridge when quite a little boy, which so damaged his stomach that he was always incapable of digesting any but the simplest food, and that in very small quantities. "This," he remarks, with an optimism all his own, "made me attend to the effects of different qualities of food on my changed constitution, and gave me the habit of close observation and of continual reflection; and I have always thought that this accident had a great influence in forming my character."

The boy attended the school of a Mr. Thicknesse, who appears to have had no very remarkable qualification for his office, but to have been on friendly terms with his pupil, whom (at the age of seven!) he associated with himself as assistant "usher." Owen was a voracious reader, and devoured all the books his father's friends in the town could lend him. Among these were "Robinson Crusoe," "Philip Quarle," "The Pilgrim's Progress," "Paradise Lost," Richardson's and other standard novels. He also read, he says, "religious works of all parties," being a religiously inclined child; but this multifarious reading gave him cause for surprise in the immense hatred and opposition he found between members of different faiths, and also between the different sects of the Christian faith. These studies were diversified by games and dancing lessons, in all which amusements he records complacently that he excelled his companions, adding, rather comically, that "the contest for partners among the girls was often amusing, but sometimes really distressing." He also remarks in this connection that "the minds and feelings of young children are seldom duly considered, and that if adults would patiently encourage them to express candidly what they thought and felt, much suffering would be saved to the children and much useful knowledge in human nature would be gained by the adults." There is, perhaps, here a touch of over sentimentality; but, considering how brutal the treatment of children at this period frequently was, it is interesting to find a man who was himself so signally successful in the discipline and management of children, urging thoughtfulness and consideration upon the adult mind of his time.

Apprenticeship.

The experiences of this baby usher lasted about two years. At ten years old, at his own earnest wish, he was sent to London, to be under the care of his elder brother, who, having worked with a saddler, had settled himself comfortably by marrying his master's

widow and taking over the business. A situation was found for little Robert with a Mr. McGuffog, who had begun life with half a crown, which he laid out in the purchase of "some things for sale," for hawking in a basket. The basket had been exchanged for a pedlar's pack, and subsequently the pack for an establishment at Stamford, "for the sale of the best and finest articles of female wear." Robert was domesticated with the McGuffog family for some years, treated like their own child, "carefully initiated into the routine of the business, and instructed in its detail." "Many of the customers . . . were amongst the highest nobility in the kingdom, and often six or seven carriages belonging to them were at the same time in attendance at the premises." He recalls of his master and mistress that the husband belonged to the Church of Scotland, the wife to that of England; but so placable and tolerant were the two, that they went every Sunday first to the one church, afterwards to the other, and he "never knew a religious difference between them." This observation early inclined him to view dogmatic differences as unimportant.

After a few years he left these good friends, and took a place as assistant in an old-established house on Old London Bridge, Borough side. Being now arrived at the mature age of fifteen, he says, "My previous habits prepared me to take an efficient part in the retail division of the business of serving. I was lodged and boarded in the house and had a salary of twenty-five pounds a year, and I thought myself rich and independent. . . . . To the assistants in this busy establishment the duties were very onerous. They were up and had breakfasted and were dressed to receive customers in the shop at eight o'clock—and dressing then was no light matter. Boy as I was then, I had to wait my turn for the hairdresser to powder and pomatum and curl my hair, for I had two large curls on each side, and a stiff pigtail, and until all this was very nicely and systematically done, no one could think of appearing before a customer. Between eight and nine the shop began to fill with purchasers, and their number increased until it was crowded to excess, although a large apartment, and this continued until late in the evening, usually until ten or half past ten, during all the spring months. Dinner and tea were hastily taken—two or three, sometimes only one, escaping at a time to take what he or she could the most easily swallow, and returning to take the places of others who were serving. The only regular meals at this season were our breakfasts, except on Sundays, on which day a good dinner was always provided and was much enjoyed. But when the purchasers left at ten or half past ten . . . . a new part of the business began. The articles dealt in as haberdashery were innumerable, and these when exposed to the customers were tossed and tumbled and unfolded in the utmost confusion and disorder, and there was no time or space to put anything right and in order during the day. . . . . It was often two o'clock in the morning before the goods . . . . had been put in order. . . . . Frequently at two in the morning, after being actively engaged on foot all day from eight on the previous morning, I have scarcely been able with

the aid of the bannisters to go upstairs to bed. And then I had but five hours for sleep." This strain and overwork seemed to Owen more than his constitution could bear, and he obtained another situation, in Manchester. Here he found good living, kind treatment, and reasonable hours of work. He received £40 a year, with board and lodging, and considered himself to be "overflowing with wealth."

In Business at Eighteen.

When he was eighteen years old, he heard from a mechanic who supplied the firm with wire bonnet frames that some extraordinary inventions were "beginning to be introduced in Manchester for spinning cotton by new and curious machinery." The maker of bonnet frames after a time succeeded in getting a sight of these machines at work, and told Owen "he was sure he could make and work them," if only he had capital. He thought that with a hundred pounds he could make a beginning, and offered Owen half profits and partnership if he would lend him that sum. Robert immediately wrote to his brother William in London to ask if he could make the advance required, which request was granted. Robert gave notice to his employer and told him he was going into business for himself. So far as we can learn from his autobiography, no one seems to have been particularly astonished at this lad of eighteen starting on his own account. Meantime a large workshop had been obtained, and about forty men set to work making machines, the necessary materials, wood, iron, and brass, being obtained on credit. Of this light-hearted pair of partners, one, Owen, "had not the slightest knowledge of this new machinery—had never seen it at work." The other, Jones, the mechanic partner, knew little about "book-keeping, finance matters, or the superintendence of men," and was without any idea how to conduct business on the scale now projected. Owen's experience in drapery establishments had given him some idea of business management. As he sagely remarks, he knew wages must be paid, and that if the men were not well looked after, the business must soon come to an end. He kept the accounts, made all payments and received monies, and closely observed the work of the different departments, though at this time he did not really understand it. He managed to maintain order and regularity, and the concern did far better than he had expected. The firm made and sold mules for spinning cotton, and did a fair amount of trade, though as Robert confesses, the want of business capacity in his partner caused him some fear and trembling.* After some months of this, a man possessed of a moderate capital offered to join Jones and put some money into the business. They offered to buy out Robert Owen, and he separated very willingly from his partner. By agreement with them he was to receive six mule machines for himself, three of which only were actually handed over, with a reel and a making-up machine.

At this time Arkwright was starting his great cotton-spinning mill, but the manufacture of British muslins was still in its infancy.

* Autobiography, p. 23.

Owen says that before 1780 or thereabouts no muslins were for sale but those made in the East Indies, but while he was apprenticed to McGuffog a man called Oldknow, of Stockport, in Cheshire, began to manufacture what he described as "British mull muslin." It was less than a yard wide, and was supplied to Mr. McGuffog at 9s. or 9s. 6d., and retailed by the latter to his customers at 10s. 6d. the yard. It was eagerly bought up by McGuffog's aristocratic customers at that price, and Oldknow could not make it rapidly enough. This incident no doubt helped Owen to realize that there were considerable possibilities in the new machines. Although employing only three hands he was able to make about £6 a week profit. A rich Manchester manufacturer called Drinkwater had also built a mill for finer spinning, and was filling it with machinery, but being entirely ignorant of cotton spinning, although a first-rate merchant, was somewhat at a loss to find an expert manager.

Manager of a Large Mill.

Owen, hearing of Drinkwater's dilemma, went to his counting house, and, inexperienced as he was, asked for the vacant situation. The great capitalist asked what salary the youth required, and was amazed at the cool reply, "Three hundred a year." His protest, however, being met by a demonstration that this surprising young man was already making that sum by his own business, Drinkwater agreed to take up Owen's references, and told him to call again. On the day appointed he agreed to the three hundred a year, and took over Owen's machinery at cost price.

Robert Owen was now installed as manager in authority over five hundred men, women, and children, and his predecessor having already left, and his employer understanding nothing of the work, he entered upon his new duties and responsibilities without any instruction or explanation about anything. Much of the machinery was entirely new to him. He determined, however, to do the best he could, inspected everything very minutely, examined the drawings and calculations of the machinery left by Lee, was first in the mill in the morning, and locked up the premises at night. For six weeks he abstained from giving a single direct order, "saying merely yes or no to the questions of what was to be done or otherwise." At the end of that time he felt himself master of his position, was able to perceive the defects in the various processes, and the incorrectness of certain parts of the machinery, all then in a rude state, compared with later developments. Owen was able to greatly improve the quality of the manufacture, and appears to have been very successful in the management of the workpeople. Drinkwater, who cared nothing for personal supervision of his mill, was much pleased to find his responsibilities taken off his shoulders. He raised Owen's salary, and promised to take him into partnership in three years time.

Life at Manchester.

The next three or four years were a time of mental growth and stimulus for this strange lad. He made friends among the staff at

Manchester College, and joined in evening meetings for the discussion of "religion, morals, and other similar subjects." He met Coleridge, who had wished to discuss with him, and became a member of the celebrated "Lit. and Phil.," or the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, which gave him an introduction to the leading professional men of the town, especially those of the medical profession. He was shortly afterwards invited to become a member of what he describes as a "club or committee" of this society, which included the celebrated Dr. Thomas Percival as its president, Dr. Ferriar, and others. Dr. Percival invited Owen to speak at a meeting, a suggestion which embarrassed and confused the young man, who succeeded only in stammering a few incoherent sentences. On a later occasion, however, Owen read a paper on the subject of fine cotton spinning, which was well received by the society; and his name appears in 1796 as a member of the Manchester Board of Health, a body formed by Dr. Percival to devise remedies for the evil and unhealthy conditions incidental to factory employment.

His connection with Mr. Drinkwater came to a sudden end. Oldknow proposed to marry Drinkwater's daughter, and wished to be taken into partnership. As he had the reputation of being a wealthy, rising man, Drînkwater was eager to accept him both as a son-in-law and a partner, and asked Owen to abandon the agreement for partnership and remain on as manager at an increased salary. Owen's pride was aroused by this rather shabby attempt to break the previous contract, and he at once resigned, not only the prospect of partnership, but also his existing situation. He received more than one offer of partnership from capitalists who doubtless knew of his technical knowledge and business capacity, and after declining one rather haughtily because its conditions seemed to him not sufficiently favorable, he accepted another, which was, in fact, less advantageous. He became managing director of the Chorlton Twist Company, and had to superintend the building of its new factory and the installation of the machinery.

Marriage.

In the course of a business visit to Glasgow, where his firm had many customers, Owen made the acquaintance of Miss Dale, destined later on to become his wife. Her father was David Dale, owner of the New Lanark Mills, a man of great wealth, and at that time probably the leading merchant in Glasgow. Not only was his worldly position greatly superior to Owen's, but there was a further obstacle to be overcome in his religious opinions. Dale was an extremely pious and narrow-minded Nonconformist; Owen was already a Freethinker, taught by determinism that a man's religious beliefs were irrevocably fixed by his antecedents and circumstances, and therefore could be the subject neither of blame nor praise. Having discovered that the young lady was not unresponsive to his affection, but that her father was unlikely to receive him favorably, Owen determined nevertheless to obtain an introduction to Dale, and, with his usual curious mixture of simplicity and audacity, con-

ceived the idea of calling on him with a proposal to purchase the mills. Dale was somewhat astonished by such a proposal from so young a man, but advised him to journey to New Lanark and inspect them. The previous negotiations that had been going on between the young people subsequently came to Dale's ears, and at first displeased him. Owen was a stranger, an Englishman, and unknown to him. Owen, however, was backed up by his partners, John Barton and John Atkinson, who arrived at Glasgow to go into the matter in person. The upshot of the matter was that their offer was accepted by Dale, who eventually consented also to the marriage of Owen and his daughter. In 1798 or '99 (the dates are somewhat confused in the Autobiography) Owen found himself at twenty-eight manager and part proprietor of the New Lanark Mills and a married man.

At New Lanark.

This event forms the turning point in Owen's career. His extraordinarily rapid success in winning an assured position at an early age was no doubt due in part only to his own ability, since some part of it can be accounted for by the peculiar circumstances of the time, the introduction and development of steam power and machinery having made it possible to obtain profits on a startling scale. But Owen was a junior partner, and his own capital was but small. His first concern was to secure an ample dividend for the firm, this being the necessary condition of liberty to carry out the measures of reform in the works that he was already considering in his own mind. An isolated remark in the Autobiography (which is written in a rambling and unsystematic manner) gives the clue to his cogitations. Early in the time of his association with Drinkwater he "noticed the great attention given to the dead machinery, and the neglect and disregard of the living machinery," or, in plainer language, of the workers employed. Owen's peculiar power of detachment from the merely personal aspect of his affairs preserved him from the egotistic optimism characteristic of many manufacturers of that date, who, having greatly increased their own wealth through the Industrial Revolution, could not see its attendant evils. He had associated with Dr. Percival in Manchester, and had heard of the diseases and other terrible evils that were caused by the herding of pauper apprentices in insanitary dens in the neighborhood of the mills. In some of the mills, especially those in secluded valleys removed from any check of public opinion, little children were made to work night and day, in heated rooms, uncleansed and unventilated, with little or no provision for teaching, care, or education. In the worst cases there were cruel beatings and other brutal punishments, and in most, probably, little thought for means of safeguard against and prevention of terrible accidents from machinery. Owen's intention was "not to be a mere manager of cotton mills, as such mills were at this time generally managed, but to . . . change the conditions of the people, who were surrounded by circumstances having an injurious influence upon the character of the entire population of New Lanark."

The Mills.

A considerable amount of information as to the state of these mills before Owen took them in hand is accessible, but it is not all unanimous. Owen, in his Autobiography, paints a gloomy picture; while visitors, who made excursions to New Lanark, professed themselves impressed by Mr. Dale's liberality to the factory children and his zeal for their morals and education. The discrepancy of evidence is, however, more apparent than real. According to the standard of those days the New Lanark Mills were models. They were kept much cleaner and were far better ventilated than the ordinary cotton mill, and the pauper children, whom Mr. Dale was obliged to obtain from a distance, were, as Owen himself told Sir Robert Peel's Committee in 1816, well fed and cared for. But, in spite of these advantages, Owen, who made himself intimately acquainted with the condition of the operatives, found much that was objectionable. Five hundred children were employed, who had been taken from poorhouses, chiefly from Edinburgh, and these children were mostly between the ages of five and eight years old. The reason such young children were taken was that Mr. Dale could not get them older. If he did not take them at this early age, they were not to be had at all. The hours of work were thirteen a day (sometimes more), including meal times, for which intervals, amounting to an hour and a half in all, were allowed. Owen found that, in spite of the good food and relatively good care enjoyed by the children when out of the mills, the long hours of work had stunted their growth and, in some cases, deformed their limbs. Although a good teacher, according to the ideas of the time, had been engaged, the children made very slow progress, even in learning the alphabet. These facts convinced Owen that the children were injured by being taken into the mills at so early an age and by being made to work for so many hours, and as soon as he could make other arrangements, he put an end to the system, discontinued the employment of pauper children, refused to engage any child under ten years old, and reduced the hours of work to twelve daily, of which one and a quarter were given to rest and meals. He would have preferred to raise the age of full time employment to twelve years and to reduce the hours of work still further, but, being more or less in his partners' hands, he was compelled to initiate these reforms gradually. He soon, however, arrived at a conviction, based on the experience gained by watching his own factory at work, that no loss need be incurred, either in home or foreign trade, by reducing work to about ten hours employment daily. The improvement in health and energy resulting from increased leisure was so remarkable as to convince him that more consideration for the operatives, more attention given to their conditions of work generally, especially shorter hours, so far from increasing expenses, would tend to promote efficiency, and as he also pointed out, would effect a great improvement in the health of operatives, both young and old, and also improve their education, and tend to diminish the poor rates of the country.*

* See Parliamentary Papers, 1816, Vol. III, Peel's Committee, Evidence of Robert Owen.

It is, indeed, hardly credible that the schooling which was supposed to be given to the children after their seven o'clock supper till nine, could have been of much use after so many hours at work in the mill. Owen's view was that "this kind of instruction, when the strength of the children was exhausted, only tormented them, without doing any real good; for I found that none of them understood anything they attempted to read, and many of them fell asleep during the school hours."

The Village.

Owen also did a great deal to improve the village houses and streets, and build new houses to receive new families to supply the place of the paupers, and to re-arrange the interior of the mills, and replace the old machinery by new.

"The houses contained at that time no more than one apartment, few exceeded a single storey in height, and a dunghill in front of each seems to have been considered by the then inmates as a necessary appendage to their humble dwelling." Owen rebuilt or improved the houses, and had the streets daily swept and cleansed and refuse removed by men employed for the purpose. The next difficulty was to induce habits of domestic cleanliness, which at first Owen tried to achieve by means of lectures and persuasive talks. Finding more urgent measures were necessary, he called a public meeting and advised the people to appoint a committee from amongst themselves to inspect the houses in the village and report as to cleanliness in a book kept for the purpose. This suggestion at first nearly produced a revolution among the women, but it is stated nevertheless that the measure was put in operation, by Owen's orders, in so conciliatory a manner that hostility soon subsided.* Stores were opened to supply the people with food, clothing, milk, fuel, etc., at cost price. Previously the credit system prevailed, and all the retail shops could sell spirits. The quality of the goods was most inferior, and the charges high to cover risk. The result of this change saved the people twenty-five per cent. in their expenses, besides giving them the best, instead of very inferior, articles.†

It is, however, in his plans for mental and moral improvement that Owen is seen at his most characteristic and singular aspect. The factory population of that date, it must be remembered, was usually imported away from its own place of abode. Prejudice against cotton mills was very strong among the laboring classes of Scotland, who disliked the close confinement and long hours of

* "Owen at New Lanark." By One formerly a Teacher at New Lanark. Manchester. 1839. Pp. 4, 5.

† There are risks in connection with shops run by employers for profit which are now well known, and have been the occasion of many Truck Acts; but in this case the profits of the stores were not taken by Owen, but were used for the benefit of the workpeople themselves and for the upkeep of the schools, the scheme resembling a consumers' co-operative store rather than a shop for private profit. Compare Report of Peel's Committee, Robert Owen's evidence, p. 22.

labor incidental to factory life. The people working at New Lanark had "been collected from anywhere and anyhow, for it was then most difficult to induce any sober welldoing family to leave their home to go into cotton mills as then conducted."

It is evident that the factory population thus recruited might not be altogether easy people to deal with. Owen says that he had at first "every bad habit and practice of the people to overcome." Drinking, immorality, and theft were general; and Dale, who had given but little time to personal supervision of the mills, had been freely plundered. But Owen was not disheartened. In a curious passage he shows his views on the subject of human nature and his characteristic confidence that with his methods all would be well. "There were two ways before me by which to govern the population. First, by contending against the people, who had to contend against the evil conditions by which, through ignorance, they were surrounded; and in this case I should have had continually to find fault with all, and to keep them in a state of constant ill will and irritation, to have many of them tried for theft, to have some imprisoned and transported, and at that period to have others condemned to death; for in some cases I detected thefts to a large amount, there being no check upon any of their proceedings. This was the course which had ever been the practice of society. Or, secondly, I had to consider these unfortunately placed people as they really were, the creatures of ignorance and vicious circumstances, who were made to be what they were by the evil conditions which had been made to surround them, and for which alone society, if any party, should be made responsible. And instead of tormenting the individuals, imprisoning and transporting some, hanging others, and keeping the population in a state of constant irrational excitement, I had to change these evil conditions for good ones, and thus, in the due order of nature, according to its unchanging laws, to supersede the inferior and bad characters, created by inferior and bad conditions, by superior and good characters, to be created by superior and good conditions." Success in this great undertaking could only be obtained by the knowledge "that the character of each of our race is formed by God or nature and by society, and that it is impossible that any human being could or can form his own qualities or character."

Owen drew up a set of rules to be observed by the inhabitants of New Lanark for the maintenance of cleanliness, order and good behavior. Every house was to be cleaned at least once a week and whitewashed at least once a year by the tenant; the tenants were further required, in rotation, to provide for cleaning the public stairs, and sweeping the roadway in front of their dwellings, and were forbidden to throw ashes and dirty water into the streets, or to keep cattle, swine, poultry or dogs in the houses. There were provisions for the prevention of trespass and damage to the company's fences and other property. A rather extreme view of authority inspired a rule requiring all doors to be closed at 10.30, and no one to be abroad after that hour without permission. Temperance in the use

or liquors was enjoined. Toleration was urged upon the members of different religious sects and the whole village was advised "to the utmost of their power as far as is consistent with their duty to God and society, to endeavor both by word and deed to make everyone happy with whom they have any intercourse."

The "Silent Monitor."

A singular device was adopted by Owen as an aid to enforcing good behavior in the mills, punishment of any kind being contrary to his principles. A four-sided piece of wood, the sides colored black, blue, yellow, and white, was suspended near to each of the factory workers. The side turned to the front told the conduct of that person during the previous day, the four colours being taken as by degrees of comparison, black representing of course bad, blue indifferent, yellow good, and white excellent. There was also a system of registering marks for conduct. The superintendent of each department had to place these "silent monitors" every day, and the master placed those for the superintendent. Anyone who thought himself treated unjustly by the superintendent had the right of complaining to Owen, but such complaints very rarely occurred. With his usual simplicity, Owen attributes much of his success to this quaint little device, which probably, apart from his own character and influence, and the beneficial measures introduced, would have had but little effect. His humanity to the people is illustrated by the fact that at one time, when owing to trade conditions the mills were at a standstill for several months, he expended £7,000 in wages rather than turn the people adrift.

Financial Success.

As a matter of business, the mills were highly successful. From 1799 to 1809, over and above interest on capital at five per cent., a a dividend of £60,000 was cleared, which, however, includes the £7,000 spent on payment of wages as just indicated. Owen's partners, however, in spite of this financial success, took alarm at his schemes for social betterment. They came down from London and Manchester to inspect what had been done, expressed themselves highly pleased, listened to his plans, but eventually presented him with a silver salver bearing a laudatory inscription, and decided they could go no further with him. Owen offered to buy the mills of them for £84,000, and they gladly consented. A second partnership, formed to purchase the mills, resulted again in strain and tension. Owen then drew up a pamphlet describing his work at New Lanark, and the efforts he had made and hoped still to make for furthering the cause of education and improving the position of the people concerned, and making an appeal to benevolent and wealthy men to join him in partnership and purchase the business, not only for the sake of the immediate good of the employees, but in order to set up a model of what a manufacturing community might be. Among those who responded to the invitation were Jeremy Bentham, the philosopher, and William Allen, the Quaker

and philanthropist. When Owen had completed his arrangements for taking over the business, and returned to New Lanark, the work-people were so overjoyed to see him that they took the horses out of the carriage and drew him in it home, in spite of his expostulations.

On balancing the accounts of the four years partnership now dissolved, it was found that after allowing five per cent. for the capital employed, the concern showed a net profit of £160,000.

A New View of Society.

Owen came before the world as an educational reformer in 1813, when he published his "New View of Society: or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character." Education in England, as most people know, was grossly neglected at this time, especially in regard to the children of the working class. The grammar schools endowed by mediæval piety were appropriated to the instruction of middle-class children, and the charity schools founded in the eighteenth century were, though numerous, utterly inadequate for the needs of a growing industrial society, nor was the education offered in those schools planned on lines that could by any stretch of imagination be called liberal. William Allen, Owen's partner, estimated the number of children in London who were wholly without education at over 100,000. From the very beginning of the nineteenth century education was already a battlefield. The Liberal Nonconformists, led by Lancaster, and the Church party, inspired by Dr. Bell, were each responsible for plans for cheap popular education. Owen gave generous assistance to both, but in the schools he established at New Lanark he went beyond either. The schemes of Bell and Lancaster were little but plans for economising the teacher, that is to say, by setting the older children to teach the younger. Owen distrusted the system of teaching by rote, and laid great stress on the personality of the teacher and the individual attention given to children.

A building was erected at New Lanark, to be used exclusively for school classes, lectures, music and recreation. There were two schoolrooms, one hung round with pictures of animals, shells, minerals, etc., and with large maps. Dancing and singing lessons were given, and the younger classes were taught reading, natural history, and geography. Both boys and girls were drilled, formed in divisions led by young drummers and fifers, and became very expert and perfect in their exercises. The children all wore white garments, given them by Owen, tunics for the boys, frocks for the girls, which were changed three times a week.

Before the shortening of the hours of work, the average attendance at the evening schools was less than 100 a night; but after the reduction on January 1, 1816, the attendance rose rapidly, and was 380 in January, 386 in February, and 396 in March.

The basic principle of Owen's educational system was that man is before all things a social or gregarious being, from which it follows that the happiness of the individual is most intimately bound up with that of the community of which he is a member. The practical

corollary of this principle was the exclusion of all artificial rewards or punishments. No child got a prize for industry and good conduct, none was punished for idleness and disobedience, Owen holding the belief that such incentives are bad for the character, introduce false ideals and erroneous notions, and generally leave the will weak and unfortified against temptation when the artificial stimulus is removed. The scholars were taught to feel that the best incentive to industry is the pleasure of learning, and the best reward for kindliness and good behavior the friendly feeling of companionship set up. Instead of being scolded or punished for being untruthful or disobliging, the children at New Lanark were taught that sincerity and good fellowship are the means to a happy life.* A child who did wrong was considered to deserve pity rather than blame. Owen's son, Dale, who was a convinced believer in his father's system, points out that though children educated on the old-fashioned method, "over-awed by the fear of punishment and stimulated by the hope of reward," might appear very diligent and submissive while the teacher's eye is on them, habits formed by mere mechanical inducements would not be rooted in the character, not to mention that obstinacy and wilfulness may even be fostered by feeling that there is something courageous and independent in thus rejecting baits offered to their lower nature and daring to choose the more perilous path. However that may be, there is a general testimony of those who visited the schools that the children were singularly gentle, happy looking, and well behaved; which, indeed, is markedly the case in a school of the present day, run on similar principles, and known to the writer.

Methods of Education.

As regards the teaching itself, every effort was made to make every subject attractive and interesting; to teach as much as possible by conversation and by maps, pictures, and natural objects; and not to weary the children's attention. A special feature of the system was the lecture on natural science, geography, or history, which would be illustrated, as the subject might permit, by maps, pictures, diagrams, etc., and, as occasion might serve, made to convey a moral lesson. Thus a geography lesson would be combined with descriptive detail and made to illustrate Robert Owen's favorite thesis that character is the product of circumstances. These lessons, the value of which obviously would depend mainly on the teacher's personality, seem to have given immense pleasure to the children, and to have greatly interested strangers, who were now visiting New Lanark in increasing numbers.

Instead of reading in a mechanical fashion or learning mere words by rote, the children were questioned on what they read, and encouraged to discuss, ask questions, or find illustrations of what they read. Thus the habit was formed of endeavoring to understand what is read or heard, instead of conning a mere jingle and patter of unmeaning words, which, it is to be feared, make up the

* R. Dale Owen, "System of Education at New Lanark," 1824. p. 13.

idea of "lessons" to many hapless little scholars even up till now. On this point Dale Owen asks pertinently whether a chemist, being anxious that a child should be able to trace and understand some valuable and important deductions, which with great study and investigation he had derived from certain chemical facts, would act wisely in insisting that the child should at once commit to memory and implicitly believe these deductions? The answer is obvious; that any wise man would first store a child's mind with facts and elementary knowledge, and only gradually, as judgment and intelligence became matured, make him acquainted with theory and principle.*

In the training both of the character and of the intelligence, the aim of the school was to awaken the will and observation in the child to act and reflect for himself, rather than drive him by mere mechanical compulsion.

Many were the distinguished strangers who at this time made a pilgrimage to New Lanark. Griscom, an American Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, visited Owen in the course of a tour, and was most favorably impressed with the school. He records that the children appeared perfectly happy and fearless, and would take Owen by the hand or the coat to attract his attention. The Duke of Kent (father of Queen Victoria) was deeply interested in Owen's experiments, and sent his physician to visit and report upon New Lanark. Many others—statesmen, philanthropists, reformers, and humanitarians, enthusiasts of all kinds—also found their way to the factory and school.

Condition of the People.

About 1815 Owen began to turn his attention to measures of a public character which should improve the condition of the operatives employed in the now rapidly increasing textile industry. He visited many mills in various parts of the country, and was much struck by the wonderful machines employed in these factories and the improvements that were constantly being made in them. But he was also painfully impressed, as he had been years before, by the deteriorating effects on young people of the conditions of employment. He saw that the workers were almost literally the slaves of the new mechanical powers, and later on he asserted that the white slavery of English manufactories under unrestricted competition was worse than the black slavery he had seen in the West Indies and the United States, where the slaves were better cared for in regard to food, clothing, and conditions as to health than were the oppressed and degraded children and workpeople in the factories of Great Britain. It is true that some of the worst evils were tending to disappear, e.g., with the introduction of steam power night work was considerably discontinued; and as employers were no longer obliged to place their factories in out of the way spots for water power, the need for employing parish apprentices had therefore largely ceased. The factories were placed in populous centres

* "System of Education at New Lanark," p. 55.

and to some extent at least under the check of public opinion; whilst the children were living at home with their parents, under more human and natural conditions than the unhappy apprentices who had been lodged at the mills. It also appears that the factories of the new type were larger and better kept than the old, and the operatives of a higher social grade. But, in spite of these influences, which made for good, the evidence before Peel's Committee shows that conditions were still very bad. Children were employed at a very early age, and for terribly long hours. Even the better class manufacturers usually kept the mill open for thirteen hours a day, and allowed an hour off for dinner, breakfast and tea being brought to the children in the mill and snatched at intervals, the machinery going all the time. Sometimes even a dinner interval was not given, and some mills were kept going for fifteen or even sixteen hours a day. Many of the children had to attend for several hours on Sunday to clean the machinery. It was asserted by the manufacturers that these long hours did not really mean the same duration of actual work; that the children were merely in attendance to watch the machines and piece the broken threads, no physical exertion being required. This description conveniently ignored the fact that the children had practically to stand the whole time, and the bad effects of such long standing and confinement were heightened by the close and heated atmosphere. The finer qualities of yarn, at all events, needed a warm atmosphere, and in many factories the temperature, summer and winter, was kept up to about eighty degrees. Sir Robert Peel told the House of Commons that he employed nearly a thousand children in his cotton mill, and was seldom able to visit it, owing to press of engagements; but whenever he could go and see the works, he was struck with "the uniform appearance of bad health and, in many cases, stunted growth of the children. The hours of labor were regulated by the interest of the overseer, whose remuneration depending on the quantity of work done, he was often induced to make the poor children work excessive hours and to stop their complaints by trifling bribes."

Factory Children.

In 1815 Owen called a meeting of Scottish manufacturers, to be held in the Tontine, Glasgow, to consider, first, the necessity and policy of asking the Government, then under Lord Liverpool's administration, to remit the heavy duty then paid on the importation of cotton; and, secondly, to consider measures to improve the condition of children and others employed in textile mills. The first proposal, to remit the import duty on raw material, was carried unanimously. He then proposed a string of resolutions for improving the condition of the workers. In the course of his remarks he pointed out that the cotton manufacture, vast as were its profits, was not an unmixed benefit to the nation, but, under existing conditions, was destructive of the "health, morals, and social comforts" of the mass of the people engaged in it. He urged those present not to forget the interests of those by whom their profits were

made, and suggested a Factory Act. Not one person in the meeting would second the motion. Subsequently Owen published a pamphlet,* dedicated significantly "to the British Legislature," in which he described the position of children under the manufacturing system, and suggested a remedy. "The children now find they must labor incessantly for their bare subsistence. They have not been used to innocent, healthy, and rational amusements. They are not permitted the requisite time, if they had been previously accustomed to enjoy them. . . . Such a system of training cannot be expected to produce any other than a population weak in bodily and mental faculties, and with habits generally destructive of their own comfort, of the wellbeing of those around them, and strongly calculated to subdue all the social affections. Man so circumstanced sees all around him hurrying forward, at a mail coach speed, to acquire individual wealth, regardless of him, his comforts, his wants, or even his sufferings, except by way of degrading parish charity, fitted only to steel the heart of man against his fellows or to form the tyrant and the slave. . . . The employer regards the employed as mere instruments of gain."

The legislative measure he suggested was to limit the hours of labor in factories to twelve per day, including one and a half for meals; to prohibit employment of children under ten in factories; to require that employment of children from ten to twelve should be for half time only; and that no children should be admitted to work in factories at all until they could read and write, understand elementary arithmetic, and, in the case of girls, sew and make their clothes. The arguments used by Owen in support of this suggested measure are such as have been amply confirmed by the experience of those in touch with industry; but they were then new and startling, and, it is to be feared, even at the present day are unfamiliar to many of the dwellers in Suburbia. In regard to the objection then commonly raised that the quantity produced would be decreased by shorter hours, he explained that by making the proposed Factory Act uniform over the United Kingdom, any increase of cost, supposing such to ensue, would be borne by the consumers, not by the manufacturers; but he doubted much whether any manufactory, arranged so as to occupy the hands twelve hours a day, would not produce its fabric nearly, if not altogether, as cheap as those in which work was prolonged to fourteen or fifteen hours a day. Even should this view not prove to be entirely justified, the improved health and comfort of the operative population and the diminution of poor rates would amply compensate the country for a fractional addition to the prime cost of any commodity. "In a national view, the labor which is exerted twelve hours a day will be obtained more economically than if stretched to a longer period. . . . Since the general introduction of expensive machinery human nature has been forced far beyond its average strength, and much, very much, private misery and public injury are the consequence."

* "Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System." London. 1815.

The Human Machinery.

In an address to the superintendents of manufactories, written about the end of 1813, Owen thus voices his appeal for the operatives :—

"Experience has shown you the difference of the results between mechanism which is neat, clean, well arranged, and always in a high state of repair; and that which is allowed to be dirty, in disorder, without the means of preventing unnecessary friction, and which therefore becomes and works much out of repair. In the first case the whole economy and management are good; every operation proceeds with ease, order, and success. In the last the reverse must follow, and a scene be presented of counteraction, confusion, and dissatisfaction among all the agents and instruments interested or occupied in the general process, which cannot fail to create great loss.

"If, then, the care as to the state of your inanimate machines can produce such beneficial results, what may not be expected if you devote equal attention to your vital machines, which are far more wonderfully constructed? When you shall acquire a right knowledge of these, of their curious mechanism, of their self-adjusting powers; when the proper mainspring shall be applied to their varied movements—you will become conscious of their real value, and you will readily be induced to turn your thoughts more frequently from your inanimate to your living machines; you will discover that the latter may be easily trained and directed to procure a large increase of pecuniary gain, while you may also derive from them high and substantial gratification.

"Will you then continue to expend large sums of money to procure the best devised mechanism of wood, brass, or iron; to retain it in perfect repair; to provide the best substance for the prevention of unnecessary friction, and to save it from falling into premature decay? Will you also devote years of intense application to understand the connection of the various parts of these lifeless machines, to improve their effective powers, and to calculate with mathematical precision all their minute and combined movements? . . . . Will you not afford some of your attention to consider whether a portion of your time and capital would not be more advantageously applied to improve your living machines? . . . Far more attention has been given to perfect the raw materials of wood and metals than those of body and mind. . . . . Man, even as an instrument for the creation of wealth, may be greatly improved. . . . . You may not only partially improve these living instruments, but learn how to impart to them such excellence as shall make them infinitely surpass those of the present and all former times."*

In the course of this campaign for the remission of the cotton duties and for the regulation of child labor, Owen sent copies of his proposals to the members of both Houses of Parliament, and went up to interview members of the Government. In regard to the first

* Appendix B, Autobiography, p. 250.

proposal he met with a favorable reception from Vansittart, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but his efforts on behalf of the children were not so immediately fruitful, although they excited considerable interest and sympathy in the minds of some. Sir Robert Peel was asked to take charge of Owen's draft Bill. The choice was an appropriate one, the Act of 1802, for regulating the conditions of pauper apprentices in cotton and woollen mills, having been due to the same statesman's initiative. This Act, the only Factory Act then on the statute book, had become out of date owing to technical and economic changes which had caused the employment of pauper apprentices to be largely discontinued. The new Bill was more comprehensive, and applied to all children in mills and factories. Its main provisions were that no child should be employed in a mill or factory below the age of ten; that no person under eighteen should be employed for more than twelve and a half hours per day, of which only ten were to be given to work, half an hour to instruction, leaving two hours for rest and meal times. The justices were empowered to appoint duly qualified inspectors and to pay them for their services. It was explicitly provided that these inspectors were not to be interested or in any way connected with the mills and manufactories they were to inspect, and they were given full powers to enter the mills for purposes of inspection at any time of day they chose.

It is interesting in considering this Bill to recall that the institution of factory inspectors was not effected till 1833, the ten hours day did not become law till 1847, and the prohibition of work under ten years old did not come into force until the year 1874.

Peel's Committee.

Nothing more was done in 1815, the Bill having been introduced and published as a tentative measure to evoke discussion and criticism. In 1816, however, Sir Robert Peel returned to the subject, and moved for the appointment of a committee to take evidence and report upon the state of children employed in manufactories. Some of the evidence given before this committee by Owen has already been quoted above. Perhaps the most remarkable point is the hostility shown by some members of the committee to Owen's ideas and proposals, which, so far as the Factory Bill went, would nowadays be considered very mild. When he said he thought it unnecessary for children under ten to be employed in any regular work, and considered instruction and education at that age were enough exertion, he was asked by some moralist, whose name is unfortunately not handed down to fame, "Would there not be a danger of their acquiring by that time (*ten years old*) vicious habits for want of regular occupation?" and replied that his own experience led him, on the contrary, to find that habits were good in proportion to instruction. When he was pressed to explain his contention that a reduction of hours had resulted in a greater proportional output, he showed that a larger quantity might be produced by greater attention or by preventing breakage, and by not

losing any time in beginning or leaving work. This evidently surprised some of the committee, who appeared incredulous that he, "as an experienced cotton spinner, or a spinner of any kind," could think that machines could produce a greater quantity save by the quickening of their movement. Owen again repeated that greater attention by the workpeople in avoiding breakage or waste of time might increase output, and that in his experience the shorter hours work did result in closer attention.*

The Factory Act, 1819.

The Factory Bill was delayed for some reason till 1818, when Sir Robert Peel introduced it again. The second reading was carried in the Commons by ninety-one to twenty-six, but the Bill was again delayed by the action of the House of Lords, who professed themselves not satisfied that the need for any such legislation had been demonstrated. They appointed a committee of their own, which took evidence during 1818 and 1819. A great deal of evidence was produced, which was intended to show that factories were ideally healthy and the death-rate much below that in ordinary places; that England's place in the markets of the world would be endangered; that wages must be reduced in a proportion equal to or greater than the proposed reduction of hours; that the morals of the "lower orders" must be deteriorated by so much free time. Doctors were found to testify, e.g., that it need not hurt a child to work at night, or to stand twelve hours a day at work, or to eat their meals while so standing! The evidence of 1816, however, had not been forgotten, and other evidence was produced before the Lords' Committee which amply proved the conditions to be highly injurious to the children's health. The Bill became law in the summer of 1819, but, in order to conciliate the millowners and the House of Lords, the original provisions were deprived of much that was valuable. Woollen, flax, and other mills were omitted, the Act applying to cotton only; the age limit for child labor was fixed at nine years instead of ten; the hours of labor were to be twelve instead of ten or ten and a half hours. Worst of all, the provision for inspection in Owen's draft was deleted and nothing was put in its place, the supervision of factories being left, as before, in the hands of the justices, although it was perfectly well known that they had not enforced the Act of 1802.

Owen's direct influence on the development of English factory legislation thus suffered a check. The fact nevertheless remains that the Act of 1819, mutilated and imperfect as it was, was the first real recognition of responsibility by the State for industrial conditions. The Act of 1802 had been merely an extension of the State's care for Poor Law children; the Act of 1819 recognized the

* The present writer has been told the same by several manufacturers. One of these remarked that "in nine hours the girls had done all the work it was in them to do," and that the attention could not be satisfactorily maintained longer. Another remarked that overtime in the evening generally meant bad work next morning. See also instances described in "History of Factory Legislation," Hutchins and Harrison, Chapter VII.

employed child as such. It was not until 1833 that an effective measure was placed upon the statute book, and the guidance of this movement had long before this passed out of Owen's hands. But he it was who first compelled the State to recognize the changes made by the growth and concentration of capital; he it was who tried practical experiments in the way of shorter hours and improved conditions; and, much as he had done himself as a model employer, it was he who recognized the fact that, under the conditions of modern industry, State intervention was necessary, because the forces of competition are too much for the manufacturer, single and unaided, to resist, save in especially favorable circumstances.

International Agitation.

Owen was also fully conscious that in years to come the problem of social reform would have to be faced internationally. In 1818 he addressed a memorial, on behalf of the working classes, "to the Allied Powers assembled in Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle." This document is characterized by extraordinary optimism and a pathetic conviction that society was, in actual fact, moving rapidly to a state of harmony and co-operation. It also shows a curious ignorance of recent history in assuming that child labor was but a recent introduction, whereas we know now from other sources that child labor had been general, and in some cases excessive, in textile industry carried on under the domestic system. In spite of these misconceptions, the document makes some valuable and important points. It shows that by the introduction of machinery and the factory system an enormous increase in productive power had been achieved. By the aid of science Great Britain could now produce many times as much wealth in a given time as she could previously. This surplus of wealth might be either wasted in war, dissipated in competition with the nations, or applied directly to improve her own population. Moreover, the existing productive power was but trifling compared with that which might be obtained in the future. Capital and industry were unemployed or misapplied which might be used to create more wealth. "Already," said Owen, "with a population under twenty millions, and a manual power not exceeding six millions,* with the aid of new power, undirected, except by a blind private interest, she supplied her own demand, and overstocks with her manufactures all the markets in the world to which her commerce is admitted. She is now using every exertion to open new markets, even in the most distant regions; and she could soon, by the help of science, supply the wants of another world equally populous with the earth. . . . The grand question now to be solved is, not how a sufficiency of wealth may be produced, but how the excess of riches which may be most easily created may be generally distributed throughout society advantageously for all, and without prematurely disturbing the existing institutions or arrangements in any country." Owen's estimates were based on manufacturing

* This figure is arrived at by comparison with the era before machinery. The exact figure is unimportant. The increase of productive power is an undoubted fact.

industry, and he did not give sufficient weight to the consideration that mechanical science was not likely (so far as we can see) to effect so rapid and startling an increase in the production of food or other necessaries obtained from the soil itself.* The really important point made by Owen here and elsewhere is his insistence on the problem of distribution. It is still the case that much wealth which might be used to enrich life is squandered in the war of armaments and the war of competition. There is no way of avoiding that destructive waste save by co-operation and mutual control.

Owen died in 1858. It might seem that his life was a failure, his immediate efforts having been sorely disappointed over the Factory Act of 1819, and his wonderful forecasts of universal peace and prosperity having been sadly falsified by events. But the real results of Owen's work are to be seen in the long series of factory legislation, which, slowly and imperfectly, it is true, has yet built up a system of protection for the worker, and in the efforts which, in the twentieth century, have at last achieved some beginnings of success for international regulation of labor. In 1900 the "Union Internationale pour la Protection légale des Travailleurs" was formed. Through its initiative, influence, and suggestion, conventions have already been accepted by a large number of the leading Powers, under which the night work of women is forbidden and the use of white phosphorus, a deadly poison, formerly employed in matchmaking with great dangers to the workers, is prohibited. Other measures with regard to the night work of boys and the control of other industrial poisons are being considered. This is a work which is as yet in its infancy, but is likely to be fraught with great results in the future.

Conclusion.

It is difficult in a few words to sum up the singular career and personality of Robert Owen. The so-called "usher" of seven, the boy who, with powdered hair, waited on his master's customers in the old warehouse on London Bridge, has a curious old world air, which clings to him even when a dozen years later finds him face to face with the intricate problems of the modern industrial world. It will not have escaped readers of the extracts given above from Robert Owen's works that he wrote a painfully long winded style, and that his thought is often uncritical and obscure. In a candid passage his son, R. Dale Owen, reminds us that Owen was without any real educational or scientific training. As a child he managed to read a good many books, but had neither time nor opportunity to be a student. "In this way he worked out his problems for human improvement to great disadvantage, missing a thousand things that great minds had thought and said before his time, and often mistaking ideas that were truly his own for novelties that no human being had heretofore given to the world." †

* Podmore, I, p. 261.

† 'Threading My Way," p. 66 *et seq.*

Owen's personal temper and character appear to have been of unusual sweetness. His "ruling passion," his son records, "was the love of his kind, individually and collectively." An old friend said of Owen, jokingly, that "if he had seven thousand children instead of seven, he would love them all devotedly." He was, in fact, to his own children a most affectionate and careful parent, but had none of the selfish narrowness that sometimes goes with strong domestic instincts. The whole human race was to him the subject of warm, even indulgent, affection. He simply brushed aside the impression then general that the best way to manage children was to bully them, and the best way to get work out of factory operatives was to keep them incessantly at it. He did not believe in sin and wickedness, and saw in the sinner only the victim of untoward circumstances. He was sometimes misled by the illusion, characteristic of many eighteenth century thinkers, that the human race, if surrounded by a healthy and comfortable environment, and properly instructed in the advantages of social, as opposed to anti-social, conduct, must inevitably go right of itself, and he left out of account the whole array of inherited weaknesses of character and constitution, the strength of passions (which probably his own temperament left him almost unaware of), and the temptation to greed and tyranny offered by almost any known form of organized social life. It is easy to indicate the limitations of his thought. The fact remains that within those limits there is an immensely fruitful field for the application of his ideas, as he proved by the almost startling results of his training and influence on a set of operatives and their children who were by no means picked members of society to start with.

The importance of Owen's life and teaching does not lie in his social philosophy, which was crude and already somewhat out of date, but in the practical success of his experiments as a model employer, and in his flashes of social intuition, which made him see, as by inspiration, the needs of his time. Leslie Stephen said of him that he was "one of those intolerable bores who are of the salt of the earth," but it is evident that he must have possessed a large measure of the undefinable attribute known as "personal magnetism." Thus we find him achieving an entrance into good posts early in life with little aid from capital or influence, able to control and manage workpeople in the factory, to banish drunkenness and disorder, to win the affection of the children in the schools, to persuade the teachers to adopt his new and unfamiliar methods, and to excite the active sympathy and interest of men, like the Duke of Kent, greatly above him in social station. Owen could see and act far better than he could think, and his views have been justified by events. His Life, by Frank Podmore, is a great book, one of the most fascinating of English biographies, but perhaps even Mr. Podmore hardly does justice to the clearness of Owen's vision in the human side of economics. Owen found the politicians and economists obsessed by a mechanical conception of industry. An hour's work was an hour's work, and in the debates and pamphlets of the time there is an

almost entire omission of any reference to the personality of the worker, or to the possible effect of his health, strength, and efficiency on the output. Manual labor was then taken as a constant quantity, the only means of augmenting the output being by increasing the hours or by improving the machinery. Later economists have given more attention to the personality of the operative, and modern scientific investigation has shewn that Owen's conception of industry is a true one, solidly based on the facts of life. There is much evidence now accessible to show how eminently susceptible to influences the human worker is, and how shortsighted it is to regard him or her as a mere pair of hands. Better food, better air, more rest, teaching, and recreation, improve the human machine, even regarding him merely as a machine. From the point of view of the State or the community it is hardly necessary to say the case is tenfold stronger. The State can by no means afford to have its citizens, actual or potential, endangered by unhealhy, dangerous, or demoralizing conditions of work. This statement is becoming almost a truism now, though its full implications have not yet been adopted as part of practical politics. But the measure of recognition it has obtained, both at home and abroad, is a measure of the greatness of Robert Owen, the pathfinder of social legislation, who had a vision for the realities of modern industrial life when they were as yet dim, strange, and unknown to his contemporaries. No one has yet done so much as he did to show that man must be the master of the machine if he is not to be its slave.

NOTE.—Robert Owen, disappointed in his scheme for social reform through the State, turned his attention to the formation of communities in which, as he hoped, his theories might be carried out. This part of his life, which is very distinct from his services to social reform, will be treated in a separate paper.

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WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE COMMUNIST IDEAL.

Boyhood.

WILLIAM MORRIS was born in 1834 and died in 1896. His working life therefore fell in the latter half of the nineteenth century, exactly the period when Commercialism was most rampant. It was a time of peace and prosperity. Manufacturers were raking in profits from the great discoveries of the beginning of the century, railways and steamships had given fresh impetus to trade. The long reign of a virtuous and narrow-minded sovereign favored the growth of vulgar self-complacency. It was a smug age, an age of rapidly increasing wealth ill-distributed and ill-spent.

Morris was a member of a well-to-do middle class family. His childhood was spent in a large house on the edge of Epping Forest, looking over a great stretch of the pasture land of Essex, with the Thames winding through the marshes. He passed a happy boyhood in a peaceful, old-fashioned, essentially English home. At fourteen he was sent to Marlborough. He entered but little, however, into the life of the school, took no part in school games, and is remembered by his school-fellows as a strange boy fond of mooning about by himself and of telling long stories "full of knights and fairies." He was "thickset and strong-looking, with a high color and black curly hair, good-natured and kind, but with a fearful temper." He was fond of taking long walks and collecting birds' eggs, and he was always doing something with his hands, netting if nothing else.

Like man like boy! The strangely diverse characteristics of this remarkable man were already noticeable, a poet without a poetic temperament, patient and industrious, kindly and gentle yet hasty and choleric, a lover of solitude for all his abounding sympathy with mankind. It was not at school but at home that he found congenial surroundings. "I am sure you must think me a great fool," he writes to his sister, "to be always thinking about home, but I really can't help it, I don't think it is my fault for there are such a lot of things I want to do and say."

Oxford Life and Friendships. Cult of the Middle Ages.

But though it is easy in his later life to trace the influence of his peaceful home between the forest and the plain, it was at Oxford that his genius found or formed the channels it was to flow through. At his own college (Exeter) and among the undergraduates of his own year he was fortunate enough to find a man with whom he was able to share his inmost thoughts. The tie between Morris and Burne-Jones was no ordinary college friendship. It lasted till death and affected the lives of both, but though (or perhaps because)

Morris was the greater of the two men the intercourse between them had more important results on his career than on that of his friend.

At twenty Morris, full of vitality and with many markedly diverse characteristics, would have been singled out as a man certain to make his mark in the world, but the kind of work that lay before him would have been hard to foretell. Like his friend, he was destined for the Church. Both alike had felt the influence of that wave of mystical theology which had swept over the dry bones of Anglican Christianity, and both alike suffered a severe disillusionment during their first year at Oxford. Their readings in theology served to extinguish gradually in both the fire of religious enthusiasm, and to kindle in its stead a devotion to ideal beauty, curiously remote and exotic. It was associated with a passion for the Middle Ages and for the particular types and forms of Art that flourished in them, and of course with a contempt and loathing for contemporary life with all its seething confusion of industrial progress. In these quiet Oxford days, spent in poring over ecclesiastical poetry, mediæval chronicles and church history, it was no wonder that these youths should look at the world through a narrow peep-hole: the wonder is that in the case of one of them the peep-hole was never widened throughout a long industrious life of artistic production. Morris was too big a man to have his outlook on the world permanently circumscribed in this way, but in the output of his early years, and indeed in the artistic work—whether literary or plastic—of his whole life, we find the narrowing influence of his first introduction to the world of thouhgt and emotion, and of his lifelong intercourse with Burne-Jones and the school to which he belonged.

Morris was by nature an artist. He was full of enthusiasm and vital energy, quick to see and to feel, eager to create. The pre-Raphaelite movement, with its worship of beauty and its atmosphere of rarity and remoteness, influenced him, not by making him an artist, but by cutting him off from the life of his day and generation, the true source of inspiration for living art. His life is the story of a pilgrimage out of a world peopled by shadows into the daylight world of his fellow-men. Unfortunately, his dearest friends continued to live in the world of shadows, and from time to time they drew him back into it.

Poetry.

The impulse towards self-expression found vent first in poetry, and, to the end, painter and craftsman though he was, his chief gift was literary. The gift seems to have been a sudden discovery during college days. Canon Dixon gives an amusing account of how he and Price went to Exeter one night to see the two friends. "As soon as we entered the room, Burne-Jones exclaimed wildly: 'He's a big poet!' 'Who is?' asked we. 'Why, Topsy'—the name which he had given him. We sat down and heard Morris read his first poem, the first that he had ever written in his life. It was called 'The Willow and the Red Cliff.' As he read it, I felt that it was something the like of which had never been heard before. I

expressed my admiration in some way, as we all did, and I remember his remark: 'Well, if this is poetry, it is very easy to write.' From that time onward he came to my rooms almost every day with a new poem."*

He was rapid and prolific, and his poems filled many books. The best known is, perhaps, the long series of stories in verse called "The Earthly Paradise." "In all the noble roll of our poets," says Swinburne, "there has been since Chaucer no second teller of tales comparable to the first till the advent of this one." The stories, told sometimes in verse, sometimes, and even better, in prose, continued to pour forth from his fertile brain right on to the end of his life, with the exception, as we shall see, of seven years that were devoted to sterner work.

Choice of a Vocation.

But though his strongest and most enduring impulse was towards imaginative writing, it is not as a writer that his light shines before men. If he had poured the full stream of his creative vitality into this one channel, England might have added a new name to the list of her great poets, but there are things that the English of to-day need more than poetry. They need to learn that sordid labor degrades not merely those who perform it, but those who reap the fruits of it; that to enjoy cheap machine-made luxury is as degrading as to produce it; that a brutalized laboring class is sure to have for its master an unrefined, uncivilized plutocracy. These are the things Morris made clear to those who would look and listen. He could not have learned and taught them if he had sat in studious leisure producing poetry. His activity was many-sided, and he put heart and brain into it all. The real significance of his life story is that he created a fine career, a splendid personality out of the every-day experiences that come to all of us. He saw the outside world, the works of men and God, not with half-shut eyes and sleepy indifference as we most of us see them, but with vivid curiosity and wonder. Friendship and love, the home-building impulse and the sense of universal brotherhood visited him in turn as they visit every decent human being, but he received them not sluggishly, still less with stubborn resistance, but with alert and whole-hearted enthusiasm. Each new stage of experience was marked by a new departure in activity; but, and this was the most remarkable characteristic of all, the new enterprise did not supersede the old. In a prose romance, written while he was at Oxford, he has given us some suggestive touches of autobiography. "I could soon find out," says the hero, "whether a thing were possible or not to me; then, if it were not, I threw it away for ever, never thought of it again, no regret, no longing for that, it was past and over to me; but if it were possible and I made up my mind to do it, then and there I began it, and in due time finished it, turning neither to the right hand nor the left till it was done. So I did with all things that I set my hand to."†

* "Life of William Morris," by J. W. Mackail, Vol. I., pp. 51, 52.

† "Frank's Sealed Letter." "Oxford and Cambridge Magazine," I.

Architecture.

This was Morris's ideal, and this, too, was his practice. It describes the tenor of his whole life, as well as the bent of his character, although the bare recital of these early years might convey a very different notion. We have seen that his intention of taking orders did not long survive his first term of study and discussion at Oxford, and that Art in various forms, and especially the Art of the Middle Ages, began to fill the horizon of his mind. In the glow of enthusiasm roused by the cathedrals of northern France, where he spent two delightful holidays, it was natural enough that he should choose architecture to replace the Church as his future profession, the work by which he should earn his living. Though his apprenticeship to Street was of short duration, and though he never became an architect, yet the purpose that underlay this change of profession never altered. His business through life—a business pursued with unflagging industry which reaped a substantial worldly success—was to make modern houses worth living in. All the crafts that he turned his hand to—painting, furniture-making, dyeing, weaving—all were subservient, and consciously subservient, to this end: all with the one exception of the printing of books, the beloved Benjamin of his industries, which grew, not so much out of his life-long love of the house beautiful as out of a passion equally enduring for literature—the thoughts and words of men.

Painting.

It was under the influence of Rossetti, whose strange power of fascination altered many lives, that Morris took to painting, first as a pastime, then, dropping architecture, as his regular profession. "Rossetti says I ought to paint," he writes soon after his move from Oxford to London, in his twenty-fourth year; "he says I shall be able. Now, as he is a very great man, and speaks with authority and not as the scribes, I *must* try. I don't hope much, I must say, yet will try my best . . . . not giving up the architecture, but trying if it is possible to get six hours a day for drawing besides office work. One won't get much enjoyment out of life at this rate, I know well; but that don't matter: I have no right to ask for it, at all events—love and work, these two things only. . . . . I can't enter into politics, social subjects, with any interest; for, on the whole, I see that things are in a muddle, and I have no power or vocation to set them right in ever so little a degree. My work is the embodiment of dreams in one form or another."* In this land of dreams Morris lived for a year or two, in daily intercourse with those inveterate dreamers who were his friends; but it was not to such a world that he really belonged, and he was restless and unsatisfied. "He has lately taken a strong fancy for the human," says one of his companions at this time; and not long after, in his twenty-sixth year, marriage and the need of making a home brought him back into touch with the life of the world.

* Mackail, vol. I., p. 107.

House Decoration.

The act of becoming a householder was for him a new departure, and the building and garnishing of his home a kind of sacrament. He could not endure base surroundings. A fair orderly garden, a house wisely planned and solidly built, and within it chairs, tables and utensils that were a pleasure to make and to use—these were to him the necessary background of a decent life. His friend Philip Webb could build the house for him, and there were others among the younger architects who were of the true faith, but where was he to turn for his furniture and his wall-hangings? The domestic arts were extinct—killed by the factory system, by machinery, by steam and by industrial enterprise. Clothes, jewellery and all kinds of household gear were made, not for use, but for profit. They gave pleasure no longer either to those who fashioned them or to those who used them, but only to the hucksterer who made money out of transferring them from the one to the other, and whose interests it was that they should be cheap and showy and flimsy. All this was borne in on Morris just as he was beginning to feel sure that he was not meant for a painter any more than for an architect, and it helped him to find work that he *was* suited for, work that he could earn his bread by, and that needed doing.

How Morris became Tradesman and Manufacturer.

"The first thing that a man has to do," Ruskin had written ten years earlier, "is to find out what he is fit for. In which enquiry he may be very safely guided by his likings, if he be not also guided by his pride. People usually reason in some such fashion as this: 'I don't seem quite fit for a head manager in the firm of — & Co., therefore, in all probability, I am fit to be Chancellor of the Exchequer'; whereas they ought, rather, to reason thus: 'I don't seem to be quite fit to be head manager in the firm of — & Co., but, I daresay, I might do something in a small greengrocery business: I used to be a good judge of pease'; that is to say, always trying lower instead of trying higher until they find bottom. . . . . I do not believe that any greater good could be achieved for the country than the change in public feeling on this head which might be brought about by a few benevolent men, undeniably in the class of gentlemen, who would, on principle, enter into some of our commonest trades and make them honorable." When Morris and his friends started a firm of decorators as Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co., it was not with any such benevolent motive. The undertaking was nevertheless destined to become even more important to the cause of social progress than to that of Art. It began quite humbly, with a ridiculously small capital, but Morris threw himself wholeheartedly into the work, for which he was extraordinarily well fitted. "From the first the firm turned out whatever anyone wanted in the way of decorative material—architectural adjuncts, furniture, tapestries, embroideries, stained glass, wall-papers and what not. The goods were first-rate, the art and the workmanship excellent, the prices high. . . . You could have the things such as the firm chose

that they should be, or you could do without them. . . . There was no compromise. Morris, as senior partner, laid down the law, and all his clients had to bend or break." * We cannot here pursue the fascinating story of the firm through its early struggles to the financial success that crowned them, and of the long list of industries undertaken, first at Queen Square and then at Merton, in which Morris was not merely manager but working foreman, giving to each in turn the insight of the artist, the skill of the craftsman, and the patience and industry which were so peculiarly his own, and which combined so strangely with his boyish vehemence. The mere amount of work he got through is amazing. We read of days spent in designing wall-papers and chintzes, and contriving how they ought to be printed, in watching over dyeing vats, and working at looms, and reinventing the lost art of tapestry weaving, while all the time, in moments of leisure, the stream of poetry flowed on, and yet his friends agree that he always had time for talk and laughter and for little feasts and holidays. Many new and delightful glimpses into his home life are to be found in Miss Morris's introduction and notes to the fine edition of his works now in course of publication. Of any little family festival he was the centre and mainspring, and to any public cause that seemed to him important he was always ready to give time and energy. His love of fun was as strong as his love of work, and his knowledge of common things and interest in them was unfailing. He was a clever cook, and enjoyed an opportunity of proving his skill. "I always bless God," he once said, "for making anything so strong as an onion."

"A Master Artizan."

If one wants to understand Morris, and especially the path that led him to Socialism, one must realize how much he identified himself with his shop, and especially with his factory. This was the work that he faced the world with—his "bread-and-cheese work," as he called it. In an intimate letter he speaks of himself as "a master artizan, if I may claim that dignity." That it was no empty claim one may gather from such passages as this from his letters: "I am trying to learn all I can about dyeing, even the handiwork of it, which is simple enough; but, like many other simple things, contains matters in it that one would not think of unless one were told. Besides my business of seeing to the cotton printing, I am working in Mr. Wardle's dye-house in sabots and blouse pretty much all day long." And again: "This morning I assisted at the dyeing of 20 lbs. of silk for our damask in the blue vat. It was very exciting, as the thing is quite unused now, and we ran a good chance of spoiling the silk. There were four dyers and Mr. Wardle at work, and myself as dyers' mate. The men were encouraged with beer, and to it they went, and pretty it was to see the silk coming green out of the vat and gradually turning blue. We succeeded very well as far as we can tell at present. The oldest of the workmen, an old fellow of seventy, remembers silk being dyed so long ago. The vat, you

* "D. G. Rossetti: His Family-Letters." With a Memoir by W. M. Rossetti. Vol. I., p. 219.

must know, is a formidable-looking thing, 9 feet deep and about 6 feet square, and is sunk into the earth right up to the top. To-morrow I am going to Nottingham to see wool dyed blue in the woad vat, as it is called." His toil at the dye vat was not in vain. There is plenty of testimony that he became an expert dyer. "When he ceased to dye with his own hands, I soon felt the difference," writes a lady who embroidered very skilfully for the firm. "The colors themselves became perfectly level and had a monotonous prosy look; the very lustre of the silk was less beautiful. When I complained, he said: 'Yes, they have grown too clever at it. Of course, it means they don't love color, or they would do it."

The Germ of Morris's Socialism.

That a man should put his heart into his work, and that the work should be of a kind that he can care about: this was a fixed belief with Morris, and it lay at the root of his Socialism. Of himself it was true right through every detail of his many crafts. "Lord bless us," he breaks out, when he had been worried by having to write tiresome letters, "how nice it will be when I can get back to my little patterns and dyeing and the dear warp and weft at Hammersmith." His work was done for the love of it, but there was nothing amateurish or unpractical about it. "I should very much like," he writes, "to make the business quite a success, and it can't be unless I work at it myself. I must say, though I don't call myself money-greedy, a smash on that side would be a terrible nuisance. I have so many serious troubles, pleasures, hopes and fears that I have not time on my hands to be ruined and get really poor: above all things, it would destroy my freedom of work, which is a dear delight to me." It is noticeable that the work he is thinking of here is not the "bread-and-cheese work," but that "pleasure work of books" that never ceased, for he goes on to lament that for the moment he was doing nothing original, and to express the hope that he was not going "to fall off in imagination and enthusiasm"* as he grew older. He need not have feared, for it was only in later life that he entered fully upon the inheritance of northern story and legend that inspired his best work. It was a curious case of discovered kinship. His hatred of modern civilization was part cause and part result of his passion for the early sagas. He saw in them a picture—far enough, no doubt, from the actual facts at any period, near or remote—of the brotherhood of man that he longed for. He was strangely out of place in artificial modern society, and the comradeship, the adventure, the freedom of these tales were like the breath of life to him, and one cannot doubt that they served to fan the smouldering sense of revolt that flamed out later into open rebellion against the sordid slavery of the workers as he knew them.

"I had been reading the Njala in the original before I came here," he writes from Leek, where he was busy among his dye vats. "It is better even than I remembered; the style most solemn: all men's children in it, as always in the best of the northern stories, so

* Mackail, vol. I., p. 291. Letter, dated Feb. 11th, 1873.

venerable to each other and so venerated: and the exceeding good temper of Gunnar amidst his heroism, and the calm of Njal: and I don't know anything more consoling or grander in all literature (to use a beastly French word) than Gunnar's singing in his house under the moon and the drifting clouds. What a glorious outcome of the worship of courage these stories are."*

Already in the "Earthly Paradise" we can perceive the hold they had on his mind. There is a zest and glow in "The Lovers of Gudrun" that are not to be found in the other tales. But it is in "Sigurd the Volsung," his most important literary achievement, that the influence of the north finds full expression. It was in the year 1876, when he was forty-two, that this great epic was written. One realizes the extraordinary vigor and many sidedness of the man at this middle period of his life when one remembers that it was the very time when, as we have seen, his craft work seemed to occupy every scrap of leisure. But this was not all. Great as he had proved himself as poet and craftsman, he was greater yet as man, too great to be shut in by study or workshop. Courage, energy, and patience personified, he was certain to come out into the open when the time was ripe and take his share in shaping events. It was not until middle life that the moment came. Two causes called him. In the one case the response came from his profound and growing sense of human solidarity, in the other from his reverence for the past and the work of the great men who were dead and whose art had died with them.

The "Anti-Scrape."

Indignation against the ruthless tide of restoration which was fast submerging the last traces of noble mediæval architecture finds expression again and again in the private letters transcribed by Mr. Mackail. At last, when one of the ancient parish churches that he loved so well close to his own country home was threatened, and just afterwards the beautiful Minster of Tewkesbury, indignation found vent in action. He wrote a letter to the *Athenæum*, explaining the urgency of the need, and begged all thoughtful people to join him in trying to meet it. "What I wish for is that an association should be set on foot to keep a watch on old monuments, to protest against all 'restoration' that means more than keeping out wind and weather, and by all means, literary and other, to awaken a feeling that our ancient buildings are not mere ecclesiastical toys, but sacred monuments of the nation's growth and hope." The appeal was not in vain. Within a month the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (the Anti-Scrape as he nicknamed it) was founded, with Morris for its secretary. Until his death his zeal for the cause never waned. He wrote for it a prospectus, a model of terse and simple English, which was translated into French, German, Italian, and Dutch; he poured out freely both time and money; and he gave in its interests the first of those public lectures which, fine as they were, never became a really congenial task.

* Mackail, vol. I., p. 335; 1877.

"Bulgarian Atrocities."

This was in the spring of 1877, a few months before Morris had been roused to his first political utterance by the terrible accounts of cruelty in Bulgaria and the dread lest England might take up arms against Russia in support of Turkey. "I who am writing this," he wrote in a letter to the *Daily News*, "am one of a large class of men —quiet men—who usually go about their own business, heeding public matters less than they ought, and afraid to speak in such a huge concourse as the English nation, however much they may feel, but who are now stung into bitterness by thinking how helpless they are in a public matter that touches them so closely. . . . I appeal to the working men and pray them to look to it that if this shame falls on them they will certainly remember it, and be burdened by it when their day clears for them and they attain all and more than all they are now striving for." *

I have quoted from this letter because it represents, together with the Manifesto to the Working Men of England issued a few months later, when war seemed imminent, Morris's first public utterance of Socialism. It is interesting to see that it was already tinged with distrust of a central representative government. The movement into which he threw himself with so much vigor was, however, Liberal, not Socialist, in its origin. Some leading Socialists, Hyndman for one, were indeed in the opposite camp. Long afterwards he described his surprise on meeting Morris in 1879 for the first time. "It was many years after I had enjoyed his poetry and mocked a little, as ignorant young men will, at his asthetic armchairs and wallpapers that I met the man himself. . . . I imagined him as a refined and delicate gentleman, easily overwrought by his sentiments. That was not his appearance in the flesh, as we all know. Refinement undoubtedly there was in the delicate lines of the nose and the beautiful moulding of the forehead. But his hearty voice, his jolly, vigorous frame, his easy, sailorlike dress, the whole figure, gave me a better opinion of the 'atrocity mongers,' as I considered them, than anything I have seen before or since." †

But though the Eastern question led him to act for a time with the Liberal Party, it served also to show him that it was not an organization to which the welfare of the workers could be trusted. "Working men of England," he writes in the Manifesto already mentioned, "one word of warning yet. I doubt if you know the bitterness of hatred against freedom and progress that lies at the hearts of a certain part of the richer classes in this country. . . . These men cannot speak of your order, of its aims, of its leaders, without a sneer or an insult. These men, if they had the power (may England perish rather!) would thwart your just aspirations, would silence you, would deliver you, bound hand and foot, for ever to irresponsible capital."

* Letter to the *Daily News*, October 26th, 1876, signed William Morris, Author of "The Earthly Paradise."

† *Justice* for October 6th, 1896.

Every word of the Manifesto proves that he had become a Socialist by conviction, as he had always been one by temperament, and we shall do well to pause a moment in this brief narrative of his life in order to reckon up the debt we owe to the greatest Englishman who has passed away out of our ranks.

What Socialism Owes to William Morris.

When our children's children recall the great names of the Victorian Age, there is not one will kindle a warmer interest than that of William Morris. They will remember him for his stories and poems and for his pioneer work in the revival of handicraft, but above all for the vigor and charm of his personality. He was the sort of man who impressed his friends so strongly that the impression survives, a man who excelled the ordinary man in almost every direction of human activity and was typical nevertheless of his race and his country. He was a man of genius, but his genius irradiated not merely his craftsmanship and his poetry, but everything he turned his hand to. He was an expert not merely in literature and manufacture, but in life. A robust power of enjoyment was his most marked characteristic. He insisted on enjoying things. The very utensils in his house must give joy in the using or he would not use them. Work that brought no joy was fit only for slaves. It is this abundant vitality, this love of life and the world; it is the fact that he had eyes to see and ears to hear and a heart to perceive; it is, in short, because he was an artist and a genius, that his contribution to Socialism is of outstanding value, although he proved himself but a shortsighted leader and never grappled closely with the problems we have to face. Economic reasoning was not in his line, nor details of administration, but he knew a great deal about the world we live in and how to use it to the utmost advantage. The sense of brotherhood was strong in him, and it was illuminated by insight and sympathy. We can learn, therefore, far more from the story of his approach to Socialism, of the way in which he was driven to adopt it as the only hope, than from any formal statement that he ever made of its doctrines.

The Path to Socialism.

That approach can best be traced in his popular lectures on Art, which began in the year 1877. In these lectures his sympathies are with the craftsman. He recognizes no essential difference between the artist and the workman. As a contrast to the modest ideal of a 20s., or even a 30s. minimum wage, there is something delightfully inspiriting in his claim that the hire of the workman should include "Money enough to keep him from fear of want or degradation for him and his; leisure enough from bread-earning work (even though it be pleasant to him) to give him time to read and think, and connect his own life with the life of the great world; work enough of the kind aforesaid, and praise of it, and encouragement enough to make him feel good friends with his fellows; and, lastly, not least (for 'tis verily part of the bargain), his own due share of Art,

the chief part of which will be a dwelling that does not lack the beauty which Nature would freely allow it if our own perversity did not turn Nature out of doors." "I specially wished," he writes, in answer to a complaint that he had strayed beyond the question of "mere Art," "to point out that the question of popular Art was a social question, involving the happiness or misery of the greater part of the community. The absence of popular Art from modern times is more disquieting and grievous to bear for this reason than for any other, that it betokens that fatal division of men into the cultivated and the degraded classes which competitive commerce has bred and fosters; popular Art has no chance of a healthy life, or indeed, of a life at all, till we are on the way to fill up this terrible gulf between riches and poverty. . . . It may well be a burden to the conscience of an honest man who lives a more manlike life to think of the innumerable lives which are spent in toil unrelieved by hope and uncheered by praise; men who might as well, for all the good they are doing their neighbors by their work, be turning a crank with nothing at the end of it. . . . Over and over again have I asked myself, why should not my lot be the common lot? My work is simple work enough; much of it, nor that the least pleasant, any man of decent intelligence could do if he could but get to care about the work and its results. Indeed, I have been ashamed when I have thought of the contrast between my happy working hours and the unpraised, unrewarded, monotonous drudgery which most men are condemned to. Nothing shall convince me that such labor as this is good or necessary to civilization."* It was this "burden on his conscience," growing heavier as experience and character ripened, that drove Morris to Socialism. That very insight into the happenings of human life, into joy and grief and desire which inspired his stories, enabled him to see society as in truth it was.

To him the vulgar luxury of the rich was even more hateful than the squalor of the poor. "Apart from the desire to produce beautiful things," he says, "the leading passion of my life has been and is hatred of modern civilization. . . . What shall I say concerning its mastery of and its waste of mechanical power, its Commonwealth so poor, its enemies of the Commonwealth so rich, its stupendous organization—for the misery of life; its contempt of simple pleasure, which everyone could enjoy but for its folly; its eyeless vulgarity, which has destroyed Art, the one certain solace of labor?" "The hope of the past times was gone," he goes on, telling the story of his conversion; "the struggle of mankind for many ages had produced nothing but this sordid, aimless, ugly confusion; the immediate future seemed to me likely to intensify all the present evils by sweeping away the last survivals of the days before the dull squalor of civilization had settled down on the world. This was a bad lookout, indeed, and, if I may mention myself as a personality and not as a mere type, especially so to a man of my disposition, careless of metaphysics and religion, as well as of scientific analysis,

* Letter to the *Manchester Examiner*, March, 1883.

but with a deep love of the earth and the life on it, and a passion for the history of the past of mankind. Think of it! Was it all to end in a counting-house on the top of a cinder-heap, with Podsnap's drawing-room in the offing, and a Whig Committee dealing out champagne to the rich and margarine to the poor in such convenient proportions as would make all men contented together, though the pleasure of the eyes was gone from the world and the place of Homer was to be taken by Huxley! Yet, believe me, in my heart, when I really forced myself to look towards the future, that is what I saw in it; and, as far as I could tell, scarce anyone seemed to think it worth while to struggle against such a consummation of civilization. So, then, I was in for a fine pessimistic end of life, if it had not somehow dawned on me that, amid all the filth of civilization, the seeds of a great change, what we others call Social Revolution, were beginning to germinate. The whole face of things was changed to me by that discovery, and all I had to do then in order to become a Socialist was to hook myself on to the practical movement."*

Avowal of Socialism. The S.D.F.

This "hooking on" took place in the autumn of 1882, when Morris, at the age of forty-eight, joined the Democratic Federation (which became subsequently the Social Democratic Federation, and eventually took the title of the British Socialist Party). "For my part, I used to think," he writes to a friend who remonstrated with him at this time, "that one might further real Socialistic progress by doing what one could on the lines of ordinary middle-class Radicalism. I have been driven of late into the conclusion that I was mistaken; that Radicalism is on the wrong line, so to say, and will never develop into anything more than Radicalism—in fact, that it is made for and by the middle classes, and will always be under the control of rich capitalists: they will have no objection to its *political* development, if they think they can stop it there; but, as to real social changes, they will not allow them if they can help it."†

"The contrasts of rich and poor," he writes, again to the same friend, a few days later, "are unendurable and ought not to be endured by either rich or poor. Now it seems to me that, feeling this, I am bound to act for the destruction of the system which seems to me mere oppression and obstruction. Such a system can only be destroyed by the united discontent of numbers: isolated acts of a few persons of the middle and upper-classes seeming to me (as I have said before) quite powerless against it: in other words, the antagonism of classes, which the system has bred, is the natural and necessary instrument for its destruction."‡

There was nothing half-hearted in Morris's acceptance of Socialism. He threw all his vigor, all his enthusiasm into propaganda, though it was not a kind of work that gave scope for the rarest

* "How I Became a Socialist." W. M. Reprinted from *Justice*.

† Letter to Mr. C. E. Maurice, June 22nd, 1883. See "Life of William Morris," vol. II., p. 103.

‡ Ibid.

powers of his mind and heart. It is pathetic to hear how he schooled himself to study Marx and tried to grasp economic problems, for it is only now and then, when he uses his gift as seer, that his Socialist writings spring into life and are of lasting value. His friends were grieved, naturally enough, that the poet should be lost in the lecturer, especially as he had no gift for oratory, but he made light very characteristically of any possible loss to the world. "Poetry goes with the hand-arts, I think," he says to an intimate friend, "and, like them, has now become unreal. The arts have got to die, what is left of them, before they can be born again. You know my views on the matter—I apply them to myself as well as to others. This would not, I admit, prevent my writing poetry, any more than it prevents my doing my pattern work, because the mere personal pleasure of it urges one to the work; but it prevents my looking at it as a sacred duty. . . . . Meantime the propaganda gives me work to do which, unimportant as it seems, is part of a great whole which cannot be lost, and that ought to be enough for me." *

The Socialist League.

But it was not only the toughness of economic theory that made his new duties distasteful. From the first there were dissensions in the camp. "I find myself drifting," he says, "into the disgraceful position of a moderator and patcher up, which is much against my inclination." Worse still was to follow. The patching up was unsuccessful, and Morris found himself, in the beginning of 1885, the leader of a small body of seceders who took the name of the Socialist League.

For six years he gave much time and money to the internal management of the League, as well as to the revolutionary propaganda, which was its avowed object, and which was carried on chiefly by means of the *Commonweal*, first a monthly and afterwards a weekly paper, edited † and to a large extent written by Morris. Surely no Socialist paper can show a record so brilliant. "The Dream of John Ball" and "News from Nowhere" appeared in it as serials, and a long poem, "The Pilgrims of Hope," of which some portions stand high among his finest work—"Mother and Son," for instance, and "The Half of Life Gone."

In addition to these weightier contributions, few numbers are without some paragraph from his pen, all the more arresting from its simple familiar wording, that brings us directly into touch with his views on life and events.

Take this explanation, for instance, of the revolutionary attitude of the League from the first weekly issue, May 1st, 1886:—

"We believe that the advanced part of the capitalist class, especially in this country, is drifting, not without a feeling of fear and discomfort, towards State Socialism of the crudest kind; and a certain school of Socialists are fond of pointing out this tendency

* Letter to Mr. C. E. Maurice. See "Life of William Morris," vol. II., pp. 106, 107.
† E. Belfort Bax was joint-editor with William Morris.

with exultation. . . . . But there is another thing besides bourgeois stumbling into State Socialism which shows which way the tide is setting, and that is the instinctive revolutionary attempts which drive them into these courses. What is to be said about these? They are leaderless often and half blind. But are they fruitful of nothing but suffering to the workers? We think not; for besides the immediate gain which they force from the dominant class as above said, they are a stern education for the workers themselves. . . . . The worst thing that we have to dread is that the oppressed people will learn a dull contentment with their lot. . . . . The rudest and most unsuccessful attempts at revolution are better than that." "The real business of Socialists," writes Morris in another number, "is to impress on the workers the fact that they are a class, whereas they ought to be society. If we mix ourselves up with Parliament, we shall confuse and dull this fact in people's minds, instead of making it clear and intensifying it." * And again, under the heading "Unattractive Labour": "It is no real paradox to say that the unattractiveness of labor, which is now the curse of the world, will become the hope of the world. As long as the workman could sit at home working easily and quietly, his long hours of labor mattered little to him, and other evils could be borne. . . . . But now that labor has become a mere burden, the disease of a class, that class will, by all means, try to throw it off, to lessen its weight, and in their efforts to do so they must of necessity destroy society, which is founded on the patient bearing of that burden. . . . . True, their masters, taught prudence by fear, will try, are trying, various means to make the workers bear their burden; but one after the other they will be found out and discredited. Philanthropy has had its day and is gone, thrift and self-help are going; participation in profits, parliamentarianism and universal suffrage, State Socialism will have to go the same road, and the workers will be face to face at last with the fact that modern civilization, with its elaborate hierarchy and iron drill, is founded on their intolerable burden, and then no shortening of the day's work which would leave profit to the employer will make their labor hours short enough. They will see that modern society can only exist as long as they bear *their* burden with some degree of patience; their patience will be worn out, and to pieces will modern society go."

After a visit to Leeds and Bradford he writes: "The constant weight of drill in these highly organized industries has necessarily limited the intelligence of the men and deadened their individuality, while the system is so powerful and searching that they find it difficult to conceive of any system under which they could be other than human machines." † Elsewhere we find the same idea condensed into an epigram: "Individual profit makers are not a necessity for labor, but an obstruction to it." ‡

* "Socialism and Politics." Supplement to *Commonweal*, July, 1885.
† *Commonweal*, May 8th, 1886.
‡ Ibid, July 2nd, 1887.

Speaking of "Education under Capitalism" he says: "My heart sank under Mr. McChoakumchild and his method, and I thought how much luckier I was to have been born well enough off to be sent to a school where I was taught—nothing, but learned archæology and romance on the Wiltshire Downs."*

Under the heading "How We Live and How We Might Live" he writes: "Often when I have been sickened by the stupidity of the mean, idiotic rabbit warrens that rich men build for themselves in Bayswater and elsewhere, I console myself with visions of the noble Communal Hall of the future, unsparing of materials, generous in worthy ornament, alive with the noblest thoughts of our time, and the past embodied in the best art which free and manly people could produce; such an abode of man as no private enterprise could come near for beauty and fitness, because only collective thought and collective life could cherish the aspirations which would give birth to its beauty or have the skill and leisure that could carry them out."†

Popular Control of Administration.

These cuttings from the *Commonweal* show that the views of the League were definitely revolutionary, and this is clearly stated in its Manifesto. There was to be no tinkering, no half measures; the basis of society was to be changed. "No number of merely administrative changes, until the workers are in possession of all political power, would make any real approach to Socialism." "By political power," Morris goes on to explain, "we do not mean the exercise of the franchise or even the fullest development of the representative system, but the direct control by the people of the whole administration of the community whatever the ultimate destiny of that administration is to be."‡

Communism.

One seeks in vain in the Manifesto for any definite suggestions as to the method in which this "direct control" was to be exercised, but Morris's lectures throw some light on the ideal of social organization that he had formed. "Those who see this view of the new society," he says, "believe that decentralization in it would be complete. The political unit with them would be not a nation, but a commune. The whole of reasonable society would be a great federation of such communes. . . . A nation is a body of people kept together for purposes of rivalry and war with other similar bodies, and when competition shall have given place to combination the function of the nation will be gone." "I will recapitulate," he continues, "the two views taken by Socialists as to the future of society. According to the first, the State—that is, the nation organized for unwasteful production and exchange of wealth—will be the sole possessor of the national plant and stock, the sole

* *Commonweal*, June 30th, 1888. † Ibid, July 2nd, 1887.

‡ Manifesto of the Socialist League. A new edition, annotated by W. Morris and Belfort Bax. 1885.

employer of labor, which she will so regulate in the general interest that no man will ever need to fear lack of employment and due earnings therefrom. . . . According to the other view, the centralized nation would give place to a federation of communities, who would hold all wealth in common, and would use that wealth for satisfying the needs of each member, only exacting from each that he should do his best according to his capacity towards the production of the common wealth. . . .

"These two views of the future of society are sometimes opposed to each other as Socialism and Communism; but to my mind the latter is simply the necessary development of the former, which implies a transition period during which people would be getting rid of the habits of mind bred by the long ages of tyranny and commercial competition, and be learning that it is to the interest of each that all should thrive. When men had lost the fear of each other engendered by our system of artificial famine, they would feel that the best way of avoiding the waste of labor would be to allow every man to take what he needed from the common store, since he would have no temptation or opportunity of doing anything with a greater portion than he really needed for his personal use. Thus would be minimized the danger of the community falling into bureaucracy, the multiplication of boards and offices, and all the paraphernalia of official authority, which is after all a burden, even when it is exercised by the delegation of the whole people and in accordance with their wishes." *

Any detailed scheme of State Socialism roused ire and repugnance in Morris, though one does not deny that towards the end of his life he was brought in a chastened spirit to bow his neck to the Fabian yoke. Still, his submission had the unreality of a death bed repentance. The creed was, in truth, alien to his nature. His hopes and wishes for the future were dominated by the glorious visions of free human activity, of pride and joy in the work of one's hands and brain, which he associated, rightly or wrongly, with the past. It was not only capitalism which he hated. The tameness and elaboration of modern mechanical production would be just as odious to him if the plant were in State ownership and the management in the hands of Government officials. His delightful rural idyll, "News from Nowhere," was written, Mr. Mackail tells us, as a protest against the apotheosis of centralization and of urban life held up as the social ideal by Mr. Bellamy in his "Looking Backward." Characteristically enough the land of Morris's prevision was a Utopia for the worker rather than for the consumer. The production of wealth interested him more than its enjoyment, the joy of making more than the joy of spending.

"Mr. Bellamy worries himself unnecessarily," he wrote in the *Commonweal* for June, 1889, "in seeking, with obvious failure, some incentive to labor to replace the fear of starvation, which is at

* "The Labor Question from the Socialist Standpoint." W. Morris. (One of a Course of Lectures on "The Claims of Labor.") Edinburgh Co-operative Printing Company, Limited. 1886.

present our only one ; whereas it cannot be too often repeated that the true incentive to useful and happy labor is, and must be, pleasure in the work itself." How to preserve, or rather how to recover, that incentive is for Morris the problem of problems ; but it is one that the orthodox Socialist is apt to overlook, although the man in the street, that much underrated critic, is always ready to remind him of it. It is the old story once more of being led astray by that mythological person, the economic man. The social reformer constructs, or rather designs, an organization of industry which threatens to totter as soon as it is built for want of just this foundation stone, the significance of which was instantly apparent to the eye of the poet, though to the economist it seemed a negligable detail. And here we come upon the real mission of William Morris to his generation, his special function in the Socialist movement. A craftsman himself, he thought of the worker not as an abstraction, but as a comrade, with motives more or less like his own. This vital sympathetic outlook led him, no doubt, into blunders from time to time, especially in his dealings with individuals, but it preserved him from some serious and common errors. His view of the future, of the new social structure for which we are all working, may have been one sided, but the side he saw was the side unseen by men immersed in questions of administrative reform or in organizing the class war. Fabians and Social Democrats were alike in this. They were apt to leave out of their calculations the humanization of the worker in and through his work, of bringing home to him the realization of his own place in the social economy. A decent life for the workman, the recognition on his own part of the dignity of his work, seemed to Morris not merely the end for which we were striving, but the only means of attaining it. "It is necessary to point out," he writes, "that there are some Socialists who do not think that the problem of the organization of life and necessary labor can be dealt with by a huge national centralization, working by a kind of magic for which no one feels himself responsible ; that, on the contrary, it will be necessary for the unit of administration to be small enough for every citizen to feel himself responsible for its details and be interested in them ; that individual men cannot shuffle off the business of life on to the shoulders of an abstraction called the State, but must deal with each other ; that variety of life is as much an aim of true Communism as equality of condition, and that nothing but an union of these two will bring about real freedom ; that modern nationalities are mere artificial devices for the commercial war that we seek to put an end to, and will disappear with it ; and, finally, that art, using the word in its widest and due signification, is not a mere adjunct of life which free and happy men can do without, but the necessary expression and indispensable instrument of human happiness." *

Distrust of Political Action.

In his own day Morris stood almost alone among Socialists in his distrust of political action, of a "huge national centralization working

* Review of "Looking Backward" in the *Commonweal* for June, 1889, by W. M.

by a kind of magic." It is true that there were in England two antagonistic types of Socialism, but their opposition was one of method rather than of aim. Both intended to capture the Government of the country, in the one case by revolutionary, in the other by more insidious methods. Morris, on the other hand, was inclined to throw the government of the country to the winds and to scorn the notion of a democratic control of industry exercised by means of a parliamentary vote. He never committed himself, so far as I know, as to the actual means by which any other kind of control by the "useful classes" was to be brought into being, but there seems little doubt that, if he were alive now, we should find him in the Syndicalist camp. A deep distrust of salvation by means of the vote would lead him there, and a profound belief that revolutionary activity in the working class can be more effectively evoked and fostered by bringing home to them the sense of their social responsibility as workers than as parliamentary constituents. In the one case interest is focussed on party politics, usually in their crudest form, and the lesson learned by the worker is a lesson in docility: he is taught to function smoothly as a wheel in the party machine. In the other case he is brought face to face with the actual problems of industrial production and organization; he learns to be resourceful and self-reliant and to take his place consciously and intelligently in the great enterprise of providing for the needs of mankind. I have said that Morris never committed himself as to the method in which this direct connection between the worker and the organization of industry was to be effected, but a private letter of his, written in 1888, gives a naif and vivid picture of industrial society as he visualized it in the future and the supercession of government: "Our present representative system," he writes, "is the reflection of our class society. The fact of the antagonism of classes underlies all our government, and causes political parties. . . . . The business of a statesman is to balance the greed and fears of the proprietary class against the necessities and demands of the working class. This is a sorry business, and leads to all kinds of trickery and evasion, so that it is more than doubtful whether a statesman can be a moderately honest man. Now, the control of classes being abolished, all this would fall to the ground. The relations of men to each other would become personal; wealth would be looked upon as an instrument of life and not as a reason for living, and therefore dominant over men's lives. Whatever laws existed would be much fewer, very simple, and easily understood by all; they would mostly concern the protection of the person. In dealing with property, its fetish quality having disappeared, its use only would have to be considered, e.g., shall we (the public) work this coal mine or shut it up? Is it necessary for us to lay down this park in wheat, or can we afford to keep it as a place of recreation? Will it be desirable to improve this shoemaking machine, or can we go on with it as it is? Will it be necessary to call for special volunteers to cultivate yonder fen, or will the action of the law of compensation be inducement enough for its cultivation? And so forth. . . .

"To return to our government of the future, which would be rather an administration of things than a government of persons. Nations, as political entities, would cease to exist. Civilization would mean the federalization of a variety of communities, great and small, at one end of which would be the township and the local guild, and at the other some central body whose function would be almost entirely the guardianship of the *principles* of society. . . . Between these two poles there would be various federations, which would grow together or dissolve as convenience of place, climate, language, etc., dictated, and would dissolve peaceably when occasion prompted. Of course public intercourse between the members of the federation would have to be carried on by means of delegation, but the delegates would not pretend to represent anyone or anything but the business with which they are delegated, e.g., 'We are a shoemaking community chiefly, you cotton spinners. Are we making too many shoes?' Shall we turn, some of us, to gardening for a month or two, or shall we go on?' And so forth. . . . To my mind the essential thing to this view . . . is the township, or parish, or ward, or local guild, small enough to manage its own affairs directly. And I don't doubt that gradually all public business would be so much simplified that it would come to little more than a correspondence. 'Such are the facts with us; compare them with the facts with you. You know how to act.' So that we should tend to the abolition of all government, and even of all regulations that were not really habitual; and voluntary association would become a necessary habit and the only bond of society." *

It will be noticed that Morris differs both from Kropotkin with his "groups" and from most of the modern Syndicalists with their industrial guilds in localizing the communities that are to constitute his social framework. Notwithstanding his conviction that men must be organized as producers, his home loving nature refused to conceive a society which made light of the ties of neighborhood, of growth in a common soil. England was very dear to him as a land, though not as a nation; and still dearer was the corner of England where he was born and bred. If we understand Morris and his attitude towards the future, we shall see that his Socialism was revolutionary and uncompromising just because he was conservative at heart. The transition period, as he called it, of State Socialism was distasteful to him because it seemed to substitute a dull uniformity for the detail and variety of the past. He admitted eventually that it was bound to come, he saw that it was coming by means of humdrum agitation followed by humdrum legislation, but he could never feel any enthusiasm about it.

Education towards Revolution.

We have seen that the split with the Social Democratic Federation, in so far as it was not due merely to personal misunderstandings, was a protest against circuitous and indirect methods of

* Letters on Socialism by W. Morris to Rev. G. Bainton. London. Privately printed. 1894. (Only thirty-four copies.)

advance. His desire was to found a Socialist Party which should begin to act at once not by permeating cultivated people, nor by gaining representation in Parliament, but by raising a standard of revolt to which the oppressed could rally. His one encouragement in making a new attempt had been the signs of discontent among the masses. To focus this discontent and render it articulate was his purpose in forming the Socialist League. A passionate hatred had grown up in him of a society which seemed to him "mere cannibalism," "so corrupt, so steeped in hypocrisy, that one turns from one stratum of it to another with hopeless loathing." In one direction only did he see hope, the road to revolution; but that road, as he saw it, was gradual and arduous. To educate a strong party of workers in the aims of Socialism, so that when the seething forces of popular discontent could no longer be restrained, leaders should be forthcoming among the people to tell them what to aim at and what to ask for. An aimless revolt, leading to counter revolution, seemed to him a threatening calamity. Looking back to that period, a quarter of a century ago, we see that Morris over estimated the danger of a premature upheaval. Society was not ripe for it. Education was needed not merely to guide, but to produce that impatience of injustice and oppression which must be the motive power in such an upheaval. He believed that the new birth of society was at hand, and that the work for Socialists was to strive to help it forward, so that it might come with as little confusion and suffering as might be. "Education towards revolution seems to me," he said, "to express in three words what our policy should be." It was a policy which separated him on the one hand from Parliamentarians and Opportunists, and on the other from Anarchists ready for all risks of immediate revolution; and so it came about that the League grew but slowly, and steered with difficulty between Scylla and Charybdis. Morris held the helm as long as he could, but from the first the road to revolution that he saw had little attraction for most of his comrades. After a few years a policy of high handed robbery, of bombs and barricades, came to be openly advocated by many voluble members of the League, and in 1889 these views were so much in the ascendant that Morris was actually deposed from the control of the *Commonweal*, dependent as it still was on him both for matter and money. He continued to write for it until November, 1890, when he published in it a final statement of his views under the title "Where Are We Now?" After reviewing the seven years that had elapsed since Socialism had "come to life again," he goes on to describe the two lines on which the "methods of impatience" profess to work, the line of "palliation" and the line of "partial inconsequent revolt," and then explains his own policy, which differed as much from one as from the other. "Our business," he concludes, "is the making of Socialists, i.e., convincing people that Socialism is good for them and is possible. When we have enough people of that way of thinking, they will find out what action is necessary for putting their principles in practice."

This dignified protest was ill received by the majority of the members of the League, and Morris had no choice but to sever his connection with a body whose policy he disapproved.

Hammersmith Socialist Society.

After his withdrawal it struggled on for eighteen months, and then ended dramatically with the arrest of the printer and publisher of the *Commonweal*. Meanwhile Morris and the little group who shared his views organized themselves as the Hammersmith Socialist Society, and issued a circular drafted by Morris to the provincial branches of the League explaining their action.

The membership was very small at first, and never became large. Mr. Emery Walker was secretary and Morris treasurer, and the meetings took place in Kelmscott House.

Until the end of his life Morris relaxed no whit in enthusiasm for the cause, and his opposition towards Anarchism grew stronger rather than weaker. "It is not the dissolution of society for which we strive," he writes in December, 1890, "but its reintegration. The idea put forward by some who attack present society of the complete independence of every individual, that is, of freedom without society, is not merely impossible of realization, but, when looked into, turns out to be inconceivable." *

Seven Years of Peaceful Work.

But though his belief in Socialism was as strong as ever, he became convinced, as time went on, that the active work immediately called for was work unsuited to his taste and to his powers.

"In all the wearisome shilly shally of parliamentary politics I should be absolutely useless, and the immediate end to be gained, the pushing things just a trifle nearer to State Socialism, which, when realized, seems to me but a dull goal, all this quite sickens me. Also I know that there are a good many other idealists (if I may use that word of myself) who are in the same position, and I don't see why they should not hold together and keep out of the vestry business, necessary as that may be. Preaching the ideal is surely always necessary. Yet, on the other hand, I sometimes vex myself by thinking that perhaps I am not doing the most I can merely for the sake of a piece of 'preciousness.'" †

To make use of Morris for organizing meetings and speaking at street corners was to dig with a damascened sword blade. He was here to show how life, even in the nineteenth century, could be full of variety and delight. The revival of the lost art of printing, the engrossing occupation of his latest years, was a return to the true work of his life. We are glad to remember that the seven years of stress and turmoil, when he fought so nobly for the ideal that lay always before him, were succeeded by seven years of serene and happy work, which has left the world richer in all the crafts that subserve the making of books.

* Manifesto of the Hammersmith Socialist Society.

† Letter to Mrs. Burne-Jones, dated July 29th, 1888, quoted in Mackail's "Life of William Morris," vol. ii, p. 206.

To the last, however, he went on lecturing from time to time on Socialism. On October 30th, 1895, just a year before his death, he gave an address to inaugurate the Oxford Socialist Union. A few months later he was present at the New Year's Meeting of the Social Democratic Federation, and made there a short but noble and touching speech on behalf of unity. Two days afterwards he gave his last Sunday evening lecture at Kelmscott House, again on the same subject, the title being "One Socialist Party."

One more year marked by failing strength but unfailing industry was spent in seeing through the press the greatest of his printing achievements, the Kelmscott Chaucer, and in composing the last of his long series of stories, "The Sundering Flood."

He died on October 3rd, 1896, aged 62, and was buried in the little churchyard at Kelmscott. The body was borne to the grave in an open haycart, festooned with vines, alders, and bulrushes, and driven by a countryman.

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The Collected Works, edited by Miss MAY MORRIS, are in course of publication by Longmans and Co., in 24 volumes, at £12 12s. the set. The volumes are not sold separately.

Extracts from the works of William Morris have been made by the kind permission of his literary executors; the right to reprint extracts from J. W. Mackail's "Life" has been purchased from Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.

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(TO BE SIGNED BY ALL MEMBERS.)

(*Adopted May 23rd*, 1919.)

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Fabian Tract No. 168

JOHN STUART MILL

By JULIUS WEST

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Biographical Series No. 4. Price Threepence. Published and sold by the Fabian Society, at the Fabian Bookshop, 25 Tothill St., Westminster, S.W. 1. . . Published January 1913. Second reprint November 1923.

JOHN STUART MILL.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

ACROSS the bleak desert of intellect which coincides with the first fifty years of the reign of Queen Victoria there run numerous uncertain pathways, all starting from the Temple of Mammon. These pathways meet and mingle in all sorts of unexpected, complicated fashions, and the majority of them lead nowhere. One, known as Carlyle, for example, appears ever to be getting more distant from the Temple, but in the end goes no farther than Chelsea. Another, called Ruskin, leaves the Temple of Mammon with a grand blazing of trumpets, but, going a little way, stops before a Gothic Temple, and the call of the trumpet is converted to the dronings of an organ. Of all the pathways, Mill is perhaps the clearest. It sets out from the front parlour of a man, Bentham, of whom more will be said; it leads down a steep precipice called the Wages Fund Theory (where danger notices have been but lately erected); it traverses a bit of boggy ground which is marked on the maps as the Law of Population; it turns a few curious corners, when, lo, the Promised Land is in sight.

Now, as to this man Bentham. About 1800 there was in existence a body of philosophers who believed that the purpose of all human effort should be the increase of the sum total of human happiness; with real, perfervid energy and emotion they sought, in their own words, "the greatest good of the greatest number." Of these Bentham was the founder, and when he died, in 1832, he left a particularly unpleasant prison at Westminster (the Millbank Penitentiary) as a monument to his endeavours to increase human happiness. In 1808, when Bentham was sixty years of age, he made the acquaintance of a rigid and logical Scotsman named James Mill. Mill sat at Bentham's feet, assimilated his doctrines, made them a shade more rigid, and finally became Bentham's lieutenant. And Mill dedicated his (at that time) only son, John Stuart, that the youngster, who was only born in 1806, should be a worthy successor to the two friends, and should continue to proclaim the truths of Utilitarianism to all the world. The history of the intellectual life of J. S. Mill is contained in his efforts to escape from the narrow individualistic creed of his progenitors, real and spiritual, and his gradual approach towards Socialism.

We need not close our eyes to the fact that Bentham was a power, that he profoundly influenced the evolution of the law and of public administration, to be nevertheless extremely critical of his influence upon J. S. Mill. At this distance from the Benthamites it is difficult to realize how starkly intense was their individualism. "Laissez faire" with them was more than a theory; it was a faith. Bentham, who wrote on almost everything, produced a small

"Manual of Political Economy," from whose dark, unfathomed depths the following gem has been extracted: "With the view of causing an increase to take place in the mass of national wealth, or with a view to increase of the means either of subsistence or enjoyment, without some special reason, the general rule is that nothing ought to be done or attempted by government. The motto or watchword of government on these occasions ought to be—*Be quiet.*" * He died in 1832, at the age of eighty-four, leaving behind him one hundred and forty boxes of manuscript. For many years his life had been that of a tabulating machine with a mania for neologizing. He invented, for example, seven classes of "Offences against the positive increase of the National Felicity." † These include the heinous crimes of offending against epistemo-threptic, antembletic and hedomonarchic trusts. He is at present probably tabulating and renaming the numerous varieties of asbestos.

The Misfortunes of Mill: His Father.

But long before his death James Mill, observing that the mantle of Bentham was in danger of being soiled by continual dragging through the muddy waters of the elder's verbiage, took it from his shoulders and placed it upon his own. (This is no mere figure of speech; for the unpruned language of Bentham's later days was incomprehensible to the public, and so his notes had to be edited and his books written by his disciples.) With James Mill there is little need for us to tarry. He is best remembered by his character and his eldest son.

James Mill came to London from Scotland, and having for some years earned a precarious living by journalism, proceeded to write a History of India. It appeared in 1817, the result of nine years hard work. That he had no first hand knowledge of his subject was, he considered, all to the good. It permitted full play to the objective attitude. But the three substantial resultant volumes of conscientious drought brought him a reward. Established as an authority on the country he had never seen, he succeeded in obtaining a post in the office of the East India Company. In 1836, the year of his death, he was drawing a salary of £2,000.

The Misfortunes of Mill: His Upbringing.

In the intervals of his journalistic work, and, later, in the leisure accorded by his official duties, James Mill educated his son. The course of instruction prescribed and administered by this, the most ruthless of all parents, was encyclopædic in its scope and devastating in its character. John Stuart Mill, while yet infant and amorphous, was destined by his father for leadership and educated accordingly. In his "Autobiography" (p. 3) he says, "I have no recollection of the time when I began to learn Greek; I have been told it was when I was three years old." At the age of seven he had read the first six dialogues of Plato, and subsequently acted as teacher to his younger brothers and sisters. Such inexorability as his

* Works, Ed. Bowring, 1843.
† "Principles of Morals and Legislation," Chap. XVI.

father's in teaching young minds to shoot would lead many to suicide. There is little need to detail. The practice of long walks with his father, in which instruction was combined with exercise, was perhaps the principal reason for J. S. Mill's physical survival. Intellectually, his persistence to years of discretion must be credited to his heredity. Of boyhood he had none. Says Mill: "He was earnestly bent upon my escaping not only the corrupting influence which boys exercise over boys, but the contagion of vulgar modes of thought and feeling; and for this he was willing that I should pay the price of inferiority in the accomplishments which schoolboys in all countries chiefly cultivate."* It is astonishing that this system did not convert his brain into a sort of *pâté de foie gras*. But he survived. The worst efforts of his father failed to affect the stability of his marvellous brain. Having left his childhood with his cradle, he proceeded to absorb all that there was to be absorbed of Greek and Latin, mathematics, history, both ancient and modern, and the remaining subjects prescribed by convention and his father's views. At the age when, nowadays, he might be qualifying for a Boy Scout, Mill took to philosophy, psychology and logic. In 1823 (age 17) his father obtained him a clerkship in the India House, where he remained until 1858. About this time he began to write for the *Edinburgh* and *Westminster Reviews*. In 1825 he "edited," in manner aforesaid, Bentham's "Rationale of Judicial Evidence," much to his own edification.

The Strenuous Life.

Of this period of his life, when the rigidity of parental control had been somewhat relaxed, it would have been not unreasonable to expect that Mill, like Richard Feverel, might have rebelled against the "system." Far from it; the process had been too thorough. Mill never sowed any wild oats of any species whatsoever; he did not even cut down the familial apple-tree. At the age of twenty he virtually founded the "London Debating Society," which seems to have been something like the Fabian Society would have been if it had no Basis and no external objects. To this belonged, amongst others, Macaulay, Edward Bulwer Lytton, a large number of incipient reputations, and the *élite* of the Oxford and Cambridge Unions. Concurrently with the existence of this society, Mill and Grote, the future historian, formed a study circle which met twice a week at the latter's house for the discussion of Economics. When this subject contained no more unexplored regions, the circle took up Logic and Analytical Psychology. In all the meetings extended over five years, giving Mill an additional stratum upon which to base his subsequent work. As one result of these meetings, we should note the "Essays on Unsettled Questions in Political Economy," which was written about 1830-31, but not published until 1844.

Throughout this whole period Mill was a frequent contributor to the Reviews. His literary output previous to 1843 was voluminous, but consisted almost entirely of criticism. In that year he published his first classic, "A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive; being

* "Autobiography," p. 20.

a connected view of the principles of evidence and the methods of scientific investigation." To this portentous work belonged all the characteristics enumerated above of his father's "India"; it was perhaps the most important book of its time, and its merits were such that eight editions were exhausted in the author's lifetime. Having completed this, Mill shortly turned his attention to his next classic work, which appeared in 1848. Of this, the "Principles of Political Economy," more will be said later, when some of its points will be examined. These two books are Mill's most substantial contributions to human thought. Of those of his smaller works with which we shall be concerned the most important are the "Representative Government" and the "Subjection of Women." These each contain, roughly, the full development of a single idea, and, although by no means trivial, are scarcely entitled to rank with his "classic" works. Before allowing his books to speak for themselves, the outstanding features of the remainder of his life must be stated.

His Marriage.

In the first place, as to Mill's marriage. At the age of twenty-three Mill became acquainted with a Mrs. Taylor, wife of a City drysalter. He sat at her feet some sixteen years, when she became a widow, and two years afterwards Mill and she were married. He continued to sit at her feet for seven more years, until 1858, when she died. Of her he writes throughout in terms of extreme admiration, which, coming from a man of Mill's dispassionate temperament, approach rhapsody. For example, in dedicating his "Liberty" to her, the year following her death, he concludes with these words: "Were I but capable of interpreting to the world one half the great thoughts and noble feelings which are buried in her grave I should be the medium of a greater benefit to it than is ever likely to arise from anything that I can write, unprompted and unassisted by her all but unrivalled wisdom." Mill's biographers, Leslie Stephen and Bain, are somewhat sceptical. Bain writes, "Grote used to say 'only John Mill's reputation could survive such displays.'"* There is no point in endeavouring to estimate the accuracy of such declarations; we must take Mill's word and leave it at that, perhaps with the added comment that a woman capable of inspiring such depths of feeling would also be capable of affecting the quality of Mill's work; of improving it without necessarily herself touching it.

In the year of her death the East India Company ceased to exist. The Indian Mutiny had convinced the Government that it was, on the whole, inadvisable to run an empire by private enterprise, and the business of administering India was nationalized. The Company, of course, was unwilling, and resisted the divestment of its interests. It fell to Mill, by this time virtually in command at India House, to draft the Company's petition for reprieve, in a document which was pronounced by Earl Grey "the ablest State paper he had ever read."† But all in vain; the India Office superseded the India House, and Mill was retired on a pension of £1,500.

* Bain, "J. S. Mill: a Criticism," p. 167.
† Bain, p. 96.

M.P. for Westminster.

Then Mill went into Parliament. The story of his election, which took place in 1865, is strikingly characteristic of Mill's tenacity of opinion and undeviating pursuit of whatever path of conduct he held to be right. In these days the term "principle" is in danger of obliteration, save only in so far as it enters into the adjective "unprincipled," and Mill's own account of the election has a distinctly humorous touch. Westminster was the favoured constituency. He writes, for example, "I was convinced that no numerous or influential portion of any electoral body really wished to be represented by a person of my opinions. . . . It was, and is, my fixed conviction that a candidate ought not to incur one farthing of expense for undertaking a public duty. . . . I felt, therefore, that I ought not to seek election to Parliament, much less to expend any money in procuring it."* Authors are not generally gifted with such a degree of self-effacement, not to mention politicians. However, a body of electors came and asked Mill to stand, and he, having "put their disposition to the proof by one of the frankest explanations ever tendered, I should think, to an electoral body by a candidate,"† consented. A well known "literary man was heard to say that the Almighty himself would have no chance of being elected on such a programme."‡ The result of this amazing election was that Mill secured a majority of 700 over W. H. Smith, his Conservative competitor. He attached himself to Gladstone, but in fact retained his independence, and not infrequently opposed his own party. He remained in Parliament for three years, during which he took a prominent part in the troublous passage of the Reform Bill of '67, and otherwise. It was on an occasion connected with this Reform agitation that the Hyde Park railings were pushed down. Mill appears to have mediated between the demonstrators and the Government with the result that serious collisions were prevented. It was not to be expected that the miracle would happen twice; Mill was not re-elected. He himself does not seem to have greatly regretted losing his seat.

The Last Years.

So he went back to his books and to Avignon, to pass the remaining years of his life near his wife's grave. He there wrote the "Subjection of Women," and planned a book on Socialism, which was left unfinished. These and voluminous replies to correspondents appear to have been the principal occupations of the years 1868-73. In the latter year he died, at Avignon, as the result of a local epidemic disease.

This is but the briefest sketch of Mill's life. The four aspects of his work most likely to interest Socialists will be studied separately. Until his work has been discussed it is useless to attempt framing an estimate of his influence. Moreover, we shall not be dealing at all with some of perhaps his most important aspects. As a Rationalist and as a Philosopher he takes a high place amongst the world's thinkers, but we need only study him in his relation to society.

* "Autobiography," p. 160. † Ibid., p. 161. ‡ Ibid., p. 162.

In 1865, the year Mill went into Parliament, he published his substantial "Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy," a work from which most Englishmen drew their philosophy for the subsequent decade. He had already (1863) published "Utilitarianism," wherein the opinions of Bentham and his father were rendered with more qualification than sympathy. "On Liberty" (1859), in which he and his wife collaborated, is a fine piece of writing, but curiously inconsequent, and does not advocate anything more exciting than non-interference, and not always that.

Mill was an honourable, upright man, capable of commanding firm friendships and the greatest respect. "Saint of Rationalism" was the title bestowed on him by Gladstone. Herbert Spencer gives many instances of Mill's generosity, and wrote an almost emotional obituary notice.* His was a noble, unselfish life, and with it passed perhaps the greatest purifying force of the last century.

ECONOMIST.

Economics in 1836.

Roughly speaking, Mill's work as an economist may be summed up by saying that he found economics a body of doctrines and left it a body of doctrine. For the first time the mass of theories evolved by and since Adam Smith were integrated into a coherent and, on the whole, a moderately consistent statement. Adam Smith popularized economics; that is to say, for all practical purposes he founded it. A little later Malthus added the theory of population with considerations arising therefrom. Sir Edward West introduced the notion of the margin of cultivation. Ricardo stated the idea of economic rent. Nassau Senior evolved the quaint "abstinence" theory—abstinence being "a term by which we express the conduct of a person who either abstains from the unproductive use of what he can command, or designedly prefers the production of remote to that of immediate results."† They took this sort of thing very seriously in 1836. It will be readily understood therefore that the seventy years following the publication of the "Wealth of Nations" (1776) had literally made a hash of economics. It had appeared with certain pretensions to be a science; it had degenerated into a gallimaufry. Hence the importance of Mill's work.

The Perils of Population.

Yet the result was not altogether satisfactory. Mill's unfortunate education was to blame. He had started life upon a Ricardian diet, and absorbed Malthus with depressing avidity. Hence he was incapable of seeing facts for himself: he could squeeze out the full content of other writers' syllogisms, but himself refrained from stating new premises. To the end of his days he was haunted by the bogey of population; he despaired of ever achieving a state where the distribution of wealth should be equitable; multiplication

* See Appendix G. Spencer, "Autobiography," Vol. II.

† Senior, "Political Economy," p. 58.

would hinder division. It is seldom that philoprogenitiveness was dealt with as severely as by this son of a philoprogenitive father. Sinking for a moment his accustomed humanitarianism, he descends to the level of a hardened official of the Charity Organization Society. "Poverty," he declares, "like most social evils, exists because men follow their brute instincts without due consideration." In a footnote he adds: "Little improvement can be expected in morality until the producing of large families is regarded with the same feelings as drunkenness or any other physical excess."* His whole attitude towards social reforms is tempered by the fear that, perhaps, they would only increase man's unfortunate liability to be born; that generosity would merely induce generation.

Hence Mill's condemnation of a minimum wage, legal or moral. "If nothing more were necessary than a compulsory accumulation (*i.e.*, of money to be available for wages), sufficient to provide employment at ample wages for the existing numbers of the people, such a proposition would have no more strenuous supporter than myself. Society mainly consists of those who live by bodily labour; and if society, that is, if the labourers lend their physical force to protect individuals in the enjoyment of superfluities, they are entitled to do so, and have always done so, with the reservation of a power to tax those superfluities for purposes of public utility, amongst which purposes the subsistence of the people is the foremost. Since no one is responsible for having been born, no pecuniary sacrifice is too great to be made by those who have more than enough for the purpose of securing enough to all persons already in existence." † All of which shows how Mill's progress towards Socialism was turned aside by an optical illusion. He could not realize, as Sadler had already realized, that comfort was a very potent preventive check, and that Malthus, whose anxieties were justifiable at the time he wrote, would be disproved by the lapse of time.

Wages and Welfare.

Of Trade Unions and their future development Mill does not seem to have had much idea. On the first occasion when he refers in his published works to unions, in a pleasantly amusing letter to Carlyle, written from Paris, he slightly jests at their expense. On the authority of an "impartial" person, he states of French Unions, that "their object is not so much more money as to elevate their rank in society, since at present the gentlemen will not keep company with them, and they will not keep company with the common labourers." ‡ That was in 1833. In later years his views were softened. He could never recognize that trade unions were of much positive utility, even though he would not admit they were actually harmful. But Mill's keen sense of justice made him actually befriend the unions, without admitting their efficiency. Wages, he believed, were settled for the individual by competition between masters and workers. So long as the masters could do as they pleased in order

* "Principles," Book II., Chap. XIII.
† "Principles," Book II., Chap. XII.
‡ "Letters," p. 74.

to lower wages, so long was it unjust to forbid workers to combine in order to raise wages. He inveighs against combination laws, "laws enacted and maintained for the declared purpose of keeping wages low," because "such laws exhibit the infernal spirit of the slave master, who, to retain the working classes in avowed slavery, has ceased to be practicable."* He goes even further: "The best interests of the human race imperatively require that all economical experiments, voluntarily undertaken, should have the fullest licence, and that force and fraud should be the only means of attempting to benefit themselves which are interdicted to the less fortunate classes of the community." This last passage was added in the third edition of the "Principles" four years after the original appearance of the book, and illustrates Mill's advancing views.

Holding, as he did, the Malthusian theory of population, it would have been illogical on Mill's part to have definitely gone over to the support of trade unionism. For this theory held a corollary, the wages fund theory, and the two were inseparable: vicious doctrines have extraordinary powers of cohesion. We need not excite ourselves over the esoteric aspects of this particular dogma. Briefly and exoterically they are as follows. Malthus and his followers believed that overpopulation was the cause of most misery, as a quotation made above has illustrated. From this it was permissible to deduce, subalternately, that overpopulation was the cause of low wages. Hence there was supposed to be a connection between population and wages, and the more there was of one, the less there would be of the other. A step further, and we have the idea stated, to quote Senior, "that wages depend" on "the extent of the fund for the maintenance of labourers, compared with the number of labourers to be maintained." This is the celebrated Wages Fund theory, to which Mill was a subscriber. In these enlightened days, when everybody disbelieves in Malthus's theory, but is hyper-Malthusian in his practice, the sister doctrine of the Wages Fund is no longer with us. Moreover, it has been pointed out that wages are not paid out of a fund earmarked, as it were, for that purpose. Wages are paid out of the produce of labour, which can be increased indefinitely until the point is reached when all human wants are satiated and machinery can do no more to stimulate desires, either by producing things cheaper or by producing anything at all that man has not got, but would like to have if he saw it.

Holding this theory, Mill could not but believe (1) that if any body of workers succeeded, by means of a trade union or otherwise, in raising their wages, it could only be at the expense of other workers; (2) that any permanent improvement in the wage position of all the workers must await the time when their rate of multiplication would be considerably decreased.†

* "Principles," Book V., Chap. X., § 5.

† For full discussion of the Wages Fund Theory see Cannan, "A History of the Theories of Production and Distribution in English Political Economy from 1776 to 1848," *passim*; Marshall, "Principles of Economics," Appendix J; Taussig, "Wages and Capital, an Examination of the Wages Fund Doctrine"; and Webb, "Industrial Democracy," Part III., Chapter I.

It was a distinctly uncomfortable theory and so plausible that it was universally believed. Lassalle's "Iron Law of Wages," emanating from a fervent Socialist, is a restatement of the theory, before which Socialists, as well as the orthodox, were forced, in default of an alternative theory, to prostrate themselves. Mill's is the glory of upsetting the car of Juggernaut, although Frederic Harrison had already noted the fallacy. In a review of a work of Thornton, a fellow economist, in the *Fortnightly Review* in May, 1869, the theory was solemnly stated, examined, and disproved. Economics was never the same after this inroad into its hitherto unquestioned sanctities. Mill himself died shortly afterwards, and it was left to others, notably to Jevons, to collect the tattered fragments of political economy; and by the publication of the "Theory of Political Economy" in 1871, with an exposition of his theory of marginal utility, once more to give the science an appearance of respectability, not to say probability.†

The Future of Labour.

There are discrepancies between the first and second halves of the "Principles." Mill began as an individualist advocate of peasant proprietorship, converted himself as he went on, and ended almost as a Socialist. But, as nobody held out to the end of the book, and very few got beyond the first half, its influence was in favour of peasant proprietorship.

No essay upon the economic principles of Mill is exempted from referring to Book IV, Chapter VII, of his "Principles." For that bears the title "On the Probable Futurity of the Labouring Classes." In 1817 the House of Commons appointed a "Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders." In 1848, in his chapter on the "labouring classes" (the term itself shows an advance), Mill says he uses the term in the conventional sense, as "I do not regard as either just or salutary a state of society in which there is any class which is not labouring, any human beings exempt from bearing their share of the necessary labours of human life, except those unable to labour, or who have fairly earned rest by previous toil" (§ 1). The interest of this passage lies in the change of attitude indicated, not the change which had taken place between 1817 and 1848, but the expressed possibility of social transformation. And this possibility is presented in a description which, if it suffers somewhat from Malthusian squint, yet also contains something of a prophet's vision. The relation between rich and poor is to vanish. Just as feudalism is now dead, so must the poor of to-day emerge from their tutelage. Independence is the key to the future of the workers. "Whatever advice, exhortation, or guidance is held out to the labouring classes must henceforth be tendered to them as equals, and accepted by them with their eyes open." Then he proceeds briefly to survey profit sharing. The results have sometimes been favourable, but the capitalist is not eliminated; in fact his hold is strengthened over his

† See Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," edition Ashley, Appendix O. Longmans, 1910.

employees. "The form of association, however, which, if mankind continue to improve, must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief, but in . . ." (§ 6), and Mill proceeds to narrate the history and the results of co-operative production. Here the prophet's voice was speaking. The future of co-operation is hidden from us, but who knows how far it will evolve? Once the great mass of the people begin to produce the necessaries of life for themselves without the needlessly insinuated mediation of predatory capital, the future state will evolve with a swiftness and a certainty unprecedented in the annals of civilization. With the displacement of the capitalist will come, not the millenium, but at the least a society whose basis is not that of our own, capital needlessly deviated from production to advertisement, advertisement, and ever more advertisement. Mill's great position as an economist does not rest, as he considered it to rest, upon a discovery of his concerning distribution, nor, as other persons have considered, upon his treatment of value. It rests upon his humanity and the introduction of the element of humanity into economics. He attempted to apply to what others had regarded as an art, to be treated entirely for art's sake, the saving grace of human fellowship.

FEMINIST.

The abuse of power and the detrimental effects of involuntary subordination are themes which recur more frequently in Mill's work than any other. It is because he objects to the dominance of capital that he becomes so nearly a Socialist. It is because government by the few is a system too apt to ally itself with tyranny that he is so strong a democrat. It is because he realizes the peculiar evils which arise from the subjection of women that he is a feminist.

There are two species of prophets. One is the man who utilizes the historical method, the inductive method, or what not, and foretells a fragment of the events of the coming year, or perhaps of the next few years—he sees, but has no vision. The other species has no use for the inductive method, and regards a telescope as an anachronism. He sees far ahead and is emphatic. Isaiah belonged to this class, Marx to the former. Mill we may class with Marx in this respect, save only in a single direction. Where the future of women is concerned he ceases to rely on the creaking machinery of the syllogism, and with no thought of inconsistency, speaks the truth that is in him. Although "The Subjection of Women," his most extended statement on the subject, was the last work to be published in his lifetime, yet in every one of his earlier works he had dwelt on the subject, wherever opportunity arose, with insistence, with indomitable iteration. He wished to see the status, legal, political and social, of women raised to that of men, but concentrated on endeavouring to obtain for women the vote on the same terms as men had it, claiming throughout that as men had no abstract right to decide for women, women should be put into a position to decide for themselves. In a letter to Florence Nightingale, written in 1867, he says: "I will confess to you that I have often stood amazed at what has

seemed to me the presumption with which persons who think themselves humble set bounds to the capacities of improvement of their fellow creatures, think themselves qualified to define how much or how little of the divine light of truth can be borne by the world in general, assume that none but the very élite can see what is perfectly clear to themselves, and think themselves permitted to dole out in infinitesimal doses that daily bread of truth upon which they themselves live and without which the world must come to an end."*

The Truth about Women.

His "Liberty" bears as its text a quotation from Humboldt's "Sphere and Duties of Government," concluding with "the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity." The whole case against the present position of women was just that this diversity of development was prohibited, and that even undiversified development was stunted. In a diary he kept for a few months in 1854, wherein Mill inscribed a curious mixture of platitude and epigram, he states his "deliberate opinion that any great improvement in human life is not to be looked for so long as the animal instinct of sex occupies the absurdly disproportionate place it does therein," and that firstly, in order to attain any improvement, "that women should cease to be set aside for this function, and should be admitted to all other duties and occupations on a par with men."† He develops in this place, in fact, an epigram he had put to paper three weeks before, that "What is called morality in these times is a regulated sensuality."‡ Sex is an accident, and should not be a determinant. In the drama of life it is illogical that women should never enact more than a secondary rôle—especially to Mill, who believed that they are usually "of far greater versatility than men."§ Sex is considered "as entirely irrelevant to political rights as difference in height or in the colour of the hair."‖ Again, "The ideas and institutions by which the accident of sex is made the groundwork of an inequality of legal rights, and a forced dissimilarity of social functions, must ere long be recognized as the greatest hindrance to moral, social, and even intellectual development."¶ To the objection (how tenacious are these barnacles!) that women are as a matter of fact unequal to men in the character of their achievements, that history, novels, art, etc., proceed from men alone, for all practical purposes, Mill had the reply that women are going along the same paths as men; they have not yet left their leading strings. They have always had men's works set before them; when they cease to copy them, your objections will fall to the ground and you will see that, after all, sex *is* an accident. Besides, "how many of the most original thoughts of male writers came to them from the suggestion and prompting of some woman."** The same case is stated in great

* "Letters," Vol. II., p. 104.
† Ibid, Vol. II., p. 382. ‡ Ibid, Vol. II., p. 376.
§ "Principles," Book I., Chapter VIII., § 5.
‖ "Representative Government," Chapter VIII.
¶ "Principles," Book IV., Chapter VII., § 4.
** "Letters," Vol. II., p. 381.

detail in "The Subjection of Women." In brief, it may be summarized: "Women's work is not, at present, equal to men's work. But women have never been allowed to be original. Release them from their subjection, and the consequences will prove whether or not women are essentially inferior. But don't punish them for their inferiority before they have had a chance to demonstrate their relative worth. And, my dear sir, if I may be permitted to express a personal opinion, I should not be at all surprised if your own morals did not benefit somewhat by such a demonstration."

So much for Mill's attitude. Now as to his acts.

The Invasion of Westminster.

In 1866 Gladstone introduced a Reform Bill, was defeated on it, and resigned. Lord Derby formed a Conservative Government, and Disraeli became the Leader of the House of Commons. In due course he, too, introduced a Reform Bill to enfranchise the small town householder and the lodger. Long and tiresome were the debates, and countless amendments marked the tortuous, serpentine progress of the Bill to the Statute Book. Here Mill had his opportunity. Woman Suffrage was no longer to be a thing unuttered in Parliament. On May 20th, 1867, he moved an amendment to omit "man" and insert "person" in place thereof, and so to make the Bill apply to both sexes. Mill made a long and eloquent speech, which, perhaps, suffered from lack of precedent. He was not to be contented with the mere verbal substitution, but proceeded to dilate on the position of women, economic and legal, to describe the educational disadvantages under which they lived, in short, to give a lecture on the Woman Question. The following is an example; it illustrates his somewhat ponderous style no less than his matter: "The notion of a hard and fast line of separation between women's occupations and men's—of forbidding women to take interest in the things which interest men—belongs to a bygone state of society which is receding further and further into the past. We talk of political revolutions, but we do not sufficiently attend to the fact that there has taken place amongst us a silent domestic revolution—women and men are, for the first time in history, really each other's companions."* The result was the usual one. There were the immemorial asseverations adduced in opposition, that the amendment, if carried into law, would set a premium upon spinsterhood, that the law was not really unjust to women on the whole ["If an hon. gentleman married a widow with ten children, he had to support every one of them," said one of the hon. gentlemen], that God never intended women to vote, and so on. A "great man who flourished about 500 years before Christ" and the court of Dahomey were brought up and used in evidence against Mill. Gladstone was asked to express an opinion. He said nothing, but voted against the amendment. Seventy-three voted in favour and 196 against. True to posterity, a Lord something Hamilton voted against the proposal. But, including pairs and tellers, at least eighty Members of Parliament forty-five years

* "Hansard," 30 Vict., 1867, Vol. III., p. 821.

ago, found themselves in favour of Woman Suffrage. It was not a triumph, but a highly successful initiation. The London Woman's Suffrage Society was started, and Mill's motion developed into a movement.

A Summary.

It is no easy task to collect and integrate all Mill's scattered dicta on women. Nor indeed would much interest be attached to the performance, for many of the evils, against which he stormed with his greatest energy, have been lessened, if not eradicated. Property rights have been granted, and the law has generally receded from its former implicit tenet that women form a criminal class. Custom (call it convention, if you will) no longer holds women in thraldom to the extent of forbidding any voluntarily undertaken remedy for economic dependence. It is permitted to women to become educated. Previously, curious as it may appear, women had only been permitted to educate. The self-supporting woman of the middle class is no longer the mid-Victorian governess, anæmic and, perhaps excusably, ready to descend upon the marriageable younger sons of her employers, pictured in many novels of the period. To what extent these changes may be attributed to Mill is only conjecturable. Whatever may be said to minimise his work, it cannot be disputed that he has been the inspirer of progressive women in every country where there are such women to a degree untouched by any predecessor.*

Generally speaking, Mill's attitude was a very simple one. The well-worn metaphor of the ivy twined lovingly about the sturdy oak was no doubt picturesque and the rights of publication were enjoyed by a thousand minor poets. But the ivy is a parasite, and nobody but a decadent sentimentalist can extract much pleasure from the contemplation of parasitism practised upon a national scale. Let the law treat men and women as equals, and all the rest will follow. Writing on divorce, for example, he says, "I do not think that the conditions of the dissolubility of marriage can be properly determined until women have an equal voice in determining them, nor until there has been experience of the marriage relation as it would exist between equals. Until then I should not like to commit myself to more than the general principle of relief from the contract in extreme cases."† Let women be admitted to qualifying examinations for occupations on the same basis as men, then it will be seen whether women are capable of practising as doctors, lawyers, and the like. If they are found incapable, not much harm has been done; presumably there would be few women anxious to enter a profession, knowing that their predecessors in that profession had been unsuccessful by reason of their inherent and ineradicable sexual qualities. But, on the other hand, if they are successful, then the sources are doubled of the supply of skill, of knowledge, of energy to produce necessary services, to alleviate sufferings, and to add to the positive

* See Dr. Stanton Coit's introduction to the 1909 edition of the "Subjection of Women."

† "Letters," Vol. II., p. 212.

goods of life. They are more than doubled, for the introduction of fresh skill will be accompanied with a new and keener competition waged between equals and beneficial in its outcome. With the improvement in the position of women, men too would gain. Then and then only will it be possible to imagine an ideal liberty, a state where the vague aspirations of to-day would be translated into achievements and facts enduring and powerful.

DEMOCRAT.

There are persons to whose mental eyes democracy best presents itself as a great quasi-religious service. Such are Whitman, Carpenter and their followers. The conception lends itself to criticism because to attain good government it is highly undesirable that all the governed should worship at the same shrine; dissent is the very life-blood of harmony in things political. There are other persons, such as Mr. Asquith, for whom democracy is a limited liability affair, with an undistinguished coat of arms, bearing for its device a registration official, couchant, except in the first fortnight of July. Both these conceptions are sincerely held by a large number of excellent people, who firmly believe that the sovereign power resides in the people, and that it is desirable that it should continue to reside there.

It is, however, possible for a man to be a staunch democrat and yet to have the greatest possible detestation for the numerical majority—the "compact majority" at which Ibsen jibes so vigorously. England is, from a numerical point of view, governed to-day by the working classes. The working classes allow government to be conducted along lines which, frequently enough, are detrimental to their own interests, and, as we all believe at times, to the country's interests.

The distinction between the general idea of democracy and Mill's lies in this: by democracy is generally meant one active and combined majority, while Mill preferred to regard it as an agglomeration of minorities.* The problem of democracy was to him, how to provide for the adequate expression of the different minorities. The greatest minority of all was, and still is, the women. The next greatest minorities were, then more than now, the several sections of the manual workers; and, after that, there were the numerous political minorities for whom the exigencies of parliamentary government prohibited representation in Westminister. For, to Mill, the free and unrestricted discussion of ideas was all-important. A person might hold any opinions under the sun—he might conceivably be a mad eugenist favouring unnatural selection in the form of mating by *ad hoc* state officials—but it was not for any man or any institution to forbid the discussion of such ideas.

Labour Representation.

It has just been mentioned that Mill held views on Labour Representation. Indeed, they circumstanced the genesis of the Labour Party. Mill had always maintained the friendliest relations with the

* See Chapter VII., "Representative Government."

trade union leaders of his time, especially with George Odger. In 1857 we find that he was encouraging and aiding Holyoake to put up one of the first parliamentary candidatures of a working man.* John Bright was of opinion that Parliament was above classes and represented all; that the introduction of a labour element would add a class spirit of an unfortunate description. It was all very well to have extreme Radicals, who preached revolution, republicanism, etc., and were at times even punished for treasonable behaviour. But Bright knew very well that Horne Tooke, John Wilkes, and the rest were middle-class men (and Charles James Fox was an aristocrat!), whose sentiments, even in their most vehement moments, were not those of the multitude, and at times shared equally with Burke a certain academicism. Holyoake stood for the Tower Hamlets, but withdrew before the polling took place.

Mill realized, too, that government would not remain as it then was, a hobby of the wealthier class. "We are now, I think, standing on the very boundary line between this new statesmanship and the old, and the next generation will be accustomed to a very different set of political arguments and topics from those of the present and past."† The representation of the unrepresented was all-important. The presence of working men in the House of Commons seemed to him "indispensable to a sufficient discussion of public interests from the particular point of view of the working classes."‡ The policy he favoured was one of "keeping the Liberal out." In a letter written to Odger in 1871, when the latter was standing for Southwark, Mill says: "The working men are quite right in allowing Tories to get into the House to defeat this exclusive feeling of the Whigs (then in office), and may do it without sacrificing any principle. The working men's policy is to insist upon their own representation, and, in default of success, to permit Tories to be sent into the House until the Whig majority is seriously threatened, when, of course, the Whigs will be happy to compromise and allow a few working men representatives in the House."§ Well has experience justified this advice.

The Heritage of Hare.

As to smaller minorities, for them he strongly supported a plan of proportional representation invented by Thomas Hare, in which Mill found the salvation of "independent opinion." "I saw in this great practical and philosophical idea the greatest improvement of which the system of representative government is susceptible, an improvement which, in the most felicitous manner, exactly meets and cures the grand, and what before seemed the inherent, defect of the representative system. . . . This great discovery, for it is no less, in the political art, inspired me, as I believe it has inspired all thoughtful persons who have adopted it, with new and more sanguine hopes respecting the prospects of human society; by freeing

* See A. W. Humphrey, "A History of Labour Representation," and Holyoake's Biography (McCabe) and Autobiography.

† "Letters," Vol II., p. 56.

‡ Ibid, p. 268.

§ Webb's "History of Trade Unionism," p. 272.

the form of political institutions towards which the whole civilized world is manifestly and irresistibly tending, from the chief part of what seemed to qualify or render doubtful its ultimate benefits. Minorities, so long as they remain minorities, are, and ought to be, outvoted; but under arrangements which enable any assemblage of voters, amounting to a certain number, to place in the legislature a representative of its own choice, minorities cannot be suppressed. . . . The legislature, instead of being weeded of individual peculiarities and entirely made up of men who simply represent the creed of great political or religious parties, will comprise a large proportion of the most eminent individual minds in the country, placed there, without reference to party, by voters who appreciate their individual eminence."* This much-belauded plan was a simple variant of the proportional representation idea: to secure election only a quota of votes are necessary, the remainder polled by a successful candidate are transferable to another candidate whose name the voter might himself put on the ballot-paper. Any elector is at liberty to vote for any candidate in any part of the country. These are the main provisions of the scheme. Mill's conversions to new ideas were always of the thoroughgoing nature. He appears to have preached the new invention in season and out of season, and, no doubt, made himself unpopular thereby.

Proposed Improvements.

Mill subjected the entire Parliamentary system to a fairly searching analysis, both in his "Representative Government" and in a pamphlet "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform." It must be confessed that he placed rather too high an estimate on the values of various points in the electoral machine. He believes that voting should be public and opposes the ballot. "The *spirit* of an institution," he comments, "the impression it makes on the mind of the citizen, is one of the most important parts of its operation."† Money payments of any sort should not be required of the candidate; they should be borne by his constituents. Members of Parliament should not be paid. If a Member is poor and requires pecuniary aid, his constituents should subscribe for the purpose. Perhaps the most curious of his efforts to tinker with the legislative machine is his recommendation that plurality of votes should be given, "not to property, but to proved superiority of education." This recommendation, however, he pathetically admits, did not meet with widespread approval. "As far as I have been able to observe, it has found favour with nobody."‡ Possibly even Mill had his doubts about it, for he says it was a suggestion "which I had never discussed with my almost infallible counsellor, and I have no evidence that she would have concurred in it." Another suggestion was that Parliament should not be burdened with the details of law making. "Any government fit for a high state of civilization would have as one of its fundamental elements a small body, not exceeding

* "Autobiography," p. 148.
† "Representative Government," Chapter X.
‡ "Autobiography," p. 148.

in number the members of a Cabinet, who should act as a Commission of legislation, having for its appointed office to make the laws. . . . The Commission would only embody the element of intelligence in their construction; Parliament would represent that of will." * Parliament was to issue instructions (presumably in the form of general resolutions), the Commission was to draft a Bill accordingly, which Parliament could either accept, reject, or refer back for amendment. Similarly Mill wished to separate the executive and administrative functions. "Instead of the function of governing, for which it is radically unfit, the proper office of a representative assembly is to watch and control the government." †

These suggestions—or, at any rate, some of them—may be considered as of nugatory importance and hardly worth discussing. But although their intrinsic worth may be nominal, they afford an excellent insight into the spirit inherent in all Mill's theories. The mental attitude of the bulk of mankind, so far as it has any, on the subject of democracy is, granted amiability and the absence of political discord, "There are wonderful things latent in democracy. May they remain so." Experimentation in democracy is now inextricably connected with the name Pankhurst. Pressed on the subject, the Bulk of Mankind develops distrust and party views. Mill is different. Believing, too, that there are wonderful things latent in democracy, he wishes them to be made patent. To secure this object no possible method is too minute, too circuitous. To develop every personality to its utmost was his ideal, and democracy was the most obvious of the many means by which that ideal was to be attained. The rights of the individual soul arose with Bentham; Mill adapted the patriarch's ideas to the requirements of his age.

SOCIALIST.

In the course of its century-old career, the word Socialism has continually been changing its connotation. But, whatever might be its precise meaning about the time when Mill wrote his "Principles of Political Economy," there can be no possible doubt that the revolutions of 1848 gave the word a popular meaning synonymous with the terms applied to political behaviour of the most abominable character. And the sister-term Communism shared the opprobrium. Yet Mill, who always sought the truth, gave the schemes of Fourier, Saint-Simon and Louis Blanc careful attention in his "Principles of Political Economy"; and when the 1852 edition appeared the following extraordinary expression of opinion was included in his study of Communism: "If, therefore, the choice were to be made between Communism with all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence that the produce of labour should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost

* "Representative Government," Chapter V.
† Ibid, loc. cit.

nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessaries of life; if this or Communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance."* It is almost necessary to remind oneself that the writer was the son of James Mill, and the spiritual heir of the individualists.

On the subject of State enterprise he maintains silence, although, generally speaking, he is opposed to any extension of government interference, on the grounds that a multiplicity of functions must lead to inefficiency. Yet he is always anxious to learn by experiment; on no account will he have an experiment hindered because it does not fit in with his views. Writing to Edwin Chadwick in 1867 he says: "I think there is a chance that Ireland may be tried as a *corpus vile* for experimentation on Government management of railways."† In 1898 the Fabian Society published Tract No. 98, "State Railways for Ireland." In 1910 the Vice-Regal Commission on Irish Railways declared by a bare majority in favour of nationalization. The mills of God grind slowly.

The Individual and the State.

Mill was for ever insisting upon the necessity for a moral as well as an economic improvement. Writing to Auberon Herbert the year before his death, Mill said: "My idea is (but I am open to correction) that, for some time to come, politics and social and economic questions will be the absorbing subjects to most of those working men who have the aspirations and the mental activity to which the appeal would have to be made. . . . . You wish to make them feel the importance of the higher virtues. I think this can be most effectually done by pointing out to them how much those virtues are needed to enable a democracy, and above all any approach to Socialism, to work in any satisfactory manner."‡

It is not unfair to suggest that, before the last few years of his life, when Mill made a special study of Socialism, he was by no means clear as to what Socialists wanted, and whether or not he was one of them. The following passage, for example, while it teems with the utmost philanthropy, at the same time reveals a curious indecision. It refers to Mrs. Mill and himself: "While we repudiated with the greatest energy that tyranny of society over the individual which most Socialistic systems are supposed to involve, we yet looked forward to a time when society will no longer be divided into the idle and the industrious; when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat will be applied not to paupers only, but impartially to all; when the division of the produce of labour, instead of depending, as in so great a degree it now does, on the accident of birth, will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice; and when it will no longer either be, or be thought to be, impossible for human

* "Principles," Book II., Chapter I., § 3.
† "Letters," Vol. II., p. 194.
‡ "Letters," Vol. II., p. 328.

beings to exert themselves strenuously in procuring benefits which are not to be exclusively their own, but to be shared with the society they belong to. The social problem of the future we considered to be how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labour."* He consistently affirmed what he denied, and it is difficult to place him with absolute accuracy.

Reference has already been made to a work on Socialism planned by Mill in his last years. Of this only four chapters came to be actually written, and were first published in 1879 in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*. Mill begins by showing that the gradual arrival of manhood suffrage in all countries would lead sooner or later to the thorough discussion of the subject of property. In fact, the Labour Congresses and the "International Society" (probably the International Working Men's Association) were already discussing the subject, and so formulating the future courses of action of the working classes of the different countries of Europe. He then proceeds to study the Socialist indictment. It is curious that he makes neither here nor elsewhere any mention of Marx or the Communist Manifesto.

The Socialist Indictment.

The Socialist indictment constitutes, he admits, "a frightful case, either against the existing order of society or against the position of man himself in this world." He believes that Socialists generally placed too much emphasis on the evils of competition, without noticing its beneficial consequences. Nevertheless, on this subject "Socialists have really made out the existence not only of a great evil, but of one which grows and tends to grow with the growth of population and wealth." He then himself gives at some length some of the less obvious evils of fraud, bankruptcy, etc., but thinks that in production fraud could be largely "overcome by the institution of co-operative stores." Yet, having examined the expressions of Socialists, and convicted them of exaggeration, he admits that that by no means settles the whole matter, and concludes a chapter with the words, ". . . . the intellectual and moral grounds of Socialism deserve the most attentive study, as affording in many cases the guiding principles of the improvements necessary to give the present economic system of society its best chance." It is instructive to make an analysis, paragraph by paragraph, of his final summing-up. It is then seen that the favourable and unfavourable dicta alternate in an uninterrupted sequence throughout. The conclusion is as follows: "The result of our review of the various difficulties of Socialism has led us to the conclusion that the various schemes for managing the productive resources of the country by public instead of private agency have a case for a trial, and some of them may eventually establish their claims to preference over the existing order of things, but that they are at present workable only by the *élite* of mankind, and have yet to prove their power of training

* "Autobiography," p. 133.

mankind at large to the state of improvement which they presuppose." As to taking over the whole land and capital of the country and centralizing its administration, that is "obviously chimerical." The revolutionary plan of taking over everything by one blow meets with no grace whatever.

But this does not conclude Mill's survey. He realizes that the root of the matter is the conception of property. He agrees that the right of holding property, and to a still larger extent of transmitting it, is conferred and maintained by the State. Hence this conclusion: "A proposed reform in laws or customs is not necessarily objectionable because its adoption would imply, not the adaptation of all human affairs to the existing idea of property, but the adaptation of existing ideas of property to the growth and improvement of human affairs. . . . . Society is fully entitled to abrogate or alter any particular right of property which, on sufficient consideration, it judges to stand in the way of the public good. And assuredly the terrible case which, as we saw in a former chapter, Socialists are able to make out against the present economic order of society, demands a full consideration of all means by which the institution may have a chance of being made to work in a manner more beneficial to that large portion of society which at present enjoys the least share of its direct benefits."

What does all this come to? It may at first sight appear feeble, tentative, undirected. But before pronouncing a final judgment, a glance at Mill's material will be instructive. This consists mainly—almost exclusively—of the visions of Owen, the far-fetched schemes of Fourier, and the aspirations of Louis Blanc.

Yet, in all this amorphous and inchoate matter, Mill was able to discern many of the stable elements. He exclaims against centralization just as he had doubted the possibility of any great growth of joint stock enterprise merely because he could not foresee the extent of its future development. But he sees behind all the cloudinesses of the Socialists of 1848 something substantial, something real. He is able to sketch something very near the actual line of the future evolution of Socialist thought. Had he lived another ten years he would almost certainly have been amongst the founders of the Fabian Society.

Back to Mill.

The Socialist movement to-day, or rather, the evolutionary section, stands far from the field of combat selected by its progenitors. To-day many ideas are regarded as of secondary importance, or nugatory or actually wrong, which a generation ago were held as dogma, beyond criticism or attack. And the evolutionary Socialist of to-day may find himself opposed to land nationalization, or even to any accepted *ad hoc* nationalization. He may be opposed to the multiplication of State officials; he may support or he may, on the whole, oppose the Labour Party, preferring to throw in his lot for the attainment of his ideals with a party until recently unanimously denounced as bourgeois capitalist. And even then he will, and does, sincerely believe himself to be a Socialist. The idea of what

constitutes Socialism and a Socialist is changing. What is the direction of the change? It appears well within the bounds of probability that the attitude of the evolutionary Socialist upon matters connected with society (granted some few exceptions) is approximating to that of Mill. To the present writer it seems probable that the history of the next few years of the Socialist movement will accentuate the changing attitude. It is almost safe to predict the development of the movement. The next few years of its history will be marked by the augmented value attached to the "moral factor," which will be used by Socialists as a touchstone in matters of legislation. The co-operative movement will meet with support from Socialists, and will probably extend its scope. The Socialist programme will shrink to the dimensions of a single session's possibilities, and will refuse to discuss the nationalization of any services not already, as it were, upon the list. A larger share of attention will be given to problems specially affecting women. These are but a few of the salient probabilities: their derivation is obvious. And long before they emerge as things accomplished Mill will have received his rightful share of recognition as one of the moulders of modern Socialism and the future State.

Conclusion.

Perhaps the most important point about Mill is his attitude. He was the son of his father in more senses than one. There is an extraordinary parallelism between their works. The father wrote an "Elements of Political Economy," the son wrote the "Principles of Political Economy, with Some of their Applications to Social Philosophy." The father wrote an essay on "Government," the son an "Essay on Representative Government." The father wrote "An Analysis of the Problems of the Human Mind," the son wrote his "Logic" as a sort of introduction and the "Examination of Hamilton" as a sort of supplement. As we have seen, both hereditary and environmental influences were applied in the most thorough manner possible. The mental attitude of J. S. Mill therefore is individual only so far as it differs from his father's. Very largely the broadness of his views, even when they appear opposed to his father's, is simply to be ascribed to the gradual exploitation of the elder's theories. But to whatever degree his work is put down to paternal influence, there can be no doubt that J. S. Mill exerted a wonderfully broadening effect over English political thought. Mill translated the notion of police, as held by Bentham, into the notion of a polity. The study of the affairs of the State was held to be the study of the means of attaining the greatest cheapness. Mill changed the idea of economy into the idea of economics. In Mill's childhood the greatest importance was attached to the study of the humanities; he made the greatest importance attach to the study of humanity. It is as a broadening influence that he is most important, infusing the doctrines of Liberalism with something more approaching liberality, and directing, for the first time, to the claims of labour a substantial portion of public attention.

Another point is worth briefly discussing. There are two lines along which changes in the body politic may arrive: by gradual evolution and by cataclysmic revolution. The method of evolution is slow, sure, and unattractive. The other method is attractive because of its pyrotechnic qualities, and windy philosophies will ever sway the imagination of the politically uninstructed. Mill is noteworthy principally as an excellent doubter. He had no originality; he hesitates always. But out of his hesitations come great things. If his direction be zigzag, nevertheless he marks a path; and in his case, at any rate, his end was worth more than his conclusions.

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PROFIT-SHARING AND CO-PARTNERSHIP: A FRAUD & A FAILURE?

By EDWARD R. PEASE.

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Profit-Sharing and Co-Partnership: A Fraud and a Failure?

THE capitalist employer as a factor in the machinery of production is a comparatively modern phenomenon. The English landlord is as old as England: the princely merchant venturer appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but he was a buyer and seller of goods and not in the main an employer of labour. It was only about a century ago that the capitalist manufacturer, the wealthy owner of huge works employing thousands of "hands," began to emerge, with the steam engine which was the author of his being.

And the curious thing is that no sooner had he made his appearance than the best of our social thinkers set themselves to discover how he could be eliminated. Nobody really welcomed him: nobody wholly admired him: whilst the thinkers and dreamers began to devise schemes for getting rid of him altogether.

Robert Owen, himself one of the foremost of the cotton-capitalists, spent his later years in planning, crudely and vaguely, his ideal communities at New Harmony, Queenwood, and elsewhere, whose basic principle was the production of wealth without the intervention of the employer—organized communities which should own their capital in common, and where the profit on the capital employed would go to those who did the work.

Co-operative Associations of Producers.

After him, in England, came the Christian Socialists, Maurice Kingsley and Ludlow, whose ideal was a sort of peaceful Syndicalism, a society composed of co-operative producers, groups of men living the individual life of citizens, but all possessing shares in the machines they worked, whereby the interests of capital and labour would be completely harmonized, because the labourer would always be a capitalist and the capitalist a labourer. All these projects were plans for eliminating the capitalist and distributing his profits, obviously vastly in excess of the value of his services to society, amongst the workers, who, again, were as obviously underpaid for their all-important share in the process of production. Owen and the Christian Socialists were at any rate whole-hearted in their plans for the reform of the system of distribution; their intentions were excellent; they failed because they did not recognize that the capitalist director of industry performs a necessary function; labour by itself is in practice insufficiently supplied with capital and is inexpert in the art of management. Co-operative productive societies had the advantage of magnificent advertisement, but this did not compensate for inadequate capital and a form of organization extremely difficult to manage. The employer, driven by the competition of his rivals, must make profits his first concern. He can dismiss inefficient workmen; put his men on short time or order

wholesale discharges when business is slack, and, subject to the risks of a strike, reduce wages when profits decline. For the manager of a co-operative production concern (and *à fortiori*, of any Communistic community), who is the servant of the men he superintends, such drastic measures, at times vital for commercial salvation, are well-nigh impossible.

Hence, co-operative production, organized on the basis of an association of producers, is a feeble plant, and half a century of active propaganda leaves it as incapable as ever to cope with the other forms of industrial enterprise.

The Advent of Profit-Sharing.

Realizing this difficulty, a new idea presented itself to certain well meaning capitalists, who recognized the social defencelessness of their position and sought some way of salvation which should not lead to commercial destruction.

Let the capitalist keep his control and provide the capital as of old; but let him share out a part of his surplus profits, voluntarily, as an act of grace, amongst the workpeople who create his wealth. Here, surely, is a solution to the age-long antagonism of labour and capital. Let one side contribute capital and organizing ability and in return receive interest at a reasonable rate, and an agreed sum as wages of management; let the other get their weekly wage for their work as of old; when times are reasonably prosperous there will still be a balance left, which can be divided, on terms to be arranged between owners and workers. All will then be partakers in the profits of industry; industrial warfare will be replaced by industrial peace; and the paternal employer surrounded by his contented and loyal workpeople will reproduce in the industrial world the happy picture of the kindly landlord and devoted tenantry which existed or was supposed to exist throughout Merrie England in the good days of old.

Profit-Sharing Good for Employers.

But the introduction of this millennium had to be set about in a different manner from that appropriate to co-operative undertakings. Owen and Maurice had to convert the working classes; the reorganization of society was to grow up from below. Well-intentioned friends might help, but the workers themselves were to act. In profit-sharing, on the other hand, the employer takes the lead; it rests with him to formulate the scheme; the profits are his, and he alone can consent to share them. Therefor the appeal must be attuned to his ears, and the trap baited with lures which will attract his appetite. Hence we find that the promoters of profit-sharing make haste to explain that the capitalist employer has everything to gain and nothing whatever to lose by the new panacea. He is to share out his profits amongst his men, no doubt, but all the bread he casts upon the waters of labour will come back to him forthwith, bearing abundant increase.

" It is related that when John Marshall, of Leeds, was showing Robert Owen over his mills, he remarked, ' If my people were to

be careful and avoid waste they might save me £4,000 a year.' Owen replied, ' Well, why don't you give them £2,000 to do it? and then you would be richer by £2,000 a year.' "* That is the key-note. Share the profits with the men, but see that they themselves produce extra profits which will more than cover their " shares."

The picture drawn in all innocence by the advocates of profit-sharing is in truth most alluring to the intelligent capitalist. By a neat re-arrangement he is to get :—

1. Additional profits on his capital, since only a *part* of the savings of extra zeal and care is to be returned as dividend on wages to the workpeople.
2. His hands are to be loyal, contented, diligent, trustworthy and better paid, and this last, according to modern economics, is in itself a source of profit. Good pay means good work.
3. The trade union agitator is to be kept outside the door : no strikes, no organized demands for shorter hours, better wages, improved working rules. All chance that his men will go out on a sympathetic strike, a catastrophe the good employer justly fears and excusably resents, is averted. No labour unrest will disturb his oasis of industrial peace.
4. A saving of supervision, and reduction of all those worries incidental to bad work, waste of material, and industrial inefficiency. The employer is often an artist in production : quite apart from mere profits, he prefers to see his work done properly ; waste annoys him for its own sake ; complaints from customers of bad work touch his sense of honour as well as his pocket. All these will be averted when every workman is a foreman to his fellows, each interested in saving material, in devising little plans for doing things better and cheaper, and each on the look out that no one of the score or hundreds of co-partners wastes the time for which he is paid and so diminishes the margin of profit in which all alike are to share.

All these advantages will yield the profit-sharing enterprise profits substantially in excess of what otherwise would have been earned. Part only need be ceded to the workers ; the other part falls to the employer as the reward of his enlightened self-interest.

Surely here is a project for making the best of both worlds ! Let us now consider its history.

Statistics.

" Co-partnership in Industry," by Charles Carpenter, Chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company,† gives a chronological list of " over two hundred notices of attempts in the direction of improved relations between capitalist and labourer. . . . Most of the schemes have come to an end. In some cases the business has ceased to exist or has [changed hands]. Sometimes the scheme has

*D. F. Schloss, "Methods of Industrial Remuneration," 3rd edn., 1898, p. 255 n.
†Co-partnership Publishers, 79, Southampton Row, London. 1912. 6d. net.

failed because the workmen failed to see its possibilities . . . the great majority of failures are in connection with cash bonus schemes. . . ." The prefatory note adds more about the failures and their causes, which we have not space to quote, but adds not a word about the successes!

The first recorded scheme dates from 1829. Three were started in 1831-2, two in the fifties, one in 1864, sixteen in 1865-7, and then any number up to half a dozen yearly, till 1889, when the active propaganda of Professor Sedley Taylor and the industrial unrest of the dock strike period brought the yearly total to twenty or more. By 1893 the boom was exhausted, and only three cases are recorded, and the good trade years, 1905 and 1906, yield not a single case. Since then the movement has been looking up, though the crop of 1911 is no more than five.* If we take the Board of Trade 1912 List for the period 1865-1896, that is, from the beginning (omitting an Irish scheme started in 1829) up to 15 years ago, 177 schemes have been started, of which 134 have come to an end, whilst 43 remain in operation, and the fate of 2 is unknown. In the four years, 1889-1892, when profit-sharing had a boom, 87 schemes were started, of which 66 have stopped, 2 cannot be traced, and only 19 are known to exist still. The average duration of the 76 schemes formed between 1867 and 1890 inclusive which have ceased and of which precise particulars are known was about 9 years and 9 months.

What is the explanation of this slow progress constantly dogged by failure? Why does this attractive scheme, apparently beneficial to all concerned, end so constantly in disappointment? Where is the flaw in the reasoning? How is it that ardent advocacy of benevolent enthusiasts such as Sedley Taylor, the blessings of the economists—the professorial exponents of the science seem nearly all to regard profit-sharing with approval†—and the active propaganda of the Labour Co-partnership Association, whose annual meeting of 1908, for example, was addressed by the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Christopher (later Lord) Furness, and Professor A. C. Pigou, all come to so little?

What is Profit?

In order to answer this riddle we must more closely examine exactly what is meant by profit-sharing. In the first place, what is profit? The answer to this is, in effect, under the modern industrial system, whatever you please. The return on capital embarked in industry is quite properly divided into two parts, the first called interest, say, three to four per cent., the rate which the investor can obtain from safe securities, and which is therefore the minimum he

*Since this was printed the Board of Trade Report on Profit-sharing and Labour Co-partnership (Cd. 6496, 1912) has been published, which gives a list of 133 schemes in operation, 164 abandoned schemes, and 3 doubtfuls. The list includes nearly 100 cases omitted by Mr. Carpenter, and should be consulted if more complete figures are desired.

†An exception is Professor J. W. Ashley, of Birmingham: see his Preface to Edward Cadbury's "Experiments in Industrial Organization." Longmans. 1912.

expects from any enterprise; and next, the amount, whatever it may be, in excess of this sum, which capital embarked in risky enterprises—and all business is risky—obtains. The latter is profit in the narrower sense. But there are two sorts of capital commonly dealt with in business. The one is the actual things, whether money or machinery or goods, which are used in any enterprise. These are the tangible assets of a company, and this is the capital which earns the profit. The other is the nominal capital, usually, but not always, considerably in excess of this amount, either because the company has purchased the tangible assets as a going concern, along with the goodwill, and often has paid a price, in shares, far in excess of its actual cost, or because there are promotion expenses, legal expenses, commissions, discounts, and services of all kinds, which may be greatly in excess of the genuine minimum. In one sense this does not greatly matter to anybody. The capital of a company is, in many cases, no more than a method of determining at what rate the profits shall be divided. After the company is started it makes little difference whether a profit of £1,000 is paid away to the owners of 10,000 £1 shares, earning ten per cent., or 10,000 £2 shares, earning five per cent. But since the shareable profit is calculated according to the rate and not according to the amount, it makes all the difference in the world in the case of a company which shares with its workpeople everything over four per cent. If the company is capitalized at £10,000, the profit over four per cent. in which the workers share is £600: if it is capitalized at £20,000, the shareable profit is only £200. Now it may be positively stated that there is no definite basis whatever on which a going concern turned into a company should be capitalised. Occasionally the owners of a business have sold it to the public at much below its true value, so that the shares (as those of Bryant & May, Limited, for example) have stood at a very large premium ever since the day of issue. More often company promoters sell at too high a price, so that the shares quickly drop to a discount and remain there ever after. But if the workers are to share in the profits after a minimum rate of dividend is paid, they will want to be satisfied in every case that the nominal capital of the company is not in excess of its real value; and, on the other hand, should profit-sharing become, as its promoters hope, a widespread custom, a real factor in the industrial system, any business man who desired to conform to the letter of the principle whilst escaping its consequences, has only to capitalize his company on such a generous scale as to avoid making profits above the minimum rate, and so to escape the obligation of sharing anything with his employees.

What is "Sharing"?

If profits are difficult to determine, "sharing" is equally vague and shifting. The varieties in the method of sharing might be described as infinite, if the total number of cases were sufficient to justify the appellation.

The essence of the whole thing is that it is a gift from the employer to the employed; and obviously the gift may take any form that commends itself to the employer, may be in cash or in shares, or in a provident fund, or an old age pension, payable at once or on departure, to all employees or only those who have served a minimum period; may be dependent on non-membership of a trade union or on contracting for a term of service; may be forfeited by a strike, and so on.

Then as to the amount payable, we find there is no fixed plan. There is usually a minimum rate of interest on capital before the shareable profit is reached; depreciation is usually provided for, and sometimes reserves to whatever amount the employer thinks fit!*

The minimum interest may be cumulative (i.e., payable out of good years if passed in bad ones) or it may not. Finally, there is no fixed proportion in which the surplus, whatever it be, is divided between the workers. Profit-sharing is, in fact, the antithesis of collective bargaining. The profit shared out is a gift horse, and the workmen have no right to look it in the mouth. Clearly, then, with so diverse and elusive an arrangement, the causes of failure may be innumerable; and the thing itself may vary from a genuine and generous scheme by which an employer hands over to his work-people everything above a legitimate salary to himself as manager —there have been such cases—to the dishonest dodge of a clever hypocrite for getting bigger profit from his hands in exchange for promises that never materialise.

Co-partnership.

The early profit-sharers adopted the crude and unsuccessful method of cash bonus, that is, a percentage of profits payable in cash. But it seemed a pity to let good money go out of the concern. Why not keep the money, encourage thrift, turn the workpeople into small, very small, shareholders, and, in addition, drop the old name, with its melancholy associations, and call the new variety Co-partnership?

This novel plan involves, it is true, some concession to the work-people. They are to be placed, after a fashion, on a level with the proprietors; they are to have a voice, if only a small one, in the management; they may even be allowed a director or two on the board. On the other hand, their alliance with the company is cemented more firmly than ever. The cash bonus is soon paid and soon spent. The slowly acquired share is a stake in the concern which cannot be pulled up without effort. With every workman tied up to such a stake, industrial rebellion is improbable, and even labour unrest will fail to disturb.

*A famous scheme, Henry Briggs, Son & Co.'s Collieries, which divided £40,151 amongst its employees in nine years to 1874, was terminated partly because the men struck against a reduction of wages and partly because in 1873 £30,000 was taken from profits for the purchase of a new mine, and large sums were placed to reserve, in all of which the workers considered themselves entitled to share. (Report, etc., Cd. 6496, pp. 43-6.)

It must here be remarked that the term co-partnership is nowadays applied to two other forms of industrial enterprise with which this paper is not concerned. The housebuilding companies of co-partnership tenants are schemes whereby persons combine as tenants to erect and then purchase collectively out of their savings the houses they occupy. This industrial device is, in fact, a species by itself, altogether distinct from the profit-sharing co-partnery dealt with in this paper, and equally distinct from the " self-governing workshop," which used to be called a co-operative productive company, and is now frequently classed as co-partnership. When the capital of a company is owned, in whole or to a substantial extent, by the workers in the establishment, and the control of the concern is vested in them and their elected delegates, the profits belong to them to share amongst themselves in such a manner as by their rules they determine.

The self-governing workshop has its merits and demerits, which are not considered in this paper. But although it is often classed as co-partnership, it is, in fact, a very different sort of industrial enterprise, and to describe by one term the South Metropolitan Gas Company and some little group of struggling operatives formed into a co-operative society to make boots or bind books simply leads to confusion of thought.

The pioneer of co-partnership profit-sharing was

The South Metropolitan Gas Company.

The strange history of this company's relations with its men sums up the pros and cons of profit-sharing. The matter was one of acute controversy at the time and is so, in a sense, still. We cannot therefore be accused of unfairness if we quote at length the account of it given by Mr. Aneurin Williams, Hon. Treasurer of the Labour Co-partnership Association, in his pamphlet " A Better Way."*

Speaking of cases in which the workman becomes a shareholder, he says :

> " Certainly the most striking example of this kind of partnership is to be found in the South Metropolitan Gas Company in London, a business with a capital of £8,325,340, and employing some 5,459 workmen; and there can hardly be a better introduction to the subject than the history of what that company has done.† It will be remembered how, in the winter of 1889-90, it was engaged in a life and death struggle with the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers. It was just at that time that the organizations of unskilled labour in this country were beginning to feel their strength and to try, no doubt in a somewhat blind and desperate way, to gain for their members some of those advantages which had been so successfully won during the preceding generation by the great unions of skilled workers. The late Sir George Livesey, for so

*Labour Co-partnership Association, 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, n. d.,? 1911, price 2d.

†See also Sir George Livesey's " Paper on the Profit-Sharing Scheme of the South Metropolitan Gas Company." (London : Labour Co-partnership Association.)

long chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, has given more than one graphic account of the danger the company found itself in, of losing altogether control over the management of its own business. The company, upon the initiative of Sir George (then Mr.) Livesey and of his father before him, had over a considerable period of years adopted various schemes for the special benefit of its employees, and had also considered some scheme of profit-sharing. In 1889, therefore, the directors decided to carry out this idea, with a view to more closely identifying the workers' interests with those of the company, and avoiding the friction and great losses to which they found themselves more and more subject. They therefore offered the workers a profit-sharing scheme under certain conditions. By law, the amount of profit which this company may distribute to its shareholders rises as the price at which it sells gas to the public falls. When gas is 3s. 1d. per 1,000 cubic feet, the company may pay, if it earns it, a dividend equal to ten per cent. per annum upon its old unconverted stock, or four per cent. on its present converted stock. For every penny per 1,000 cubic feet which the price of gas is reduced below 3s. 1d. the rate of dividend which may be paid rises 2s. 8d. per cent. on its converted stock. Thus, at 3s. per 1,000, £4 2s. 8d. per cent. may be paid: at 2s. 6d. per 1,000 £4 18s. 8d. per cent., and so on. Thus the interests of the public and the shareholders both lie in cheapening the selling price of gas. The company now offered to its employees of every class a similar arrangement, which, as since modified, is that for every 1d. the price of gas falls below 3s. 1d. per 1,000 cubic feet a bonus of 15s. per cent. is paid on their wages or salaries. This, however, was subject to the condition, among others, that each person accepting the profit-sharing scheme should sign an agreement to serve the company for one year. These agreements were to be dated on different days, so that a strike would become practically impossible, inasmuch as the workers could only strike all together by an illegal conspiracy to violate their agreements. To these agreements the trade union took violent objection, saying at the same time, however, that they did not object to a scheme of profit-sharing under fair conditions. The result, as is well known, was a great strike, its end being a complete victory for the company. The places of the strikers were supplied by new men, and the best terms they could get in the end were that they would be taken back if and as vacancies arose. I may mention, incidentally, that the Labour Co-partnership Association, for which I am now writing, offered its friendly services during this lamentable conflict, and I am told all terms might have been, if indeed they were not, satisfactorily arranged, except the question of reinstating the strikers and dismissing the newcomers. This was a point of honour on one side and the other, and an absolute split took place.

" When, however, the strike was all over, it might have been hoped that things would settle down into harmony. Unfortunately, the most prominent labour leader concerned made a speech in which he threatened that the next time the men would not give notice, but would lay down their tools on the minute. The company retaliated by posting a notice that no member of the trade union concerned would be employed, though Sir George Livesey told the Labour Commission this notice had not been strictly adhered to. However, every workman accepting the profit-sharing scheme was, until 1902, required to declare himself not a member of that trade union. Thus, and from other causes, the feud between the company and the trade union was continued. In 1902, however, the company at the suggestion of the Labour Co-partnership Association withdrew this restriction. It is no part of my duty here to try to apportion the blame for this lamentable state of affairs continuing over so many years. The company, no doubt, felt it absolutely necessary to keep control of its business, and to provide against the public calamity of South London being some night reduced to darkness, and thereby delivered over a prey to the worst elements of its population. On the other hand, in the absence of any other form of efficient protection (whether by the action of the State or otherwise), he trade union no doubt felt that to prevent the workers striking if necessary, and to prevent them joining the union of the trade, was to deliver them over helpless into the hands of their employers.

" It will be seen, therefore, that the South Metropolitan Gas Company is not in every respect a good instance of those better relations between capital and organized labour which we desire. It must, however, be carefully noted that, as between the company and those employed since the strike, the relations have left nothing to desire in the matter of good feeling. The ill-feeling has been solely between the company and the trade union and its sympathisers. It should be pointed out also that though two unions were concerned in this quarrel, the company never denied the principle of trade unionism.

" For several years simple profit-sharing on the basis I have described went on. The workers were encouraged to leave their bonus on deposit with the company at four per cent. About one half of the money was so left, but by less than one half of the men. In 1894 the company was so satisfied with the results that it made a move forward, and offered to increase the rate of bonus by one half (i.e., from one per cent. to one and a half per cent. per penny on the price of gas) to those workmen who would agree to leave half their profit as shares in the company. For carrying out this plan trustees were appointed to purchase shares represented by the total of the small sums belonging to the employees. Each man became an independent shareholder when his stake in the company reached a nominal value of £5 stock,* costing at that time about £13, and yielding

*That is, old unconverted stock, equivalent to £12 10s. nominal of the present stock.

at that price about five per cent. to the investor. This development also was a great success, and in the years 1896-1897 the company took a further step and sought and obtained power from Parliament to add to its board of directors representatives of its employees. This power was somewhat later carried out: the manual workers who are shareholders now elect two directors, and the salaried staff who are shareholders one, while the ordinary shareholders elect six. Of course, this gives the employees (who now hold shares and deposits to the value of about £401,038) an amount of representation on the directorate very largely in excess of the proportion of their shares. It was, however, felt that while shareholding must be a condition precedent to a voice in the affairs of the company, it was not the only interest of the employees which ought to be represented on the directorate. In addition to the partnership arrangements, and partly growing out of them, there are other arrangements, for a conciliation board, for social purposes, for enquiries into such accidents as occur, for provident purposes, and so forth, in which the representatives of the company and of the employees act together for their mutual advantage. Sir George Livesey declared again and again that the large sum of money (£427,000) which had been paid over the period of eighteen years in the form of profit to the employees has not meant a penny reduction of profit to the shareholders, inasmuch as the workers have more than earned it by their better and more economical working. It should be clearly understood that the worker shareholder remains just as liable to dismissal and in every way just as subject to the officials of the company as ever he was under the wage system pure and simple.

"This is by far the biggest experiment in partnership between capital and labour which has been carried out in this country, and it is certainly a highly successful one, in spite of the deplorable conflict between the company and the trade union."

Co-partnership in Gasworks.

The example of the South Metropolitan Gas Company has been followed, slowly at first, and rapidly in recent years, so that in 1912 there were 33 companies working on this system. But there is a strange and very obvious reason why co-partnership succeeds in gas concerns and in gas alone. All gas companies are established by Act of Parliament, and all are regulated by the peculiar sliding scale system already mentioned. The Act fixes a basic price, in the case of the Gas Light and Coke Company of London, of 3s. 2d. per 1,000 feet in 1910. The company is forbidden by law to increase its dividend above the minimum unless it reduces the price to the customers. For every penny reduction in the price of gas the shareholders may receive an extra quarter per cent. dividend.

The effects of this are complicated. The company is always apt to be loaded up with profits which it cannot make use of. Money is sometimes no object to it. When profits grow large enough,

roughly speaking four-fifths of them have to be conceded to the consumer in reductions of price and only one-fifth can be paid to the shareholders. What above all things the company desires is reductions in the cost of production, which will allow the price to be reduced and the dividend to be increased. Moreover, in view of this arrangement, the law takes very good care that there is no hocus pocus about the capital account. There is no chance for the shareholders to get allotments of valuable stock for less than the market price, and anything like "watering" the capital is out of the question.* If a gas company wants more capital, it must notify the local authority, advertise in the local Press, and sell the new stock at public auction. The whole business must be carried out under the public eye, and full returns rendered to the Government of every pound of capital received and every penny of dividend paid.

The Gas Light and Coke Company of London, probably the largest gas company in the world, pays a bonus to its men on the price of gas, which corresponds to the dividend payable, thus:

Price of Gas.	Bonus.	Dividend.
3s. 2d.	nil	£4 0 0 per cent. per annum
3s. 1d.	½ per cent.	£4 2 8† ,, ,,
3s. 0d.	1 per cent.	£4 5 4† ,, ,,

and so on, the bonus increasing at a higher rate till it reaches:

2s. 6d. 5 per cent. £4 17 4 per cent. per annum,

which is the figure at present.

Lastly, in the gas industry, the operatives are by law virtually compelled to give long notice of any proposed strike. For reasons of public safety, Parliament enacted, at a time when gas was the sole illuminant, that for gasworkers to leave work in breach of their contract of employment and without due notice should be a criminal offence punishable by as much as three months hard labour.

Gas companies and their employees are therefore in a very peculiar legal position, and it is probably owing to this, together with the legal monopoly which frees them from the risks of competition and makes regular profits virtually a certainty, and also to their necessary geographical isolation, that profit-sharing has, for the moment at any rate, succeeded in this industry and in this alone.

"The Treaty of Hartlepools."‡

The most famous of recent co-partnership schemes was started in the autumn of 1908 by the late Lord (then Sir Christopher) Furness in his Hartlepools Shipyards.

Annoyed by what he regarded as needless friction with trade unions, he made a public offer either to sell his works to the unions or to establish the following scheme in the Middleton and Harbour

*"Watering" by Act of Parliament does not matter. The Gas Light and Coke Company has £14,451,145 of "water" in its £28,632,925 capital, but the amount is recorded in every balance sheet for the information of all concerned

†These figures are temporarily modified by a special provision for redemption of stock.

‡‡See *The Magazine of Commerce* (Souvenir Co-partnery Edition), December, 1908, 155, Cheapside, E.C.

Dockyards of Irvine's Shipbuilding and Dry Docks Company, Limited.

He proposed to create 50,000 four per cent. preference shares, with a first charge on the profits of the company, to be called Employees' Shares, and to be held by persons employed in the yards. These were to be allotted to employees, and paid for by a five per cent. deduction from wages and by capitalizing the dividend. Profits, after providing for this preference interest, were to be allocated to pay a five per cent. cumulative dividend on ordinary capital, and the directors were to have a free hand to put away reserves, depreciation and development funds. Anything left was to be divided pro rata on the ordinary and the employees' capital.

Anybody leaving the service of the company " would be able to sell his shares " at an assessed price, or at the market value, to other employees only.

The wages and conditions of labour were to remain matters of negotiation between trade unions and the directors, and the holders of employees' shares were to have no voice at all in the management of the company and no right to attend the shareholders' meetings.

But a Works Council was established, consisting of delegates of the employers and employed, with power to advise on anything in dispute; and a proposal was even made, not very definitely, that trade union officials from outside might be co-opted to this council as aldermen.

The whole scheme involved a complete recognition of trade unions. The treaty was referred to the unions concerned, discussed by them, and finally accepted by a vote, in the aggregate, of ten to one.

It was tried for a year and then it failed. The men resolved, by a decisive vote, to abandon it. What precisely weighed with them in coming to this decision must necessarily be a matter of conjecture, but the chief complaint appears to have arisen from the fact that although shipbuilding is a very irregular trade, and men constantly change from one firm to another, by this scheme each move from the Furness yards involved the sale of Furness stock.

Moreover, apart from the Works Council, which had no essential connection with the co-partnership scheme, it is difficult to see what there was particularly attractive in the proposal. The men were kindly permitted to purchase out of their wages a four per cent. preference stock at par, with the chance of a further dividend, if earned, but with no voice in the management of the business. It is, to say the least, doubtful if the company could have raised capital so cheaply in the market or, in other words, if the market value of the stock offered would be as high as the price asked for it.*

*The Irvine Shipbuilding Company is a subsidiary company in the Furness, Withy & Company combine. The latter paid ten per cent. in 1905, fifteen per cent. in 1906, ten per cent. in 1907, five per cent. in 1908, 1909, and 1910 (during which the scheme was in operation), and seven and a-half per cent. in 1911.

We do not suggest that the scheme was, in fact, a dodge for getting cheap capital, but undoubtedly it was not anything in the nature of a gift to the workmen. They were asked to pay full value for what they got. The only concession was in the form of a method of purchase by small instalments, which was no doubt troublesome and expensive to the company.

Anyway, the scheme, in spite of the glamour of its inception and the ability and good faith of its founder, was quickly added to the long roll of co-partnership failures.

A Limited Sphere.

Destitution cannot be remedied by doles, and almsgiving is no cure for poverty. But it does not follow from this that no one should help a neighbour in distress or that the squire should be blamed if he gives Christmas gifts to the labourers on his estate.

Profit-sharing is no remedy for the poverty of the workers, and offers no solution of the problems of modern industry, no sleeping-draught for industrial unrest. None the less, it cannot be said that all profit-sharing is bad, far less that all employers who adopt it are pious frauds. It is essentially a gift, and when an employer resolves to give his workpeople a supplement to their regular wages calculated on a fixed basis, no one can complain, provided that it is a genuine gift taken from his legitimate profits and not earned by their own excess of labour and, above all, that it does not destroy their class solidarity. This last condition bars out all staple and all organized trades. Few trades unionists do, and none should, countenance any such proposal. Cotton and coal and iron workers should have nothing to do with such schemes. But the case is otherwise with unskilled employees in some isolated works, say, a jam factory in a remote village, or the labourers on a farm, where trade unionism is, aparently, impracticable.

The desire of the idealist, that the worker should take an interest in his work, and feel himself to be not a mere hand emlpoyed by a master, but a co-partner, a part owner of the concern, is well-founded, and indeed is largely the root of all industrial co-operation. To this extent the idea of profit-sharing is sound, and appeals to every intelligent student of social conditions. Provided, then, that the share of profit given by the employer is a genuine gift for which no return is asked either in extra exertion or in "loyalty," and that the solidarity of labour is not broken, the benevolent employer may properly adopt this method of benefiting his work-people, just as the landlord may properly distribute blankets and beef to the cottagers on his estate. But neither of them must pretend that his beneficence is a solution of any social problem.*

*The statistics of profit-sharing in all the concerns in which it has been tried are significant. The "profit" shared (after the deduction of rent, interest on capital, wages of management, depreciation and reserves) has averaged about 10 per cent. of the amount given in wages; and the worker's share has been, on an average, just about 5 per cent. addition to his wages, or about a farthing an hour! Out of a total national income in 1912 of about 2,100 millions, the total of wages was under 800 millions. Universal profit-sharing might have made it 840 millions out of 2,100.

The Causes of Failure.

Probably if the truth be known, profit-sharing schemes have failed because the workmen have studied too carefully the publications of the advocates of the system. The fraud on the workers is too palpable. The men have found out that they are like the dog fed off his own tail. They earn the bonus (if there is any), and their employer returns them a fraction of what they have produced. Moreover, they may easily earn it and yet receive none of it. Profits depend on the trading skill of the employer and the chances of the market, even more than on the special diligence of the men. The return they receive for their extra exertions is determined by factors over which they have no control. One or two miscalculated contracts may deprive them of all the profits for which they have laboured. They properly object to let their remuneration depend on the skill or luck of the heads of the business.

Working Class Solidarity.

But the final and conclusive objection to profit-sharing is that it necessarily tends to working-class disintegration. Wherever the capitalist system continues, dividing society into private employers on one side and private employees on the other, the employer and workman must be armed for a fight, even if, like the Great Powers of Europe, they maintain cordial relations for generations. Organization alone places the worker on the same plane as his employer. All intelligent workmen recognise that industrial solidarity is the basis of all working-class progress; and profit-sharing is, intentionally or incidentally, destructive of this solidarity. The workers must be free to combine in trade unions and in federations of unions in whatever manner they think fit, and must be able to strike as a trade, as an industry, or indeed as a class, as often as is necessary for the protection and advancement of their interests. Profit-sharing splits up trades and industries into coteries of privileged workers, each group with interests different from, and perhaps antagonistic to, the others. In some cases, as has been already indicated, profit-sharing and co-partnership schemes have been adopted deliberately with the object of smashing up trade unionism; in other cases it has been recommended to employers because of its value for this purpose; in all cases it has this effect, unless there is no solidarity to disintegrate, no unionism to destroy.

The employees of a profit-sharing firm are bound to their employer more closely than to their fellows. It is their interest to stand aloof from the industrial combat, because they have privileges to lose or a tiny share of capital to consider.

Collective bargaining, the common rule, trade union wages and conditions, are the protection of the workers against sweating and oppression in all their forms; and in these safeguards lie their hope for material advances in wages, and ultimately an increase in their share in the product of industry and their control over its management.

Profit-sharing and co-partnership may be properly called a "piffling palliative," which assumes the permanent continuance of the antithesis between employer and employed. This relation is out of date and no longer in accord with our sense of the fitness of things. There can be no true fellowship between the employer and his hands, the master and his men. We have come to see the truth in the old command, "Call no man master." In the industrial organization of the future there will be no master, but all will be servants one of another, and yet all owners of the wealth which together they create.

That is the fellowship of the future, which, as Morris said, is life.

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By C. Ashmore Baker,
A.M.I.E.E.

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The Report of the Committee on the Control of Industry (Mrs. Sidney Webb, Chairman) is now in preparation, and will be published in 1914.

It is proposed to form a Committee on Industrial Insurance.

PUBLIC v. PRIVATE ELECTRICITY SUPPLY.

ONE of the most remarkable economic developments of modern times has been the rapid growth of what is called municipal trading, and perhaps few economic questions have been discussed with more rancour and ignorance on both sides; for it is seldom that even the supporters of the movement advance much in the way of argument beyond sentiment, or vague generalities for the faith they profess.

The general ignorance on the subject is the less pardonable in view of the great mass and ready accessibility of the material available by which the success or failure of the movement may be gauged.

Can a public service be provided better by a public body than by a private enterprise? And how are we to define "better"?

Many defenders of municipal trading argue their case on ethical and even on æsthetic grounds, but the man who has to foot the bill requires something more concrete, and asks: Can a municipality supply as good an article at as low a price as can, say, a public company; and if so, how can we be sure of it both in regard to price and quality?

Now in many fields of activity it is difficult to compare the results produced under the two rival systems we are considering. This difficulty arises frequently from the absence of generally accepted criteria of "goodness."

One party insists on cheapness regardless of economy, another on efficiency regardless of cost, and so on; and there is heard

"Great argument
About it and about."

What is required at the moment is a comparison based on the production of some definite commodity whose value and cost can be readily and accurately gauged.

Now a Board of Trade unit of electricity is a pretty definite thing from a commercial point of view. It cannot be adulterated; its quality cannot vary much from definite standards; it can be accurately measured; and whether we buy it from a company or a town council we can be fairly certain of obtaining an identical article.

Here also we have an article the cost of production of which, by the judicious investment of twopence at any railway bookstall, can be ascertained in the case of a large number of separate undertakings, both publicly and privately owned.

The *Electrical Times* publishes in nearly every issue tables showing the analysed yearly returns of some 300 of the statutory undertakings, and as these returns are made out in a form prescribed by Act of Parliament they are readily comparable.

In addition to the above, the publishers produce an annual reprint of these tables, usually containing in addition to the figures relating

to the separate undertakings group analyses giving the results produced by the companies as a whole and by the municipalities as a whole. Let us see what these figures have to say to us.

TABLE I.

	Local Authorities.	Companies.
Capital Expenditure per Kilowatt of Maximum Load	£96	£153
Working Expenses per Unit sold ...	0·80d.	1·27d.
Average Price charged per Unit ...	1·70d.	2·52d.
Amount provided for Depreciation and Reserve per £100 of Capital ...	—	£1·32
Amount provided for Sinking Fund per £100 of Capital	£3·15	—
Load Factor*	20·68 %	18·53 %

Table I. gives us the position of affairs as shown in the last (1910-11) issue of these annual tables, and the figures crudely as they stand appear to present an overwhelming case for the municipalities.

Thus, as regards capital expenditure, for each kilowatt of maximum load (that is to say, for a given capacity for meeting the demand for energy at any time) the companies have expended in cash or credit 60 % more than have the municipalities. In working expenses they spent 59 % more per unit sold; their consumers paid them on an average 48 % more per unit.

And here arises one of the loudest and most persistent of the charges levelled against municipal economics. "They are living on their capital," say the objectors; "in a few years their plant will be obsolete or worn out, and notwithstanding this they will still be obliged to go on paying interest on the capital invested, while new loans will have to be raised for the renewal of their machinery."

Now, if this is true, in what a parlous condition must be the electric supply companies in view of the fact that whereas the municipalities are hastening to perdition on sinking funds averaging 3·15 %, not to mention any additional reserves they may be accumulating, the companies are only providing 1·32, or less than half the amount set aside by the municipalities for the protection of their capital, and this notwithstanding the fact that whereas the companies' statutory powers are virtually terminable at the end of forty-two years, those of the local authorities are to all intents and purposes perpetual.

And yet the companies' shares and debentures are readily saleable at quite substantial prices!

Many other voices are raised in refutation of the evidence crudely set forth in Table I. "The municipal undertakings are much larger than those owned by companies, wherefore they work more cheaply."

The municipalities make large paper profits by selling energy to themselves for street lighting, etc., at exorbitant prices. They charge working expenses to capital account. They sweat their workers.

* Ratio of actual to possible output of units by the plant installed.

They pay extravagant wages for the purpose of vote catching. They have invented a whole calendar of new crimes in addition to the old ones doubtless practised by such enterprising local authorities as may have ruled those "Cities of the Plain."

These things obviously want looking into. Let us make an investigation in order to ascertain what of truth may be in them.

The first of these charges has an appearance of reason, inasmuch as the biggest yearly loads of the municipalities' undertakings averaged 2,000 kilowatts, while that of the companies averaged only 1,440 kilowatts during the year we are considering. We must therefore compare our undertakings size for size.

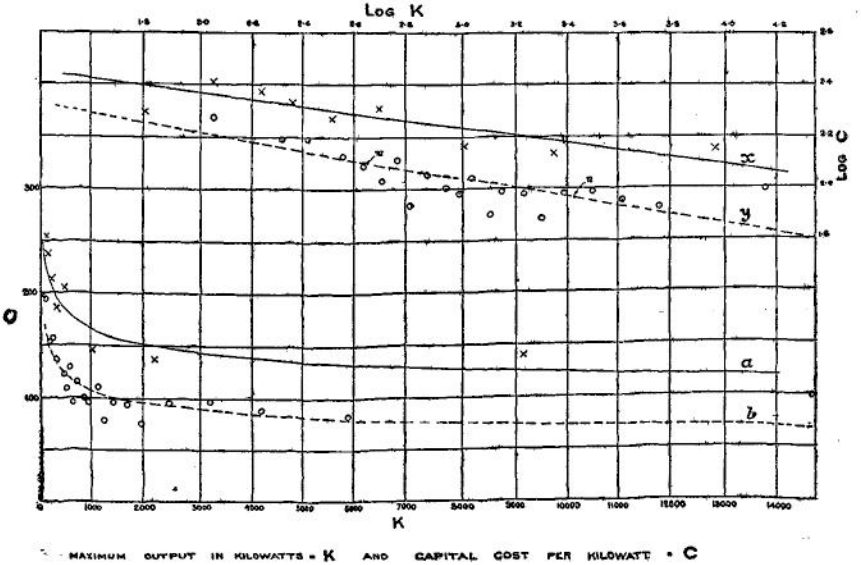
If the list of authorities given in the *Electrical Times* table be taken, and each group (municipal and company) arranged, not in alphabetical order, but in a table commencing with the largest undertaking (as measured by its maximum load) and ending with the smallest, and if we plot on squared paper the figures given, the abcissæ representing the size of the undertaking and the vertical ordinates any other column of figures, such as the total cost of production per unit or the capital expenditure per kilowatt of maximum load, we shall find that we get a series of dots distributed like the tail of a comet about a mean curve.

What we want is to find the mean trend of that curve.

N.B.—The exposition here following of the method of analysis used is not necessary to the main argument; it is given in order that anyone sufficiently interested to do so may verify for himself the results obtained.

A higher degree of regularity may be obtained by further sub-dividing our towns into groups of ten each, and again plotting our co-ordinates; they now fall into a much more orderly arrangement, but it is still not easy to draw a curve which shall represent their mean. (See Fig. 1.)

FIG. 1.



MAXIMUM OUTPUT IN KILOWATTS = K AND CAPITAL COST PER KILOWATT = C

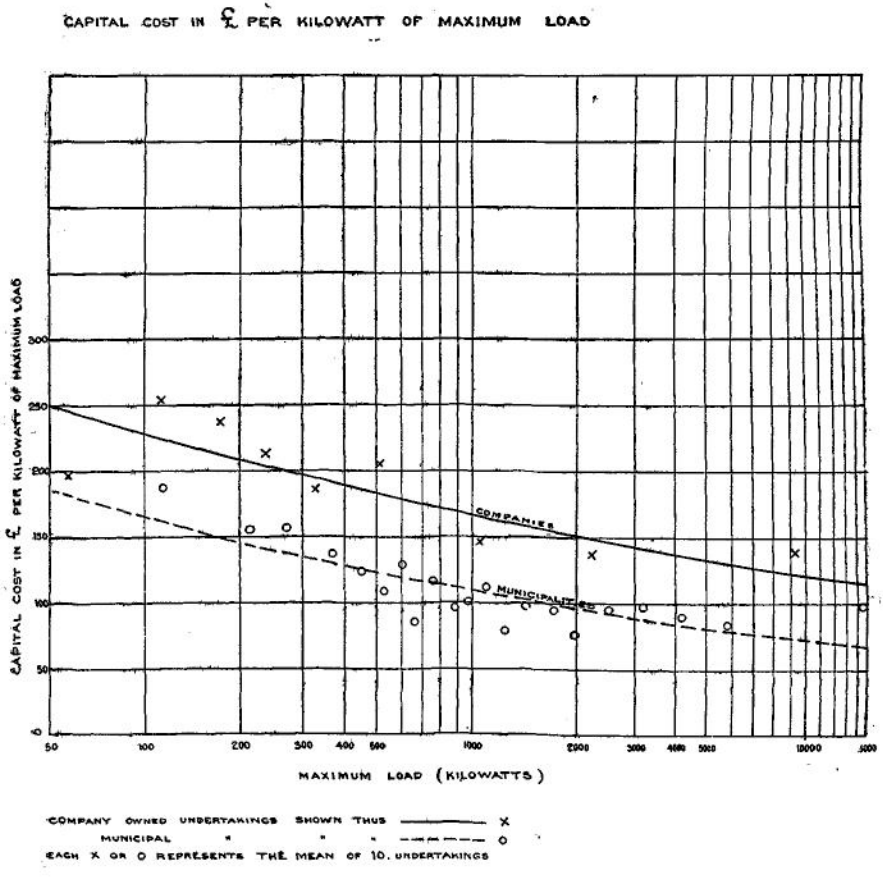
If, however, we take these co-ordinates and instead of plotting them directly we plot their logarithms, we shall find that they lie roughly along a straight line (see *y*, Fig. 1), and it is a very easy thing to find the mean of a number of co-ordinates following a straight line law: all we have to do is to separate them into two groups, one containing, say, all the figures of the first half of the table, and the other all the figures of the second half. We then find for each group the average of all the ordinates, and likewise the average of all the abcissæ; thus we get two separate pairs of co-ordinates, one for the top half of our table and the other for the bottom half. (See *m* and *n*, Fig. 1.) Plotting these two points on our squared paper, we draw a line through them which represents the mean of all our separate co-ordinates.

Now what does this straight line mean?

Having taken as an example the relation between maximum load and capital expenditure for municipal undertakings, if our abcissæ represent logarithms of maximum loads in kilowatts, and our ordinates logarithms of capital cost per kilowatt in £, the line would start from an ordinate measuring 2·58 above the zero point and slope downwards toward the right at the rate of 0·179 inches of vertical height for every inch measured along the horizontal, or in other words:

$$\text{Log } C = 2{\cdot}53 - (\text{Log } K \times 0{\cdot}179),$$

FIG. 2.



or to express our formula numerically: $C = \frac{340}{K^{0\cdot179}}$ from which formula we can calculate the mean curve for our co-ordinates already plotted. (Fig. 1, *a*.) The full line *x* is the corresponding logarithmic line for companies, and gives us the formula

$\text{Log } C = 2\cdot63 - (\text{Log } K \times 0\cdot136)$, or $C = \frac{430}{K^{0\cdot136}}$ as shown in *b*, Fig. 1.

Although these formulæ represent hyperbolas it is not to be argued therefrom that the relation between the size of an undertaking and the cost of its installation or working follows a true hyperbolic law. All that is claimed in the present paper is that for the purposes of comparison, and within the limits of the data available, the mean relation is sufficiently nearly an hyperbola to render any departure from such law negligible.

It will be observed that in curves *a* and *b*, Fig. 1, most of the co-ordinate points are grouped at one end of the diagram, that is to say in the region of the most usual size (1,000 to 2,000 kilowatts). In order to make our comparison clearer it will be well to draw our diagrams in such a way that the mean of the ascertained co-ordinates (as represented by circles and crosses respectively) comes nearer the middle of the diagram, while at the same time the extremes are included in the picture. This can be done by graduating our abcissæ in such a way that equal distances represent equal *proportions* instead of equal quantities, that is to say by making our horizontal scale a scale of logarithms as in Fig. 2, which represents the same curves as are shown in Fig. 1. (Compare Figs. 1 and 2.) The abcissæ of this and the succeeding figures, with the exception of Figs. 9 and 12, are graduated in this way, not with any ulterior motives of hanky-panky but for the sake of clearness only.

The method of analyses above described has been followed in all cases in the following curves with the exceptions of that representing "Rent, Rates and Taxes" and of the graph illustrating the relations between "price" and "user," Fig. 12.

Having obtained a means of comparing the results size for size of publicly and privately owned undertakings, let us proceed to make our comparisons and discover what is to be learned therefrom and what justice may be in the accusations brought by its opponents against municipal trading in electricity.

Fig. 2, as already stated, represents capital expenditure per kilowatt of maximum load; the full line being the curve for companies and the dotted line that for municipalities.

It is obvious from these curves that, in the matter of capital expenditure at least, public bodies have proved on the average better buyers than companies, and not merely for large undertakings but better size for size from one end of the scale to the other.

This result was of course to be expected to some extent, inasmuch as the municipal capital contains no water, and moreover a public body can raise money at a cheaper rate than can a limited company who have not the guarantee of public rates behind them. It was hardly to be anticipated, however, that the difference would be so great, averaging as we have already seen 60 %.

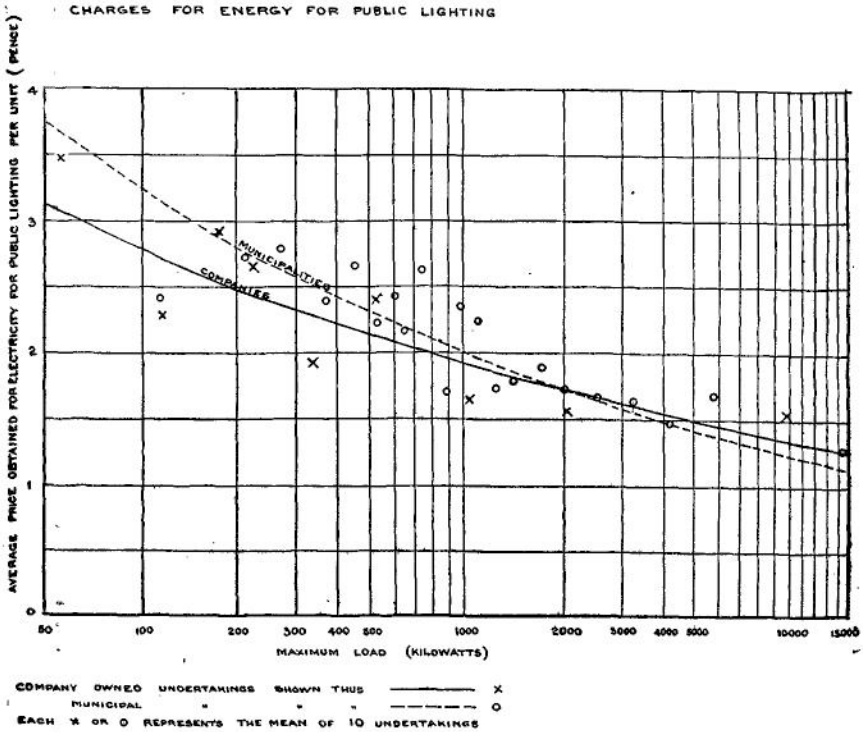
Could this result have been obtained if it were to any marked extent customary for those in control of municipal undertakings to burden their capital accounts with items properly chargeable to revenue? The answer is self-evident.

Now what about those dearly bought units applied to public lighting by means of which the ratepayers' money is filched for the purpose of bolstering up moribund municipal fads?

Fig. 3 tells us something about this, and what it tells us is that there is "not much in it." The companies' charges are lower by a small percentage for the smaller undertakings and higher for the larger ones, the two curves crossing at a point representing a maximum load of 2,000 kilowatts.

If therefore the ratepayers are badly off under the municipal régime as regards the cost of electricity for public lighting, they are on the average very seldom better and generally worse off under the companies ; moreover, inasmuch as the municipal undertakings pro-

FIG. 3

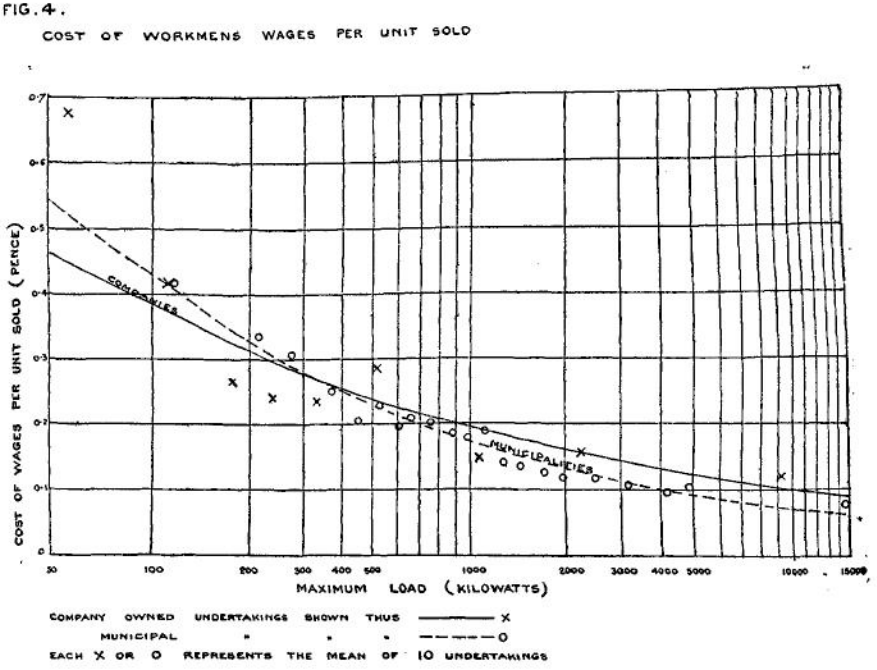


duce at a considerably lower price than do the companies, much of the cost of public lighting must obviously come back to them in the form of profit or in reduced charges for general supply.

Fig. 4 gives us the respective wages curves for the two classes of undertaking, and we must decide from these curves whether "sweating" or "extravagance" is to be charged against the municipalities.

The municipal curve lies somewhat higher than the company curve up to about 350 kilowatts, and above this limit follows a lower trend, so that of the two counts sweating perhaps more nearly fills the bill. But is it not at least arguable that wise expenditure of capital and able management have resulted in a saving in the

FIG. 4.



amount of labor required? The whole tendency of the evidence supports this view. Indeed, to judge by the comparatively small difference between the respective wages curves and the large differences between those representing other items of expense, it is reasonable to deduce that the municipalities pay on an average a higher rate of wages than the companies but more than make up the difference by judicious management.

Fig. 5 gives us the relative amounts spent per unit sold on "Repairs and Maintenance." Here surely we have the municipalities "on the hip."

To the meanest intelligence it must be obvious at first glance that the plants of the municipalities are rapidly qualifying for the scrap heap, owing to neglect of the elementary duty of preserving the machinery intact.

The difference is remarkable; the amount per unit spent by the companies being of the order of 50 % higher than that provided by the municipalities.

But it is *only at first glance* that this charge appears justifiable; for the difference is of much the same order as those between the respective expenditures on management and capital, items of expense which cannot be avoided by the simple method of neglecting to provide them. It is fair to claim therefore that the muncipalities are doing at least as much, if not more, than the companies (in view of their excellent showing on other items) in the way of maintaining their plant in efficient working order.

FIG. 5.

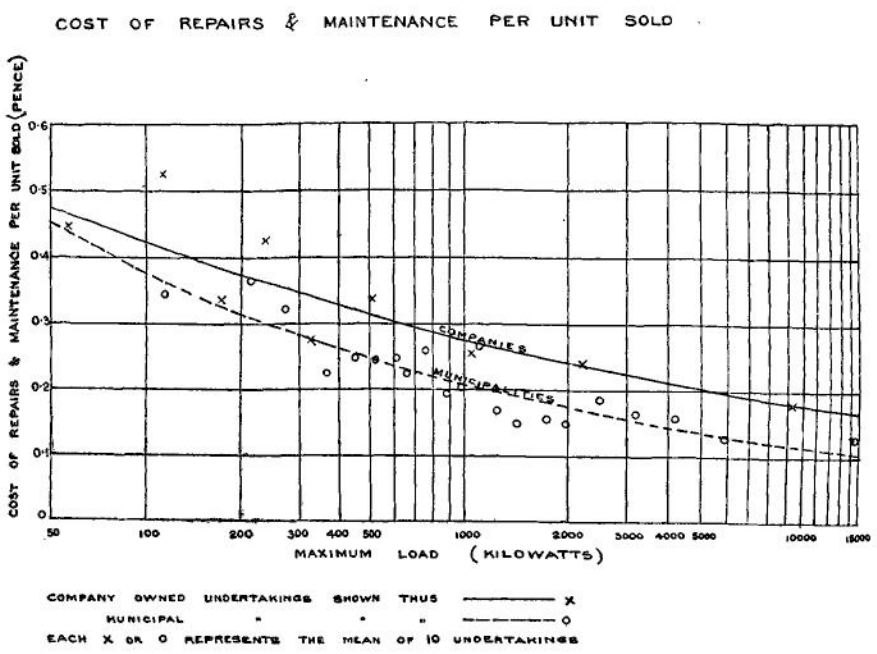


Fig. 6 shows the relative cost of coal per unit sold for the two classes of undertaking. It is only fair to the engineers of the companies to point out that the difference in this case is not in reality as great as would appear from the diagram, and that the apparent difference is largely though not entirely due to the fact that a larger relative percentage of the municipal undertakings is situated in the coal areas.

In Fig. 7 are given the relative amounts spent on management and establishment charges.

What can be the explanation of the extraordinary divergence between these curves? Why should companies have to pay, on an average, anything from 75 % to 300 % more for the management of their undertakings than have the municipalities?

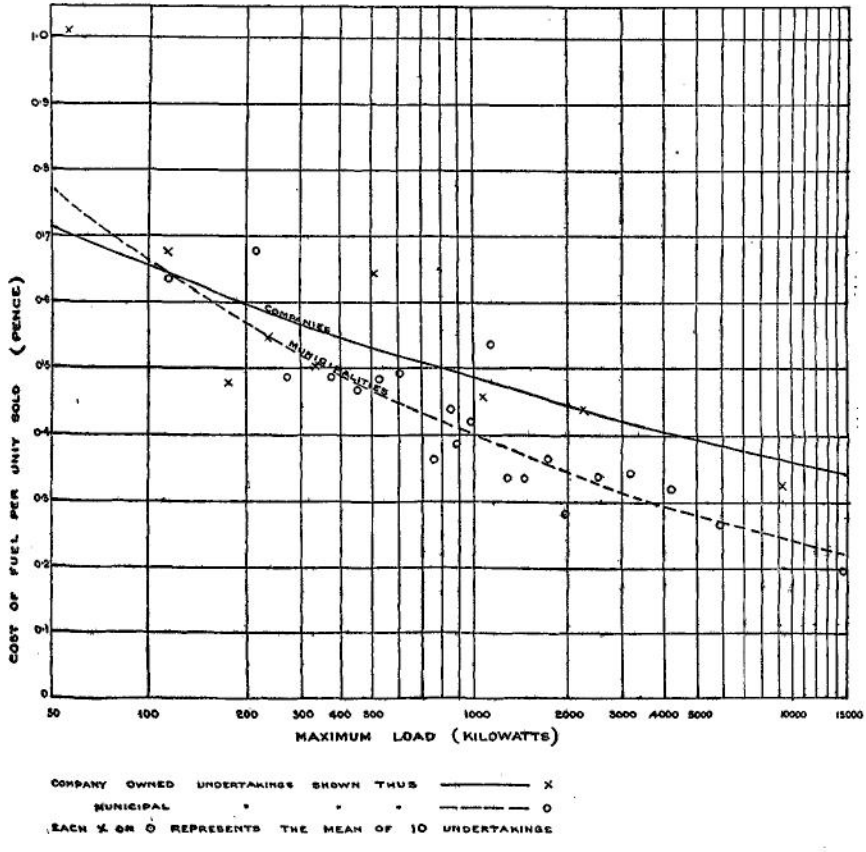
The answer to this question probably lies in the realm of psychology.

The municipalities sweat their officials? Probably they do; certainly the average pay of municipal electrical engineers is extremely low. But it is open to the economist of the cynical "Manchester school" to retort, "If we can get the best men for the rates we pay, why pay more?" and in view of what has gone before, the rejoinder can scarcely be made that the service obtained is of the "nasty" as well as of the "cheap" variety. The general result produced by the municipal engineers is of itself a magnificent testimonial to their efficiency.

The companies have directors' fees to meet? This is, of course, true. You cannot get brains or energy for nothing when your object is private profit. The municipalities, on the other hand, do get the services of their "boards of directors" for nothing; and this brings us to a fundamental proposition of the highest importance in the psychology of public service, namely, "*that men will do better work at a cheaper rate when working for the public good than when working for private gain.*" If the figures I am quoting prove anything at all, they prove this.

Figure 8 is rather remarkable for the fact that, as it indicates, the cost of water, oil, and stores like that of coal is, other things being equal, little, if at all, less in the case of the municipalities than in the case of the companies, phenomena so unusual that one feels compelled to look about for an explanation.

FIG. 6. COST OF COAL AND OTHER FUEL PER UNIT SOLD



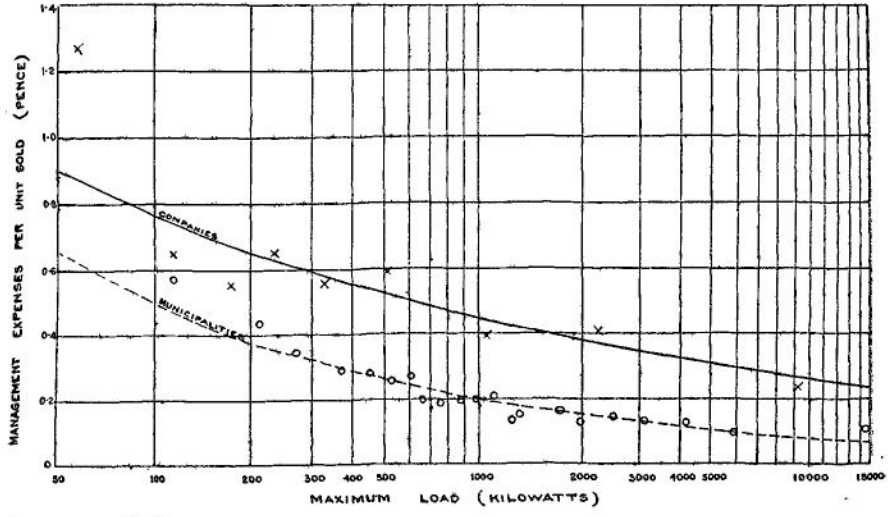
This will probably be found in the fact that where technical as apart from financial matters are concerned there is probably not much to choose between the two classes of undertakings. The companies' engineers would doubtless produce quite as good results as their municipal brethren under equally favorable economic conditions. It is obviously in the board room that the chief differences between public and private trading arise.

Rents, rates, and taxes are presented in Fig. 9, and here will be found some possible explanation of the often heard complaint that the companies are not fairly treated in the matter of rating. The item in question does not appear to follow any law analogous to those governing output and cost under other heads of expenditure (or, indeed, any law at all, except such as under providence may guide the inscrutable workings of the minds of the assessment authorities). They commence equally at or about 0·15d. per unit, and rise and fall respectively to about 0·2d. per unit in the case of the companies and about 0·1d. per unit for the municipal undertakings.

A large proportion of the item in question is due to local rates, which are of the nature of an income tax; and inasmuch as the companies charge far higher prices for their energy than do the municipalities, it is reasonable to expect their rateable value to be correspondingly higher.

IG. 7.

MANAGEMENT, SALARIES, OFFICE & LEGAL EXPENSES INSURANCE ETC.



COMPANY OWNED UNDERTAKINGS SHOWN THUS ———— X

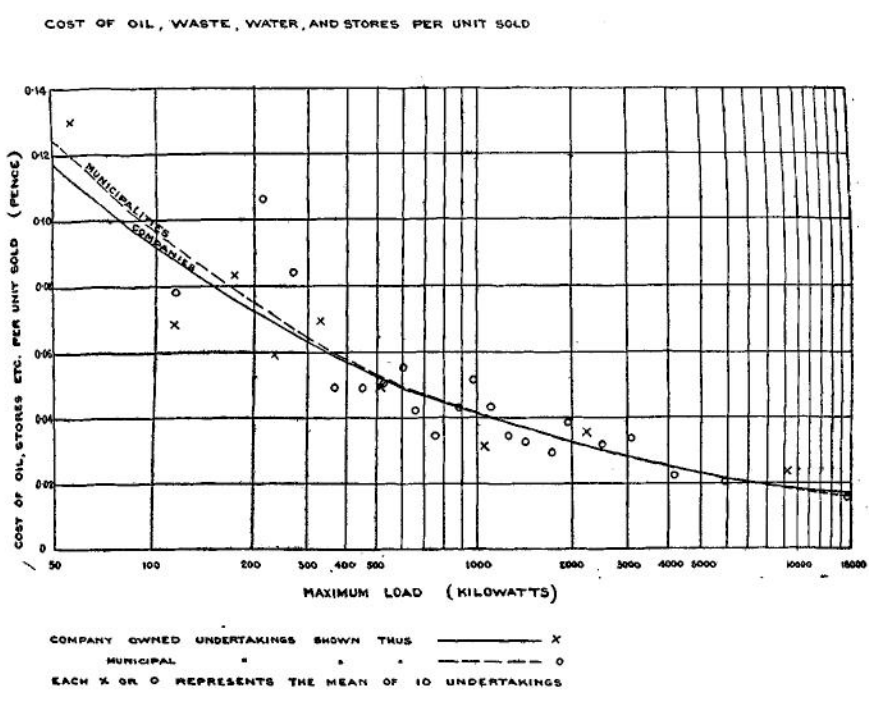
MUNICIPAL " " " ——— O

EACH X OR O REPRESENTS THE MEAN OF 10 UNDERTAKINGS

The remainder of the difference is probably to be accounted for by the obviously superior economic efficiency which the municipalities evince, on the whole, throughout their operations.

In Fig. 10 we have curves representing the grand totals of the preceding curves, and it is an interesting check on the method of

FIG. 8.



analysis employed to find that the respective values of these curves agree to within about 2 % or less with the sums of the preceding curves for items of working cost. Beyond this observation Fig. 10 requires no further comment.

The consumers' point of view is touched upon in Fig. 11, which shows the average price received per unit for publicly and privately owned undertakings respectively of various sizes. It is obvious from these curves on which side the consumers' bread is buttered.

Having, as I submit, effectively shown that the figures given in Table I. present a true comparison between the respective results of public and private ownership, and that they are not to be whittled away by the criticisms with which I have dealt so far, let us return to the consideration of this table. The four essential points in the economics of electricity supply are here presented, and in all of these the municipalities make a far better showing than do the companies. But for the purpose of making a more simple comparison these may be combined into one figure for each class of undertaking.

For this common figure we may take the gross profit per £100 of capital on the assumption that both classes of undertaking charged their consumers the same average price for energy.

In the return we are considering, the number of units of energy sold per kilowatt of maximum load is for municipalities 1,811. The average price charged by the companies, including meter rents, etc., is 2·69 pence.

Had the municipalities charged the same average prices, their gross profit per unit would have been this figure less their cost of production, or 1·89d. per unit, which multiplied by the number of units sold per kilowatt, namely 1,811, gives us a gross profit of 14·9 % on our capital expenditure of £96 per kilowatt.

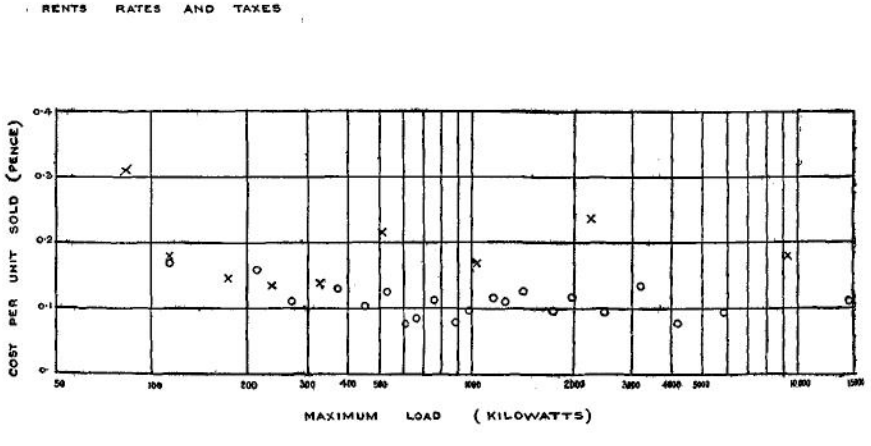
$$\text{Thus } \frac{1{\cdot}89 \times 1{,}811}{240} \times \frac{100}{96} = 14{\cdot}85$$

Now the difference between the companies' average price and working expenses is only 1·25d., while the number of units sold per kilowatt of maximum load is 1,624, which gives a gross profit of only 5·53 % on a capital of £153 per kilowatt.

$$\text{Thus } \frac{1{\cdot}42 \times 1{,}624}{240} \times \frac{100}{153} = 6{\cdot}28\ \%$$

Thus the municipalities would have earned more than two and a third times the amount of gross profit per £ of capital that the companies have gained.

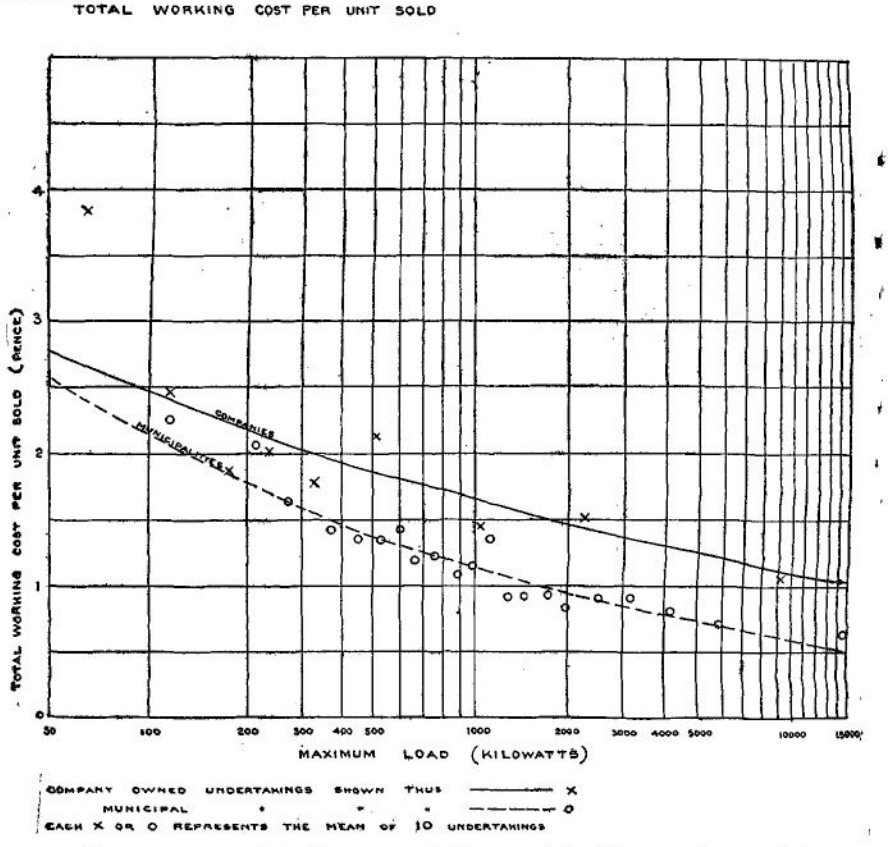
FIG 9.



If we take nett profit as the basis of comparison, still keeping the two classes of undertaking on an equal commercial footing, the greater success of the municipalities from the purely commercial point of view becomes still more strongly marked.

Thus, accepting the companies' provision for depreciation and reserve as a sufficient allowance in both cases (and there is no commercial reason why if it is sufficient in the case of the companies whose powers are terminable it should not be sufficient in the case of the municipalities who have perpetual powers), we find the nett

FIG. 10.



profits are 13·53 % in the case of the municipalities, and 4·95 % in the case of the companies; the former figure being about two and three fourths times the latter.

If, then, the two systems are compared on the usual basis of profit, it is evident that the municipalities have beaten the companies by the handsome margin of nearly three to one.

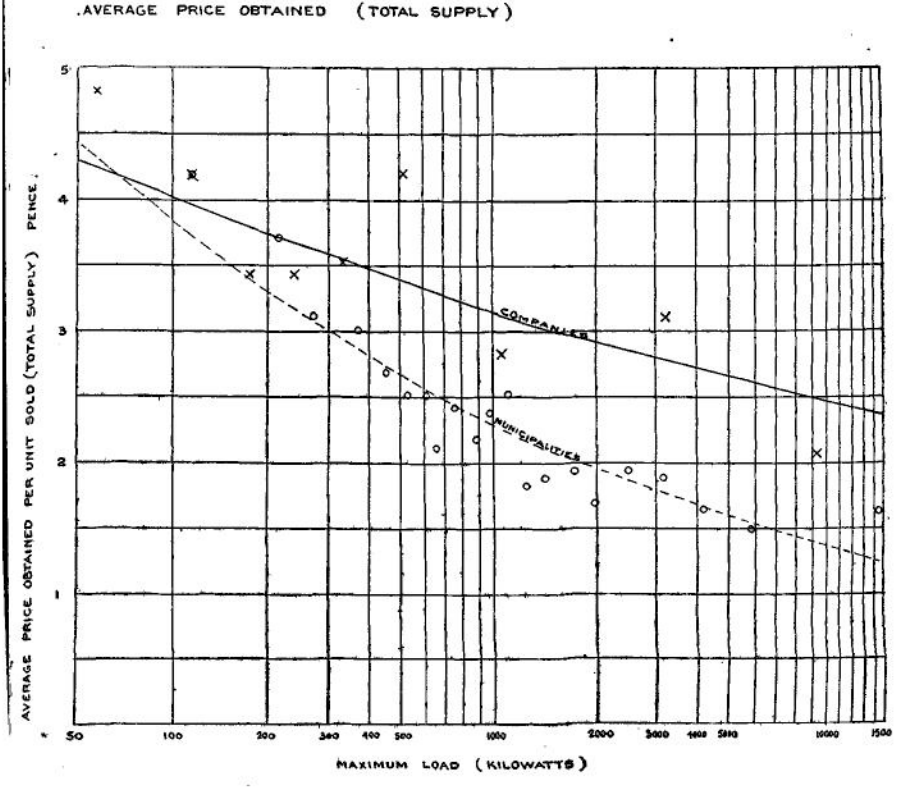
So far the municipalities have been on their defence, but we now come to a set of facts justifying a prompt and vigorous attack upon

the claim of private enterprise to toleration even, let alone encouragement, in the field of public service.

The "sale" of an article depends largely on its selling price, and this is as true of electrical energy as it is of any other commodity.

The retarding influence of private ownership upon the development of the electrical industry becomes evident from an examination of Fig. 12, in which are depicted the average prices charged and the average sale in units per head of population for provincial undertakings, as derived from the *Electrical Times* annual tables for the years 1903-4 to 1911-12 inclusive; the company returns being given in full and those of the municipalities in dotted lines as before. The inverse relation between the prices charged and the rate of increase is particularly noteworthy.

FIG. 11.



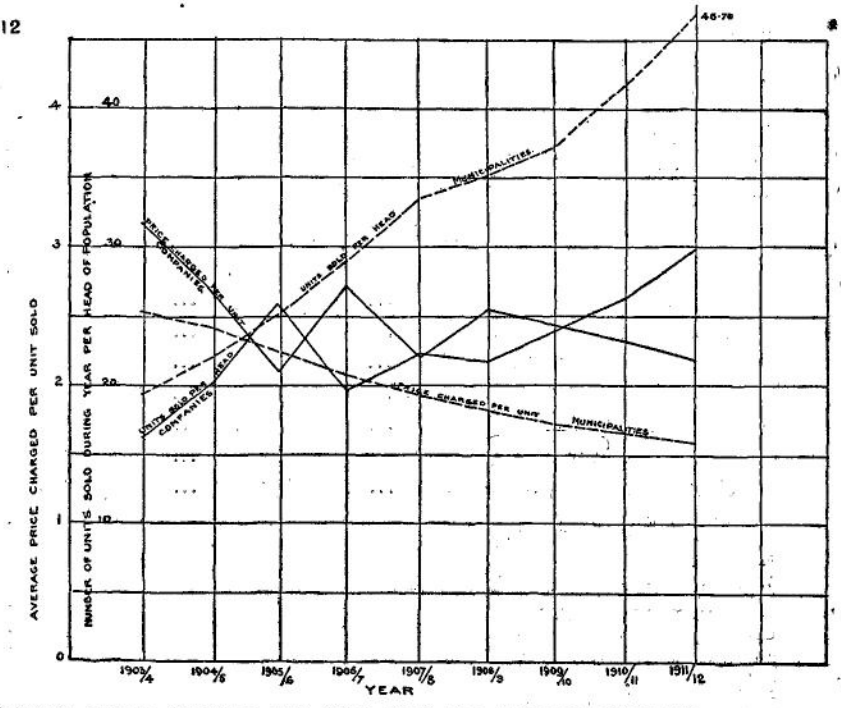
Compare the development in the one case with that in the other and consider what an intolerable drag on the electrical industry universal company ownership would have been. Thus in the provinces instead of an annual output of some 790 million units for the year 1910-11, we should have been fobbed off with only 460 million.

Instead of a capital of £36,000,000, earning for the public 11·3 %, we should have spent in its place some £28,000,000, plus 60 % or so of water, in order to earn 4·3 % thereon for private investors. Note also the tendency of the companies to maintain their average selling prices at the highest permissible figure and the tendency of the local authorities to reduce theirs to the lowest.

It may be suggested that the supply of electrical energy is an exceptional industry, and that arguments deduced therefrom are not applicable to other industries.

This is not the case, however, as will be seen from an examination of the Parliamentary Returns of gas undertakings.

FIG. 12



AVERAGE PRICE CHARGED AND UNITS SOLD PER HEAD OF POPULATION

COMPANY OWNED UNDERTAKINGS SHOWN THUS ——————

MUNICIPAL " " " ----------

PROVINCIAL UNDERTAKINGS ONLY.

That for December, 1911, shows the following results :

TABLE II.

	Companies.		Municipalities.
Capital per 1,000 cubic feet of gas sold per annum	16s.	...	12s. 7d.
Working expenses per 1,000 cubic feet sold	31·86d.	...	28·1d.
Revenue per 1,000 cubic feet sold ...	42·56d.	...	38·5d.

Thus, on the basis of equal conditions as before, the gross profits of the municipalities would have been 1s. 2½d. on a capital of 12s. 7d., or 9·58 %, as compared with the gross profit of 5·57 % earned by the companies.

In addition to the above, the municipalities have provided sinking funds, etc., to the amount of nearly a third of their capital. It would be interesting to know what proportion of their capital the companies have written off.

Here also it is interesting to note that whereas the sales in the case of the companies increased to the extent of 2·7 %, in the case of the municipalities they increased by nearly 3·3 %, i.e., the municipalities' business is growing 20 % faster than that of the companies.

In electric traction also the municipalities compare advantageously with the companies. Thus, in the *Electrical Times* annual tables for the year 1910-11 the following figures are given :

TABLE III.

	Companies.		Local Authorities.
Capital cost per mile of track ...	£15,000	...	£16,100
Traffic revenue per car mile ...	9·90d.	...	10·58d.
Operating cost per car mile ...	6·00d.	...	6·52d.
Operating cost per passenger ...	·79d.	...	·64d.
Average fare per passenger ...	1·30d.	...	1·05d.
Depreciation and reserve ...	£1·43	...	£2·70
Nett profit per £100 of capital...	£5·58	...	£6·66

These figures are not strictly comparable, inasmuch as the districts served by the municipalities are usually better suited to tramway traction than those served by the companies.

There can be no doubt, however, that under level conditions, the economic laws which render other categories of municipal enterprise so much more successful commercially than the corresponding private enterprises would in a few years tell as markedly in favor of the municipal traction undertakings as they have already done in the case of municipal electricity and gas supply.

Doubtless the figures I have quoted and the conclusions I have deduced therefrom will be met by the protest (that final refuge of the destitute controversialist), "Statistics can be made to prove anything"; but I have not much fear that statistics (real statistics) can

be produced which will suffice to refute my proposition that our municipalities can "beat to a frazzle" the private companies working in the same fields of enterprise.

The question here suggests itself, in what fields of commercial activity is private enterprise likely to succeed better than public enterprise?

It is not the province of the present paper to discuss the relative merits of the two rival systems from the sociological or politico-economic aspects. These have been and will continue to be dealt with by other pens. My object has been to clear the field of some of the more common and immediate misconceptions and superstitions concerning municipal enterprises which are still widely believed in, and I must now leave it to my readers to judge how far this object has been successfully attained.

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CHARLES KINGSLEY AND CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM . . .

By COLWYN E. VULLIAMY

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CHARLES KINGSLEY AND CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

The Christian Socialists.

"ALL great poets," says Kingsley's Chartist hero, "are by their office democrats." Perhaps it may be said with equal truth that all real Christians are by their profession Socialists. The vital religions never have fought shy, and never can fight shy, of the social problem. The existence of poverty and evil is contrary to the religious ideal, and is in continual opposition to the religious doctrines. The founders of the Christian Church were very clear on this point. The poor and oppressed were in a special sense God's children, and their presence in society indicated a state of affairs which the Church was foremost in denouncing and in seeking to correct. Maurice, the originator of modern Christian Socialism, never hesitated to affirm the necessity for the co-operation of Church and State in any sound scheme of social reform, and his teaching lays stress on the "radical affinity" between the principles of religion and the practice of Socialism. More, he believed in the direct action of the Church in politics and industrial regulation. That the Christian Socialist Movement has exercised considerable influence in both directions is beyond dispute.

Before considering the position of Charles Kingsley in this movement and his special influence, it will be well to give, first, some idea of the movement itself, and then a short account of the man whose teaching and personality led to its formation—Frederick Denison Maurice.

English Socialism and the Co-operative Idea may be regarded as of twin birth. The work of Robert Owen has been already dealt with in this series; it is not necessary here to describe his theories and reforms in detail. The wonderful, almost quixotic, romance of the New Lanark mills, raised wages, reduced hours, free education and amusements, cheap provisions, and habitable dwellings—all this is well known, and so are Owen's magnificent schemes for the general organization of industries and the free instruction of the whole community. Had the more reasonable of Owen's proposals been peacefully and persistently urged, it is likely that democratic advance during the first half of the last century would have been much more rapid. Unfortunately, the democratic cause fell into the hands of O'Connor and his "physical force" Chartists, and with the fiasco of April 10th, 1848, when the Charter was trundled to its doom in a hackney cab and its heroes dispersed by the householder constables, it seemed as though the rights of the people had suffered a crushing defeat. But this was not so. Stimulated largely by the success of the Rochdale experiment, the co-operative

schemes again came to the fore, and plans for industrial and social reform were both voiced by the new movement, which, a year or two later, was known as Christian Socialism. Realizing the finer elements of Chartism, and deeply conscious of the suffering of the people, a group of devoted workers gathered round their leader, Maurice, and by means of an extremely vigorous propaganda, untiring personal labor, and the launching and financing of co-operative concerns, sought to "assert God's order," and to establish a system of brotherhood and mutual help.

The Christian Socialists were by no means revolutionary. They were in some respects conservative—Kingsley always asserted the value of an aristocracy—and believed rather in a restoration than in a reformation of society. They did not seek to reconstruct society, but to avail themselves of the resources of the existing society, which they considered as a divine institution, soiled and corrupted by the evil practices of men, and above all by the spirit of competition. Their strength lay in the noble ideals which they set before the working men. Their weakness lay in the obvious limitations of their dogma, and perhaps also in their conception of the natural goodness of men and in a false theory of society. By 1850 they had already promoted twelve co-operative associations, all of them in trades which were then untransformed by the use of machinery—tailors, shoemakers, builders, piano-makers, printers, smiths, and bakers. It should be pointed out that the Christian Socialist theory of co-operation differed from the Rochdale plan in its fundamental principle. The Rochdale co-operatives adopted the Owenite "elimination of profit" scheme, and formed an association of consumers, with benefits according to the amount purchased; the Christian Socialists advocated the association of producers, with benefits according to labor. The commercial failure of their enterprises was mainly caused by the fact that in small co-operative concerns run on these lines it was impossible to destroy the competitive element.

The idea of the movement was the application of the religious principle to economic problems, with special emphasis on *the supreme importance of individual character.* The life of the movement was short. After some four years of admirable and heroic effort, and the sacrifice in some cases of health and fortune, they were compelled to abandon their schemes for the regeneration of industry. But although they had failed as a working organization, they had set an example which profoundly influenced the trend of English Socialism and has yielded a richer harvest than any of them could have foreseen. And it may be questioned whether, continuing their individual efforts independently, they did not accomplish more than they could have done had they remained united, and possibly restricted, in close association.

Taken from the religious standpoint, they differed from the great Anglican Revival—the Oxford Movement—in this respect: that instead of bringing the people to the Church, they were concerned rather with bringing the Church to the people.

The literature of the Christian Socialists will be dealt with in the course of this essay; it is time now to give attention to their leader and prophet.

F. D. Maurice.

Frederick Denison Maurice has been described as "certainly the most typical theologian of the nineteenth century." In addition to his great theological and metaphysical learning, he possessed what was then a rather unusual thing in a clergyman—a sturdy democratic spirit. His literary career began early. When a Cambridge undergraduate in 1825 he edited a paper, called the *Metropolitan Quarterly Magazine*, with his friend Whitmore. Most of the contributors were fellow undergraduates, and among them John Stuart Mill, who wrote an attack on *Blackwood's Magazine*, under the title of "The New School for Cockneyism." The *Metropolitan* ceased publication after four issues. After having contributed to the *Athenæum*, he became editor, in 1828 (at the age of twenty-three), but resigned the following year. By 1830 he had completed a novel, "Eustace Conway," which was published about four years later. It was at this period that he removed to Oxford and made the acquaintance of Gladstone, who was then an undergraduate. In 1834 he took orders, and was soon drawn into the pamphleteer controversies which characterized the theological history of that period. "Subscription No Bondage" was written in 1835. From this period he broke away from the Oxford School. Pusey's writings contained "everything he did not think and did not believe," and Pusey, on his part, was "exceedingly angry" with Maurice's tract on Baptism, published in 1837. This year he married Miss Anna Barton, the daughter of General Barton, of the 2nd Life Guards.

In 1838 began a bitter warfare on the part of the religious newspapers, which continued, with little intermission, during his entire lifetime. Carlyle's influence was at this period affecting all ranks of intellectual society. Maurice attended his lectures, but his agreement with Carlyle was only partial, and he sometimes denounced his words and manner as "wild pantheistic rant." The inefficiency of the Church saddened him. "The Church is in a sad state; we all know that—little light, little life." In 1840 he edited the *Educational Magazine*. He became Professor of Theology at King's College and Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn in 1845. The following year he was visited by Ludlow, who sought his aid in a scheme "to bear the leisure and good feeling of the Inns of Court upon the destitution and vice of the neighborhood," a phrase which leaves one in doubt as to its exact meaning. He was active in the establishment of Queen's College, and was assisted by Kingsley, at a later stage, on the committee.

Politics for the People, the first periodical issued by the new Socialists (the term Christian Socialist was not currently employed until two years later), was first published under Maurice's direction on May 6th, 1848. It ran through three months of publication, and came to an end in July, having reached a weekly circulation of two

thousand copies. Maurice now held meetings of his friends once a week at his house in Queen Square; he also organized bible classes and night schools. Ludlow had persuaded the Chartist tailor, Walter Cooper, to hear Maurice preaching at Lincoln's Inn, and this, in April, 1849, led to his first meeting with Chartist working men at the Cranbourne tavern. These meetings were continued and were attended by several clergymen. The period of full activity was about to commence. "The time had come in my father's life," writes his son, "when it was certain that a movement of which he would be the leader must begin."

The little band of workers were formally organized as the Christian Socialists in 1850, and the first number of their organ, the *Christian Socialist*, with Ludlow as editor, was published on November 1st. Maurice's contributions were not numerous.

Both Maurice and his friends were subjected to a wild and bitterly unjust attack from the pen of one Croker in the *Quarterly* for September, 1851. In spite of its manifest exaggeration and open malignity, it did much to inflame public opinion against the Socialists. During the great Iron Trades Strike of 1852 the Christian Socialists were energetic on behalf of the men. The strike was a failure; the men were forced to return to work at the old terms and to abandon their union.

After a prolonged discussion, Maurice was expelled from King's College in 1853 (November), owing to certain opinions expressed in his "Theological Essays"—a publication which could not fail, at such a juncture, to provoke controversy. The whole affair gained a wide publicity. The opinions of the press wavered: Maurice was condemned on the one hand and applauded on the other; to the Broad Churchmen he was a victim, to the High Churchmen a heretic. From conscientious motives he resigned his position at Queen's College the following month—a position to which he returned, in reply to the solicitation of the entire Council, three years later. The survey of his last years must be condensed. He was particularly interested in the instruction of women of the working classes and in the Working Men's College. A series of "Tracts for Priests and People" was written by Maurice and his friends during 1861-2, and published in the latter year. At the same time, after many years of labor, his great work on "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy" was printed. Towards the close of his life he became more and more absorbed in polemical and theological discussions and in every kind of doctrinal controversy. He died in 1872, at the age of sixty-six.

Maurice possessed a vast personal influence over the men with whom he was brought into contact, and especially over the leaders of the Christian Socialist Movement, who were in turn led by his unanswerable resolution, his loyalty, and his calm endurance. For example, he was able to suppress Lord Ripon's pamphlet on Democracy ("The Duty of the Age") by the mere weight of his objection, even after the pamphlet had been printed and was ready to be distributed. He was the intellect and the scholar of the move-

ment; his disciple, Kingsley, humanized his ideas and set them in a form "understanded of the people." *

Charles Kingsley—Early Years.

Descended from men who had fought at Naseby and Minden, the son of a country gentleman whose mismanaged fortune was the cause of his entering the Church, Charles Kingsley was born at Holne Vicarage, in Devonshire, on June 12th, 1819. His father was a man of many talents and a keen sportsman, and it was from him, doubtless, that Kingsley inherited that open-air temperament which was always so characteristic. Kingsley's child-play seems to have been divided between the Army and the Church. He was either engaged upon fortification work or he was preaching in his pinafore to an imaginary congregation. His first poem, a very solemn reflection on human mortality, was written at the age of four years and eight months. It is not possible to give his boyhood in detail, but one episode must certainly be dwelt upon.

When a lad of twelve he was sent to school at Clifton, and it was here that, to use his own words, he "received his first lesson in social science." The Bristol riots had begun in the autumn of 1831, and it was in the following year that Kingsley, fascinated, as schoolboys are wont to be, by the horror and excitement of a "row," evaded supervision and went forth to see for himself. It was a nauseating affair. Demos, in true Caliban mood, had broached casks of spirit upon the paving-stones, had defied the soldiers, who sat motionless, orderless on their horses, the blood streaming from their faces; had plundered, burned and violated in full sight of trembling and hesitating authority. The flames from a burning house ignited the spirit in a gutter; in one instant a blazing torrent of fire rushed down upon the drunken wretches and left behind it a line of blackened corpses—Demos, to the accompaniment of outrage and suicide, continuing his frenzied debauch. The scene produced the one possible effect on a questioning and intelligent mind: "That sight," he said, "made me a Radical."

College Days and Curacy.

After a two-year's course as a day student at King's College (his father at that time having the living of Chelsea), he gained a scholarship—much to his own surprise—at Magdalene, Cambridge. He was extremely popular with his fellow-undergraduates of every description. Like all imaginative men, he found enjoyment in all kinds of society. His life was one of extraordinary mental and physical activity, though, in the academic sense, he never distinguished himself. In Kingsley, a young man possessed of a vehement and challenging spirit, the restlessness of his age became at times a veritable fever. The Tractarian Movement was in full force. It was a period of fierce and disquieting controversies. His sense of religion

* Unlike Kingsley, Maurice was never at his ease when talking to individuals of the manual working class. His manner on such occasions was timid and conventional.

was overclouded. To escape from the strain of his own searching and wearing thoughts he "went in for excitement of every kind"—horses, duck-shooting, fencing, boxing, boating, and so forth. His acquaintance, through his writings, with Carlyle and his philosophy helped to ballast his unsteady and wavering opinions. It is probable, too, that friendship with another undergraduate, Charles Mansfield, proved a good influence.

The story of Mansfield's short life is particularly touching. He possessed an unusual brilliance of conversation, the most intense faith that right was might, and that there was indeed a God in the heavens. He was a student of chemistry, and became so distinguished in this science that men saw in him the successor of Faraday. In due time he became one of the Christian Socialists, and his death, which occurred as the result of an accident in the laboratory, was a grievous loss to the movement, and especially to Kingsley. From Mansfield Kingsley acquired that zeal for sanitary reform and for the institution of a sound national hygiene which became pronounced in his later activities.

Kingsley had at one time considered the law as a profession, but in 1841 he decided upon entering the Church. In striking and very significant words he announces his devotion to "the religion which I have scorned," begins a course of desperately hard reading for his degree, cramming three years' work into six months of unceasing labor, emerges from the trial with a first in classics and senior optime in mathematics, reads for Holy Orders, and is ordained in the July of 1842. During this period of preparation, and, indeed, ever since the summer of 1839, when he first met her, Miss Pascoe Grenfell, the lady who was to be his wife (a *summum bonum* which he then despaired of), was the confidant of his thoughts, hopes and perplexities, and the kind admonitress of his troubled spirit. It was she who introduced him to the writings of Carlyle, Coleridge, and Maurice; it was she who consoled and strengthened him in the midst of doubt; and we may be pretty certain that it was for her sake that he worked so hard and so manfully when once the clear road lay before him. During the interval between leaving Cambridge and entering upon his curate life, he began his "Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary," illustrated with his own drawings. "It was not intended for publication, but as a gift to his wife on his marriage day, if that day should ever come." On July 17th he first ministered in Eversley Church—the church which was destined to be his for more than thirty years.

He seems to have found the parish of Eversley in a lamentable condition. The population were traditional smugglers and poachers. The squire had been a Prince Regent's man—a hard-riding, hard-drinking person, and "a strict game preserver." Of Kingsley's rector I can learn little. Available records are silent. Perhaps we may form a sufficient judgment of his character from the fact that he absconded in 1844. Kingsley's manliness, his plain speaking and preaching, and his skill at fisticuffs rapidly gained him the friendship and respect of the villagers. The poacher and the poet, two

democratic products, have always fraternized in spirit. Here was a parson who was some good at last: the empty church began to fill.

At the end of 1843 Kingsley took leave of his bachelor quarters at the corner of Eversley Green, having been offered the curacy of Pimperne. In January, 1844, he married Miss Grenfell, and, the living of Eversley becoming unexpectedly vacant, he received the appointment, and the newly married pair took up their abode in Eversley Rectory.

The Working Classes in 1844.

It is by no means unimportant that we should try to form some idea of the industrial and rural conditions of this period. Chartism was rampant. The strikes of 1842, when wheat stood at sixty-five shillings a quarter, and sabotage and violence were general, had ended, but now (1844) a fierce dispute was in progress between the masters and men of the northern collieries. The men were beaten, but their defeat led to the enlistment of 30,000 as physical-force Chartists. The misery of the industrial workers was almost beyond belief. The treatment they received from their employers was so barbarous and so overbearingly despotic that the facts read like some black and impossible fantasy of the imagination. A very remarkable young man of twenty-three was collecting material for his book on the working classes of England. He was a German, and his name was Frederick Engels. From his book—the saddest and most terrible record of that period—I must give one or two typical illustrations.

Of the London slums he says: "The streets are generally unpaved, rough, dirty, filled with vegetable and animal refuse, without sewers or gutters, but supplied with foul, stagnant pools instead. . . . . Scarcely a whole window-pane can be found, the walls are crumbling, doorposts and window-frames loose and broken, doors of old boards nailed together. . . . . Heaps of garbage and ashes lie in all directions, and the foul liquids emptied before the doors gather in stinking pools. Here live the poorest of the poor; the worst paid workers with thieves and the victims of prostitution indiscriminately huddled together. . . . ." But this is nothing compared with the state of the factory hands. The facts with regard to the employment of women are too horrible to be detailed; vice and disease, the criminal tyranny of overseers, the violation of every right of womanhood and motherhood—it is as well to pass by these things in silence. Let me quote from his indictory paragraph: "Women made unfit for child-bearing, children deformed, men enfeebled, limbs crushed, whole generations wrecked, afflicted with disease and infirmity . . . . children seized naked in bed by the overlookers and driven with kicks and blows to the factory, their clothing over their arms . . . . their sleepiness is driven off with blows. . . . ." Turn to the country districts: "The laborer lays snares or shoots here and there a piece of game. It does not injure the landlord . . . . for he has a vast superfluity. . . . But if he is caught he goes to jail, and for a second offence receives *at the least seven years' transportation*. From

the severity of these laws arise the frequent bloody conflicts with gamekeepers, which lead to *a number of murders every year.*" The general misery was greatly increased by the influx of Irish laborers, especially to the towns, and the consequent lowering of wages. It is not to be wondered at that even the *Times* spoke with a democratic accent!

Pastor in Parochia.

Kingsley was an ideal parish priest. He came to a sorely neglected village, and won first of all the good will, and finally the deep affection, of his parishioners. This was due less to the admirable series of village institutions which he founded than to his real sympathy with the people. He could talk to them, with understanding and interest, on subjects that are seldom within the scope of the ecclesiastical mind—the crops, the weather, the hunting field, pike fishing, the ways of birds and animals, nature lore, and shrewd maxims of sport. His sermons were manly and direct. His care for the suffering was less the performance of a duty than a free act of devotion. There was little incident outside the home circle during the first years of Eversley life. His first child, a daughter, was born in 1846, and his eldest son in 1847. With the crash of 1848 Kingsley began his Socialist work, and the disastrous April 10th found the Rector of Eversley in London.

Chartism.

Kingsley was already known to Maurice. He had attended the meetings of bible scholars at Maurice's house in 1847, and they had corresponded extensively. To Maurice he went therefore to see what could be done to prevent a collision between troops and Chartists. Maurice was confined to the house with a severe cold, but he sent Kingsley to Ludlow with a letter of introduction. The two men set out for Kennington Common, where the Chartists were to assemble, but at Waterloo Bridge they heard of the ignominious dispersal of the demonstrators and returned to Maurice with the news. From this moment we may trace the inception of the Christian Socialist Movement. The band of men who were to lead the movement had already met—Maurice, Hare, Ludlow, Mansfield, Scott, Parker, Hughes, Kingsley, and, later on, E. Vansittart Neale.

The day following the Chartist fiasco Kingsley wrote to his wife: "All as quiet as a mouse as yet. The storm is blown over till to-morrow, but all are under arms—specials, police, and military. Mr. Maurice is in great excitement, and we are getting out placards for the walls, to speak a word for God with. You must let me stay up to-night, for I am helping in a glorious work. . . ." Kingsley's placard, which may be considered as an attempt to dissuade the workers from direct political action and from the belief that a political remedy would suffice for the evils of the times, was posted all over London on the 11th. "Friends, you want more than Acts of Parliament can give. . . . Workers of England, be wise, and then you must be free, for you will be fit to be free."

However little Maurice and his friends sympathized with physical force Chartism, they recognized that Chartism in general, as an act of insurgency against the fearful social iniquities of that period, did actually represent the claims of an oppressed and degraded people. Kingsley, addressing a meeting of workmen some time later began: "I am a Church of England parson"—a long pause; then, defiantly—"and a Chartist." Accordingly the pages of their first periodical (or, rather, their first series of tracts) made a special appeal to Chartists, whilst seeking to convince them of the folly and wrong of open violence, and glorying in the success of the householder constables. The first number of this publication (consisting of sixteen quarto pages, and issued weekly at one penny) came out on May 6th, and was called *Politics for the People.* The paper was jointly edited by Maurice and Ludlow, and, in addition to their contributions, papers were written by Archbishop Whately, Archbishop Trench, Bishop Thirlwall, Dean Stanley, Professor Connington, Dr. Guy, Charles Mansfield, A. J. Scott, Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne, Sir Edward Strachey, and Charles Kingsley. Maurice's chief contributions were: "Dialogues in the Penny Boats"; "Liberty: a Dialogue between a French Propagandist, an English Laborer, and the Editor"; "Equality," another dialogue; papers on historical subjects and education; and a Chartist story. Kingsley, besides "Parson Lot's Letters to Chartists," wrote articles on the National Gallery and the British Museum. All the articles were unsigned or signed by a *nom de plume.* Although short-lived, as we have seen, *Politics for the People* had considerable influence, and did good work in consolidating the new movement, in spreading its ideas, and in gaining enthusiastic recruits.

Socialist Activities.

Their activities were now chiefly directed to the work of education; classes were formed, and the friends met each week for study and discussion. Kingsley's first novel, "Yeast," came out during the autumn in *Fraser's Magazine.* This book, which at once established his reputation as a novelist, attracted a great deal of notice, partly hostile and partly appreciative, and was the means of arousing an interest in the sporting parson of Eversley which continued and increased during his whole lifetime. This is not the place for literary comment. The book is still widely read, and, in spite of a rather outworn sentimentalism and the tiresome character of its heroine, remains a very vital piece of work, endeared for ever to sportsmen by its wonderfully observant and broadly painted descriptions. Worn out by the mental and emotional strain of the past months, Kingsley spent the early part of 1849 recovering his health in Devonshire, and did not resume work at Eversley until the summer. Before returning to his parish he visited London, attended several meetings of working men, and joined in the activities of the Christian workers. Maurice was now addressing the Chartist leaders and other working men at the Cranbourne Coffee Tavern. "I was abashed," he wrote, "by the good opinion they had formed of me on no evidence." And later,

writing to Kingsley, "They seem to think it a very wonderful thing that a clergyman should be willing to come among them—a sad proof how far we have gone from our proper position." It must be remembered that at this time there was a lamentable want of sympathy between the Church and laboring men, and that the very fact of a man being a "parson" was enough to drive him off the platform at a public meeting. Sometimes there were stirring scenes at the Cranbourne Tavern. On one occasion the National Anthem was hissed. Hughes, like an evangelical Desmoulins, sprang on a chair, vowed that any man who insulted the Queen would have an account to settle with him personally (he was a proficient pugilist), ordered the pianist to play on loudly, and himself led the singing of the Anthem, which was continued so vociferously that interruption was either quelled or was drowned by the mere tumult.

The idea of co-operation, which was oddly associated in the minds of the workmen *with anti-Christian views*, began to make progress, and the Socialists were occupied with schemes for the launching of the small co-operative concerns to which I have referred. Ludlow had visited Paris, and had been greatly interested in the success of the *Associations Ouvrières*. He was convinced that a similar scheme of association would go far towards solving the industrial problem in England, even if it did not offer the complete solution. The workmen were equally anxious for an effective form of co-operation: the Tailors' Association had been launched, and other organizations were speedily planned.

Towards the autumn of 1849 cholera broke out in London and in other parts of the country. What is remarkable is that, with sanitary affairs in such a deplorably neglected condition, the outbreak was not more disastrous than was actually the case. Eversley seems to have escaped, but a formidable low fever to which many of his parishioners fell victims kept Kingsley hard at work during the summer, until, worn out by the anxiety of bed-side vigils—for the rector himself often undertook the duties of a sick nurse—he was obliged to seek health once more on the Devonshire coast. He returned to his parish in September, and set to work with magnificent energy. The cholera was now causing great uneasiness in London. An inquiry into the state of the metropolitan water supply revealed the most scandalous things. In the poorer quarters of London conditions still remained as Engels had described them five years previously. The people had no water fit for drinking. The common sewers were filled with stagnant horrors, in which floated the putrefying bodies of cats and dogs, dead fish, and filth unspeakable. With the cholera at its height the poor wretches dipped cans into the sewer-water—and drank it. In Bermondsey (which Kingsley visited) the distress was terrible. Such a man as Kingsley could not witness these scenes without being stung to the heart, and his efforts for sanitary reform were redoubled. Much of the subsequent improvement in these matters was due to his persistent—one might well say impassioned—labor.

He was at this time writing reviews for *Fraser's Magazine*, and was shaping "Alton Locke"—a book written in a white-heat of excitement and zeal. "Yeast" had made a deep appeal to the younger minds and the universities, and Eversley Rectory was already sought out by scholars and young men with problems.

In the Fulness of Power.

The year 1850 marks the flood-tide of the Christian Socialist Movement. Individualist co-operation was risking its decisive experiment. Mainly under the guidance of E. Vansittart Neale, and the general supervision of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, the twelve co-operative enterprises were organized and financed.* Neale was the hero and the practical director. Until his death, in 1893, he devoted life and fortune to the cause of industrial unity.

The failure, in a few years time, of the Christian Socialist experiment was due to a misconception of the real economic conditions of the time, an exaggerated belief in the spirit of brotherhood, and the absence of a thorough knowledge of the market. It was found impossible to eliminate competition. Each association was perfectly autonomous with regard to its own management. The result was that the men quarrelled with their managers, were slow to admit new members, and, finally, sought to compete with the other groups. I may as well anticipate matters by stating that the Society of Promoters dissolved in 1854, having completely drained their financial resources.

1850 was a hard year for Kingsley and for all classes. Feeling deeply for the local farmers, who found it difficult enough to struggle against high rates and poor prices, Kingsley, by an impulse of generosity which was never forgotten (for he was himself a poor man), gave them back 10 per cent. of the tithe money. At the same time he decided upon that unfailing resource of the country rector—a private pupil. The stress of money matters induced him to proceed apace with "Alton Locke"—whether the last chapters of this book bear evidence of having been written in a hurry I leave for others to decide. He rose at five every morning and slaved at the MS. until breakfast time. The printer's copy was prepared by his wife, and he supervised her work in the evening. The difficulty was to find the printer. Kingsley was attracting too much attention for the more timorous and conservative publishing houses, and the publishers of "Yeast" fought shy of the offer. To his rescue in this predicament came Thomas Carlyle with an introduction to Messrs. Chapman and Hall.

"Alton Locke."

"Alton Locke," the commemorative novel of the Chartist period, and a burning comment on trade conditions, gave rise to so much discussion, and is of such importance to the subjects dealt with in

* The zeal of the Promoters is well illustrated by the fact that they were accustomed to hold their meetings at six o'clock in the morning.

this essay, that we must give it rather more attention than was accorded to "Yeast." In incident and style it conforms to the early Victorian heavy weight model. Few of the standard essentials are lacking. We are even treated to the classic drawing-room-piano scene, and the touches of sentiment are laid on in liberal brushfuls. None the less it is a production of great force and eloquent appeal. Professing to have been written by a working man, the crudeness mentioned by Carlyle is not out of place, and it certainly contains one splendidly drawn character—that of the old Scotch democrat, Mackaye. It was a very clear and disquieting exposure of the "slop trade," and directed the public mind to unsuspected evils. It appealed for greater efficiency in the Church, greater respect for the workman, and a more qualified regard for the "scented Belgravian" and the aristocrat. Above all, it enlisted the sympathies of a sentimental but potent *bourgeoisie*. It was mocked by the elegant reviewers, made light of by the High Churchmen, but was bought and read by thousands. Carlyle has summed up the book admirably when he describes it as ". . . a fervid creation still left half chaotic."

Publication of the "Christian Socialist."

Maurice's workers had now officially announced themselves as the Christian Socialists, and had renewed their literary activities. They were publishing a series of "Tracts on Christian Socialism" as a means of circulating their teaching, and on November 15th they issued the first number of their new periodical, the *Christian Socialist*. Kingsley had written "Cheap Clothes and Nasty" for the tract series under the pseudonym of Parson Lot, and became a contributor to the magazine.

The *Christian Socialist* was edited by Ludlow, and was beset with difficulties from the very start. The newspapers had attacked the movement in the most violent and apparently scandalized manner. It was no easy business to obtain a circulation for the new venture. The booksellers took up a prudish and circumspect attitude, and refused to stock copies. Writing to a friend in December, Kingsley stated that the circulation had risen to 1,500, and was increasing. It is doubtful whether these figures were greatly exceeded. So little interest was at first evinced by the public that the press was almost silent with regard to the magazine, and its influence was imperceptible. Maurice, it would seem, had never looked upon its publication with much favor. He had attempted to dissuade Ludlow from the undertaking—possibly because he feared its political character would become too pronounced—though he realized the importance of possessing some medium through which the whole movement might be linked together and its scattered workers kept in touch with the central idea.

Maurice himself wrote very little for it. Beyond some letters on education, written in the form of a correspondence between himself and an M.P., and the story of "Thomas Bradfoot, Schoolmaster," his contributions were of no great significance. He was anxious that other opinions besides his own should find expression in the

paper, although when the difference was too decided, he always interfered, and his objection was sufficient to ensure the withdrawal of the offending article.

There were at this time monthly conferences between the leaders of the movement and the workmen associates for the discussion of all vital points.

The Act of Parliament.

In Parliament, Slaney was using every endeavor to procure an Act legalizing the new co-operative and investment schemes, and securing them the protection, if not the encouragement, of the State. He obtained a Special Committee to enquire into the "investments for the savings of the middle and working classes." It was natural that this Committee should turn to the Christian Socialists for information on a subject to which they were known to have given a very close attention, and on which they had ascertained the exact views of the working men. Ludlow was accordingly the first witness examined. Hughes, Neale, and other members of the Society of Promoters followed, amongst them Walter Cooper, the Chartist. Some of the most weighty and conclusive evidence was given by John Stuart Mill, who spoke in vehement terms in favor of the scheme, i.e., the investment of working men's savings in co-operative concerns. The report of this Committee had been published in July, and, along with its promoters, had drawn upon itself the fire of both great and little guns in the journalistic batteries. The history of this Parliamentary agitation is interesting.

The Home Secretary, Labouchere, requested Ludlow to draft a Bill for legalizing co-operative associations. Nothing could have given him greater pleasure, but the draft demanded such an alarming legal reformation that Labouchere grew timid, expressed his admiration both for Ludlow and the Bill, but did not proceed any further with the matter.

In 1851 Mr. Slaney obtained a new Committee "to consider the Law of Partnership and the expediency of facilitating the limitations of liability, with a view to encourage useful enterprise and the additional employment of labor." All this sonority seems to have had little effect, for it was not until a year afterwards that Slaney finally succeeded in getting the Bill once again to the fore, and it was safely passed by both Houses (under a Conservative Ministry) on June 11th, 1852. Such, in brief, is the story of the first "Industrial and Provident Partnerships Bill," a private measure introduced by Slaney and Tufnell, Liberals, and Sotheron, a Conservative.

Eversley in 1850.

It was in the autumn or early winter of 1850 that the celebrated attack on Eversley Rectory took place. A neighboring clergyman had been murdered by a gang of housebreakers, who were at that time terrorizing the countryside, and the Rectory had scarcely been barricaded and its weapons of defence made ready before it was

attacked by the same gang. In the middle of the night the marauders were heard trying to force the back door. Down the stairs rushed the male inmates, with pistols, guns, and a gaping blunderbuss; the "coolest man among them," and the only one unarmed, being F. D. Maurice, who was then paying a visit to Kingsley. Maurice strode out into the darkness in pursuit. He was recalled by Kingsley, and the two men spent the remainder of the night over the study fire, their discourse continuing until the dawn.

Already Kingsley had to deal with a vast correspondence. Young men who could not make up their minds with regard to eternal punishment and other stumbling-blocks of dogma; good fellows in the services who wished for a word of advice or prayers for camp and shipboard; men whose hearts had been stirred by his books. Never, I suppose, was a country rector the recipient of so much appreciation and questioning. No genuine letter was left unanswered. Kingsley had the tenderest sympathy for these corresponding disciples, and his replies show the thoroughness with which he answered their doubts or satisfied their requirements. All the time he was working hard for the welfare of his parish and was much occupied with his pupil, Martineau.

A letter written from Dr. Jelf, the Principal of King's College, to Maurice, in 1851, shows the attitude of the orthodox and outraged mind with regard to Kingsley's books and essays. Archdeacon Hare had accused him of conceit and irreverence a few years before, but Dr. Jelf is even more outspoken. He cannot express too much horror and indignation. Kingsley is a dangerous and reckless writer. He is indescribably irreverent. His arguments are in a high degree inflammatory. "In fact," says Dr. Jelf, rising to the height of his denunciation, "his language is *almost insurrectionary*." And, moreover, he is associated with "several notorious infidels," and has actually mentioned Tom Paine. It was largely on account of his friendship with Kingsley that Maurice was expelled from the College.

Towards the end of 1850 Kingsley resigned his post as Lecturer at Queen's College, in consequence of an attack in the *Record*.

"Hypatia" was begun as a serial in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1851. He contributed largely to the *Christian Socialist*—fifteen articles—besides a story and some ballads and sonnets. He would have written more for this paper were it not for the fact that he was obliged to earn as much as possible with his pen, and the *Christian Socialist* did not pay its contributors. He reprinted "Yeast," which was published anonymously. The Christian Socialist Movement was hotly attacked by the press, and notably by the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*. Kingsley would not trust himself to read the more personal of these attacks. He was a man whose quick temper and great sensitiveness were sure to lead him into the temptation of violent retort. The *Guardian*, however, had fallen foul of "Yeast" in no measured terms, and had brought such preposterous charges against the author that he wrote a furious denial. In May he delivered a lecture for the Society of Promoters on "The Applica-

tion of Associative Principles and Methods to Agriculture," and in the summer was invited to preach one of the special sermons to working men who had come to London for the Great Exhibition.

"The Message of the Church."

This sermon—"The Message of the Church to Laboring Men"—led to the most extraordinary results. It was preached to a large congregation, mainly of the working classes, and produced a powerful effect. Kingsley had concluded his sermon and was about to give the blessing, when the incumbent of the church, whose name, I believe, was Drew, approached the reading-desk and denounced the preacher before the entire congregation. He agreed with much that had been said, but it was his "painful duty" to characterize portions of the sermon as "dangerous and untrue." This unheard-of scene caused a great sensation. Murmurs were heard; the workmen pressed forward to the pulpit steps and grasped Kingsley by the hand. As the sermon itself was judged to be the best defence, it was decided in the vestry that it should be printed at once without the alteration of a single word. The affair was taken up by the press; Kingsley was forbidden by the Bishop of London (Blomfield) to preach in the metropolis; large numbers of the clergy and of his admirers sent messages of sympathy to Eversley; and a meeting of workmen, held at Kennington Common, expressed their allegiance to the parson who spoke so manfully on their behalf, and invited him "*to start a free church independent of episcopal rule*, with the promise of a large following." The sermon was now printed, and Blomfield, when he saw the truth of the matter, not only sent for Kingsley (and apologized, we may hope), telling him that he actually approved of the discourse, but immediately withdrew his prohibition.

Trade Unionism.—"Hypatia."

The Christian Socialists were naturally well known to the leaders of Trade Unionism, and it followed that, when the great strike of engineers and iron-workers took place in 1852, impetuous men like Hughes and Ludlow felt their fingers tingling for the conflict. The views of the promoters were varied: some urged one thing and some another. Maurice was fearful lest they should commit themselves to a desperate and ill-judged action. At the beginning of the year the *Christian Socialist* had boldly cast off its disguise and changed its title to the *Journal of Association*, under the editorship of Hughes. The *Journal* lost no time in appealing to the "self-sacrifice, pluck and character" of the men of the amalgamated trades. Ludlow and Hughes sought to agitate public opinion by all possible means: they lectured, wrote to a great number of newspapers, and supported the strike by subscriptions. Although the strike ended in disaster, the hand of friendship had not been extended to the trade unionists in vain, and the sympathy thus established between the more important trade associations and the Christian Socialists led to extremely practical results when, in 1854, the Working Men's College was founded.

Fraser's Magazine for January had contained a criticism of the Socialists, which Kingsley decided to answer. He was, perhaps, somewhat annoyed that his enemies should find a means of expression in the very magazine which was publishing "Hypatia" as a serial—it was a new aspect of journalistic etiquette. After conference with Maurice, who cooled the first transports of his resentment, Kingsley finally evolved "Who are the Friends of Order? A reply to certain observations in a late number of *Fraser's Magazine*." It was printed by E. Lumley and J. J. Bezer, the latter "a man who had been set up as a publisher by the promoters, no living publisher venturing to commit himself to the risk of publishing . . . either the *Christian Socialist* or the Tracts." Bezer was described by Hughes as Μονοψ, or "the one-eyed Chartist costermonger."

The *Journal of Association* came to an end this year, and Kingsley, in a final letter by "Parson Lot," urged his fellow-workers to "say little and work the more." Eversley and its democratic parson were now gaining notoriety. Kingsley seems to have been a popular man with soldiers, and officers from Sandhurst would frequently walk over to see him. His sermons were so vigorous and so powerfully delivered that he always preached to a full church, and, although a man of great rhetorical ability, his discourses were as keenly followed by the farm hand or the stableman as by the scholar. "Hypatia" was published in book form in 1853. As a literary attainment it must rank before any of his other works. To a modern reader, fascinated by the color and graphic detail of the story, it seems remarkable that, when published first, the book caused angry excitement among the High Churchmen, by whom it was regarded as a kind of masked attack, which, indeed, it was.. Ten years later, when Kingsley's name had been suggested for the D.C.L. of Oxford, the High Church party raised the voice of protest. Dr. Pusey was scandalized to a degree. Why, good gracious! This was the fellow who had written "Hypatia," a most vile and profligate book inciting the youth to heterodoxy, and worse, if worse were possible, an *immoral* book. Under threat of a *non-placet* the name was withdrawn. Maurice's "Theological Essays" were published the same year (1853), and outraged the doctrines of the Puseyites even more than Kingsley had outraged their self-respect. His expulsion from King's College followed, and Kingsley was vehement in defending his "dear master" and in scourging his enemies.

Disbanded.

With the collapse of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations and the failure of the co-operative businesses, the first Christian Socialist movement came to an end in 1854. The Socialists had failed in their experiment, but they had accomplished a great work. They had given an intellectual expression to the new democratic tendencies. They had striven to popularize and humanize what was then a rather unpopular and inhuman thing—the teaching of the English Church. They had shown (Kingsley in particular had shown it) that a clergyman must think more of the actual needs and

nature of the people than of his embroideries and rituals. They had inaugurated a new phase of national thought. Neither were immediate practical results wanting. They had collected a vast amount of evidence on industrial questions; they had exercised an unmistakable influence on political subjects, and had been largely instrumental in gaining sanitary and other improvements. Their writings—more especially Kingsley's novels—had made an appeal to all classes of readers and had stirred the national conscience. And if further proof of their power is wanting, let it be given in the furious attentions paid them by their opponents—never has a popular movement been more violently assailed by a foe made aware of his moral insecurity.

The spirit of the movement was not in reality checked by its disorganization, and, although there was no formal association of Church Socialists until twenty-three years later, the force of the present social movement in the churches is certainly a consequence of the early Christian Socialist labors. The very year which saw the disbanding of the Christian Socialists saw the founding of the Working Men's College, with Maurice as president. It is only necessary to glance at a few names on the teachers' list (taking a period of several years) to see in what direction the finest intellect of that age was tending. Here are some of the names : Ruskin, D. G. Rossetti, Huxley, Tyndall, Madox Brown, Frederick Harrison, Professor Seeley, Arthur Hughes, Val Prinsep, the Lushingtons, and C. H. Pearson.

The winter and spring of 1854 was spent by Kingsley and his family at Torquay. The clergy of this place were thrown into panic at his approach, and he was denied the courtesy of the pulpit in all their churches. It is doubtful whether this caused him much disappointment. He spent the greater part of his time on the shore, indulging his naturalist and poetic passions and greatly benefiting in health. Kingsley is so well known as a nature student and as a writer of charming and thoughtful essays in natural research that there is no need to speak in detail of these wanderings on the seashore, when each withdrawing tide left a store of things wonderful, many-coloured and new. It was here that visions of old sea romance gave him the first ideas of "Westward Ho!"

He was busy this year agitating on behalf of sanitary reforms, and was a member of the deputation to Lord Palmerston on this subject. The condition of Eversley as regarded drainage, etc., weighed heavily upon him. He did all that was possible to secure improvements, but the parish was poor and landlords (as landlords are) indifferent. He himself, and all England with him, was at this time profoundly stirred by the Crimean War.

The Midway of Life.

It is not possible for me to give more than a very condensed account of Kingsley's later activities. The purpose of this essay is the study of Kingsley as a democratic Christian and a reformer. Those who wish to read of his family life, and to form a closer

acquaintance with a most lovable and virile character, must read the standard biography, "Letters and Memories of His Life," edited by his wife, from which I have drawn much of the information set forth in this paper. Some brief survey of character I must necessarily give before the conclusion of the present study, but only a few facts and only those which most nearly concern my subject can be selected from the years of crowded activity following 1854.

We do not find Kingsley writing much on the Crimea. The war was to him "a dreadful nightmare," though it awoke the soldier-spirit in him, and his enthusiasm for the heroes of Sebastopol was intense. In a few hours' time he wrote a tract, "Brave Words to Brave Soldiers and Sailors," many thousands of which were distributed in the Crimea, and must have proved a wholesome alternative to the usual "goody-goody" pamphlets which the soldiers treated as so much waste paper. Cholera was still making an appearance here and there in 1855, and in the winter an outbreak occurred at Bideford, where Kingsley had taken a house. During this visitation he took charge of a district. The outbreak does not appear to have been very serious, and we find him, the same winter, instituting an evening drawing-class for the young men of Bideford, of which he was himself the instructor. The sureness and rapidity with which he drew flowers or symmetrical figures on the blackboard won the admiration of his pupils. The classes became popular, and many a young loafer was enticed from the street corner to become more and more fascinated by the kindly manner and (to him, at any rate) almost unearthly accomplishments of the strange "parson."

As years went by the Rector of Eversley gained a popularity which was at times almost embarrassing. He disliked the parade of carriages and the "talking after church" on Sundays. But for those who came to him privately to discuss his books or confide in him their perplexities and sorrows he had a warm affection. After the founding of the camp at Aldershot, the "dear fellows"—officers of all grades besides rank and file—paid frequent visits to the church and the rectory. One of these became a familiar friend of the Kingsleys. He had been out in the Crimea, and had read "Yeast" when lying grievously stricken in the hospital at Scutari. The hunting scene had made an especial appeal—one can imagine the effect of such a vivid home-picture on a wounded man in Scutari—and he resolved that if ever he got back to England he would go and hear the parson who could write such fine sporting descriptions. He came, still on crutches. Such episodes show very clearly one aspect of Kingsley's appeal to his contemporaries—the appeal of a strong man to strong men. "He loved men and manly pursuits," to quote the words of an officer who used to walk over from Aldershot, and who shall say that he was not himself a tried and battle-worn fighter? Kingsley was a welcome guest at mess; he entered into the studies and organization of the Staff College with the deepest interest, and his advice to sportsmen—"He told us the best meets of the hounds, the nearest cut to the covers, the best trout streams, and the home of the largest pike"—must have made him extremely popular.

But the real significance of all this soldier intercourse was this: Charles Kingsley was the very man to present religion in a form acceptable to the soldier temperament. To a soldier, manhood is the greatest thing in the world, and the greatest qualities of manhood are courage, physical prowess, endurance, kindness without weakness or wordiness, loyalty, honesty, and a sane patriotism. All these qualities were to be found in Kingsley, with the spirit and mind of a Christian teacher superadded. We can picture such a man casting a net with the first apostles, and proving himself as hard-working a fisherman as any of them, not afraid of soiling his hands with the common labors of common men. Kingsley, in fact, preached the *manliness* of his creed, a sin unpardonable to the High Church exquisites of that time. He spoke, never as a superior person to inferior sinners, but as a man who respected and loved all men. He was thus loved and respected by all who came within the circle of his influence. The soldier loved him for his vigor and sincerity (the soldier cannot analyse, but he can appreciate character, and knows the true from the false) and listened to him because he was no humbug, and always dealt boldly with the truth. His influence among all grades of the service at Aldershot and Sandhurst was therefore strongly marked. He taught the men what is none too much in evidence in the Church of to-day—that manliness and Christianity are not merely reconcilable, but are positively essential to each other.

Soldiers were by no means his only visitors. One is glad to notice that clergymen figure in the visitors' list—of various denominations and opinions. All sorts of men came. Beneath the fir trees on that little sloping lawn they discussed all manner of things. Kingsley was fitted for conversation with every type of man and for sympathy with every kind of nature. He loved and understood them all.

His scientific repute gained him the membership of the Linnæan Society. Literary folk were delighted with the "Prose Idylls" and other essays.

Meanwhile the Christian Socialists, working independently or in other organizations, were assisting in the advance of democracy. Trade depression was severe in 1857, and a committee of enquiry was formed, known as the "Association for the Promotion of Social Science." Maurice, Hughes, and Ludlow all took part in this work. Maurice was a member of the committee, and the report, which was published in 1860, contained contributions from the Christian Socialists. It must be understood that, although I still employ the original term as a matter of convenience, there was not at this time any organized group of Church Socialists, and the public no longer recognized the existence of any special doctrine or activity known as Christian Socialism.

Kingsley became more and more devoted to the cause of sanitary reform. In his opinion, physics and theology should go hand in hand, and he regarded a certain amount of scientific knowledge as a thing indispensable in a clergyman. I am convinced that this

opinion foreshadows the future development of the Church, and points the way to a new meaning and efficiency.

In 1860 Kingsley was appointed to the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge. In the autumn of the same year he and his family entered into residence. It was natural that the same qualities in Kingsley which had appealed to the soldiers should appeal to the undergraduates. He became the hero of the young men. Never has Cambridge known a more popular lecturer or one more sincerely worshipped by his disciples. He began in the smaller rooms of the Schools. They were not big enough. He had to lecture in the biggest room of all, and that was not big enough. Strange scene at professorial lectures, enthusiasm would run high. The lectures were interrupted by irrepressible cheering. Kingsley would stammer, with emotion, "Gentlemen, you must not do it." It was no good, they *would* cheer. The men were not merely interested in the great personality of their lecturer; they were interested in his subjects. The University Librarian was asked for books which seldom left the shelves. Kingsley made them think, and he made them work, too. There was never yet, I suppose, a really great man who failed to gain the younger sympathies of the age. It is very clear that Kingsley had gained them, for all the groans and sneers of the Puseyites.

The Last Ten Years.

Newman's attack on the English Church could not pass unnoticed by such a loyal Churchman as Kingsley. Newman was, no doubt, his superior in sheer intellect, in theological subtlety, and in the ponderous resources of academic style. In the controversial sense Kingsley was beaten, though we are assured that it was out of a courteous regard for Newman's health, his disinclination for argument, and other personal reasons, that he forbore to attack with vehemence. This may be partly true. It is certain, however, that he had found his match. Probably no living theologian could have gained a victory over one whose craft and scholarship were unequalled, and who was as certain to maintain his defence with vigilance and caution as he was to attack with resistless weight and infallible sagacity. Maurice, who respected the learning and character of Newman, however widely he dissented from his views, "would have given much" to have withheld Kingsley from the dispute.

Hughes, Neale, Ludlow, and others of the Christian Socialist band were active in industrial affairs in 1866. The Cobden Mills were founded by Neale, Greening, Ludlow, Hughes, and Morrison. After some twenty-four years of a rather disastrous existence, the business was disposed of, and thus ended the largest, and in some ways most celebrated, experiment of Christian Socialism. Kingsley does not appear to have taken an active interest in these affairs (his former comrades were zealously fighting on behalf of trade unionism for many years), though he was always in favor of associative principles in trade. It is probable that three causes were responsible for this apparent withdrawal: first, the cooling (though only to a cer

tain extent) of his early democratic ardor ; second, the necessarily changed and enlarged sphere of work, the result of public recognition and celebrity ; and third, a gradual decline in health which marks these last years of his life.

Science absorbed his attention to a greater and greater degree. He was a member both of the Linnæan and Geological Societies, had evolved a theory of raised beaches, and was a keen Darwinian. The Knightsbridge Professorship falling vacant in 1866, he wrote to Maurice, urging him to accept this appointment. It was only with difficulty that Maurice could be persuaded. "At sixty-one," he said, "I am perhaps past such work." The question of election depended on the votes of the seven electors. Four of them voted for Maurice, one for a man of his own college, and the two others abstained, but expressed satisfaction with the result. It must have been with huge personal delight that Kingsley (himself an elector) sent him a telegram announcing his triumph. He wrote later: "Your triumph could not have been more complete. My heart is as full as a boy's. I thought I should have been 'upset' when I saw the result." The two friends (or the master and the disciple, as Kingsley would have said) were thus associated in professorial work, both honored by the same university, and both happy in this latter-day closening of their friendship.

Kingsley had won recognition among all classes as a man of honest purpose, gifts approximating to genius, a sound theology, and the talents of a skilled author and graceful poet. He was none the less, perhaps for this very reason, ferociously assailed by the press. In consequence of these attacks he was on the point of resigning the professorship, but he was advised to retain it for at least another year. Accordingly, after nine years' experience as a Cambridge professor—years which had seen his greatest intellectual attainments and the most fruitful expression of his teaching—he resigned the post in 1869. His last series of lectures made a great impression.

The close of this year is marked by the fulfilment of one of his great ambitions, a voyage to the West Indies. It was the great holiday of his life. This world could not have supplied such a man as Kingsley—a poet-naturalist—with anything more perfectly enjoyable. He saw "enough to last him his life." He was mad with delight. He was actually moving in the land of romance he had dreamed and written of. He was a boy, full of wonder and surprise. He was an adventurer in tropical forests. He was a sea rover. The Regius Professor was buried!

Parish work, scientific work, three months' residence as Canon of Chester, a discussion with John Stuart Mill on Woman Suffrage, and a huge correspondence with various men on various subjects give a summary of 1870. He was a Teuton in sympathy during the war of 1870-71. He condemned the French policy and the French leadership : it was a righteous and even necessary war for Germany. In 1871 we find him again asserting the need to include physical learning in the general theological course. He realized that the older school of natural theology would be compelled to abandon many of its

positions, or, rather, to develop in accordance with the great scientific revolutions of the nineteenth century. He saw that the religion of the future would lay stress on the scientific basis of modern thought, and that the priest of the future would deal less with fable and more with fact. Whether he was right in seeking to unite the functions of preacher and sanitary inspector quite as definitely as he proposed we need not stop to consider. He was certainly right in supposing that religion must pass from a superstitious to a scientific phase. His lectures at this period, particularly those on geological and natural history subjects, were very remarkable. The death of Maurice, in 1872, was a sad loss to Kingsley, and a certain despondency—partly the result of an over-worked and continuously active brain—seems more or less evident in his letters and conversation. But in the autumn of this year he achieved a great practical triumph for the cause which was so dear to him. As President of the Midland Institute he delivered the inaugural address (on the "Science of Health") at Birmingham. One of his listeners immediately placed the sum of two and a half thousand pounds at the disposal of a scheme for classes and lectures on this subject, with a low rate of payment for artizans. The project was successful, and the impetus was thus given to a very noble and necessary work. In 1873 he accepted the Canonry of Westminster, where he preached the well-known series of sermons. 1874 was largely taken up by a tour in America, crammed full of all manner of activities, and ending with a severe illness and a slow recovery in Colorado. He returned to Eversley in August. It was a hot, dry month, there was much sickness in the village, and he was busy attending to the people at all hours, and apparently with all his energy restored. But his health was rapidly failing. After his return to Westminster in the autumn he was again ill; he was now able only to preach once a week, and, although his sermons were still powerful and forcibly delivered, men were shocked to see the change in him, the worn cheeks and the bent figure. His wife's dangerous illness caused him the greatest suffering. On Advent Sunday he preached his last Abbey sermon "with intense fervor." The next day he caught a chill after dining at the Deanery, probably the direct cause of his death. The return journey to Eversley proved too much for his wife, and the happiness of a Christmas home-coming, so dearly longed for, was turned to a sad ministering in what seemed then to be the chamber of death. Kingsley himself grew rapidly worse. Eventually he was unable to bear the terrible strain of carrying on a pencilled intercourse with his wife, who was supposed by all to be dying. His illness (pneumonia) was fast gaining the mastery, yet his fortitude and superb courage remained unshaken. He died on the morning of January 23rd, at the age of fifty-five. His wife recovered.

His Character and Teaching.

In discussing the Socialism of Charles Kingsley, which is identical with that of the Christian Socialist group, we must bear in mind two very important facts: First, that he was remarkably constitutional in

principle and method, and by no means revolutionary; and, second, that his conception of Democracy was one that accepted the existing order of society with all its grades and traditions, and believed that the healthy functioning of that society was all that was needed to ensure the communal welfare. If anything was wrong—and a great deal was wrong—then the fault lay, not with the class, but with the individual. And even if the majority of individuals composing a class were at fault, that was no argument against the class itself, or, rather, against the necessity for the existence of the class. With a majority at fault, the class was *not* performing its true functions; it was not, therefore, to be abolished, but called back to its duty; the diseased organ was to be cured, by surgical steel at the worst, but not removed. There was, as I have mentioned, a divine purpose and order in the system of classes. A landed aristocracy was not only a necessary thing, it was "a blessing to the country." The House of Lords represented all that was noble and permanent in the national character (observe, *permanent!*); it represented the hereditary instinct, which bound together men of the past, present, and future ages. Royalty was a thing to be revered, because it was royalty. In short, the organization of the unproductive classes was very beautiful, useful, and necessary; many individuals who belonged to these classes might fail to observe their duties, or, worse still, undertake duties which were not their own, but the class itself was a needful prop of the social fabric; and, if the tendencies of its components had to be corrected, the thing itself must be preserved at all costs.

The Socialism of Kingsley.

Where then, you may say, is the Socialism in all this? Of modern Socialism there is little trace, and yet it was in this urging of the duty of classes, especially as regarded the treatment of the poor, provision for the health and security of the laboring classes, and the effective ministering of the Church, that Kingsley proved himself a powerful democratic force. His accusation was so vehement that his conservative principles were frequently drowned beneath a full tide of revolt. The organization of trade (which in his mind was a thing apart from the organization of classes) seemed to him to need immediate reform. If, therefore, he was a Conservative as regarded the blessing of an aristocracy, he was an extreme Radical where the working classes were concerned. It is impossible for a man of strong and observant character not to possess democratic tendencies. In Kingsley those tendencies were invigorated by the scenes and events of a revolutionary period, and became the dominant force of his career. He was deeply aware, too, of the fact that the Church was in danger of losing the sympathy of the people; that she was becoming an exclusive and mystic organization, unduly given to the study of rituals, and not noticing the bad drains and worse morality of the "lower orders"; for the Christian Socialist ideal for the Church was that it should work *with*, and not apart from, the secular workers. When he signed his Chartist placard as "A Working Parson," he knew that he implied a pretty obvious

distinction. Kingsley was a Conservative by birth and tradition, a Chartist through force of circumstances, and a Socialist through sheer manliness and force of character. He belonged to a period when the English gentleman, though growing rare, was not obsolete, and when the middle classes did really advocate what they understood to be progressive measures. He aimed, not at a reform of society in general (which would have struck him as a blasphemous subversion of "God's order"), but at the reform of industrial life and of the Church, the first to be made wholesome and the latter efficient.

The views and methods of Kingsley and his friends have now been sufficiently commented on by the actual passing of time and the development of modern thought. We see the clearer for their mistakes, and are the richer for their noble examples and the fine courage of their teaching. It would be entering upon a fruitless controversy to discuss here the ethics of association, the question of the self-governing workshop, or the future position of the Church. Kingsley's power is to be found, not in the startling or original nature of his views, but in his manly and uncompromising advocacy of those views, and in the example of a most living and vigorous personality.

His Personality.

Like all poets, he was immensely receptive. His emotions were frequently and profoundly stirred by a suggestive fact or a touching scene. He was in love with Nature—every leaf, every cloud, the storm song of winter, rain, sun, the moorland, and the seashore, everything was wonderful and loveable. He possessed the most astounding vitality. It is not recorded of any man that he was more *alive*. His life was one continual excitement. In speech his vehemence was extraordinary. He would begin with a slight stammer and hesitation, but when fairly started, his oratory was fluent and impressive. His sense of the dramatic was unusually keen. He was one of the most influential and celebrated preachers of the time, and as a lecturer his repute was equally great.

He was a man of rare humor, and dearly loved anything that was laughable or even "broad." He could enjoy a page of Rabelais or a sly anecdote of Sterne's as much as anyone. His letters are full of pleasantry, and serve well to illustrate his versatile nature. For instance, he is writing to Tom Hughes, and is giving him some fishing experiences, with all sorts of expert comments on brass minnows, March browns, and so forth, when all at once, and without the least pause for breath, we find him talking of a poor parishioner who is lying on his deathbed. Cant or falseness of any kind were abominable to his sincere nature. A tramp who saw fit to assume the attitude and contortions of a religious zealot was seized by the collar, soundly shaken, and hurried outside Eversley gates with no little wrath.

Two answers of his, written in one of those horrible albums so typical of the Victorian drawing room, are interesting. "The character you most dislike?—Myself. Your ambition?—To die."

He was not a man who cared for distinction or notoriety. He acknowledged a "hankering after" the D.C.L. of Oxford, which was denied him; but he realized his two "great ambitions," membership of the Linnæan and Geological Societies.

Kingsley did much to popularize the study of physics and natural science, and presented the facts of advanced scientific thought in a way calculated not to hurt religious sensitiveness. I have mentioned that he foresaw the alliance which must some day openly take place between science and religion, and that he was anxious for the education of clergymen in other matters besides those which relate solely to theology. His own religion cannot be said to come under any of the recognized categories. No party of the Church could claim him. He was opposed to the extreme mysticism of the High Church, but had little sympathy with the severe ritual of the Moderates. He was no friend to dogmatism of any sort. He was described by his curate, Harrison, as "a free lance in the ecclesiastical field."

The most immediate and most practical results of his activity are unquestionably to be found in the improvements in sanitary affairs and in the general education of working men. The latter is less directly due to his influence than the former (in which he was said by a great London doctor to have "led the way"), but it was certainly greatly advanced by his teaching and lectures.

The charge of inconsistency has been brought against him with regard to his democratic faith. "In later years," says Martineau, "his convictions became more in accord with *the natural tenaency of his mind*" (whatever that means), "and he gradually modified or abandoned his democratic opinions." I can see no trace of all this. The burning enthusiasm of youth may have left him; his opinions never did. From first to last Charles Kingsley was a democrat—and *that*, I take it, was the "natural tendency of his mind"—and he never proved false to his social creed. The multiplicity of affairs and a life overcrowded with interests and duties prevented him from devoting himself to a special and continuous work on behalf of Socialism. None the less, the author of "Alton Locke" and "The Message of the Church" was no changed man when, in 1866, he welcomed Maurice to Cambridge.

It is not the place here to speak of his home life, of his chivalrous devotion, his intimate sympathies, pictures of the lawn or the fireside, scenes typical of the English rectory. His love for animals, for all living things, with the exception of spiders, is well known. Like Agassiz, he believed in their *post mortem* existence. Those who wish to read a 'detailed, though necessarily partial, account of his life must turn to the "Letters and Memories."

The Present and the Future.

We cannot doubt that Socialism in the Churches represents a very powerful and very necessary expression of social democracy. Religious Socialism is gaining rapidly in numbers and efficiency, and may quite possibly modify the whole course of religious thought in

the future. Whatever significance the movement may have to-day, whatever power it may have in the future, the names of its two great founders, Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley, their noble examples of courage, manliness, and faith, will always figure large on the first pages of its history.

For the above summary of Kingsley's life and his relations with the Christian Socialist Movement I am indebted very largely to the standard biography referred to, and also, in addition to his own writings, to the "Life of F. D. Maurice," edited and partly written by his son, Woodworth's "Christian Socialism in England," Stubbs's "Charles Kingsley and the Christian Socialist Movement," Rose's "Rise of Democracy," and Engels' "Condition of the English Working Classes."

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By EDITH J. MORLEY.

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JOHN RUSKIN AND SOCIAL ETHICS.

(1819—1900.)

Introductory.

RUSKIN not only denied that he was a Socialist: he asserted that the Socialistic ideal of human equality was unattainable and undesirable. He even wrote of "liberty and equality," that he detested the one, and denied the possibility of the other ("Time and Tide," chap. xxii., § 141). He proclaimed himself a "violent Tory of the old school," and an "Illiberal," and it is certain that, for a clear exposition of Socialistic doctrine, we must look elsewhere than in the volumes of Ruskin.* Moreover, economists tell us that many of his theories are unsound, and that his attempts to work them out in detail are as unpractical as the ill-starred Guild of St. George.

It is probably true that any movement to remodel society precisely on the lines he laid down would be foredoomed to failure. It is at least equally true that to ignore his teaching becomes every day more impossible and disastrous. For Ruskin, who is accepted neither by Socialist nor by practical political economist, nevertheless strikes at the very root-disease of modern "civilisation" when he condemns commercialism and the struggle for mere material possessions, showing that life is the only true wealth, and that the richest man is he whose existence is the most useful, many-sided and helpful.

Ruskin himself says "that in a science dealing with so subtle elements as those of human nature, it is only possible to answer for the final truth of principles, not for the direct success of plans; and that in the best of these last, what can be immediately accomplished is always questionable, and what can be finally accomplished inconceivable." ("Unto this Last," Preface). Though we may frequently refuse to accept the special application of Ruskin's principles; though in a good many instances we are forced to regret that those applications were ever made, yet concerning the principles themselves there can be but one opinion. They may be summed up in his own statement that "Life without Industry is Guilt; Industry without Art is Brutality" ("Lectures on Art," III.).

Whatever the particular phase of human activity which he might be considering, Ruskin revealed its relation to the ultimate truth and meaning of life. He showed, and in no narrow didactic spirit, the necessary connection between art and ethics; he traced the links between morals and sociology, and pointed out that scientific economics are inevitably bound up with the reform of

* See, on the other hand, Collingwood's "Life of Ruskin," Book III., chap. iv., "For when, long after 'Fors' had been written, Ruskin found other writers advocating the same principles and calling themselves Socialists, he said he too was a Socialist" (and *ante*, p. 242. 1/- edition).

the individual. Above all, he proved incontrovertibly that increased prosperity, whether national or individual, industrial or social, must go hand in hand with increased capacity and with a desire for a prosperity and advance which are above and beyond all these. "It is open, I repeat, to serious question . . . whether, among national manufactures, that of Souls of good quality may not at last turn out a quite leadingly lucrative one." In all the many forms of teaching which he undertook, this manufacture of souls, this awakening of the spiritual in the material, was John Ruskin's chief end and aim. In art and in economics he applied the same touchstone, for it was his distinction to see life always as a whole and to refuse to divide it into the water-tight compartments beloved of specialists.

Childhood and Early Life.

Ruskin was of opinion that the study of a man's work should begin with an attempt to become familiar with his life and character, more especially as these were shaped and developed in his childhood. Thus, in his autobiography, "Præterita," he dwells in great and loving detail on his early life and upbringing, but discontinues the story soon after the completion of "Stones of Venice," and before the beginning of his campaign of social reform. A similar disproportion may, therefore, be excused in a tract which essays only to give a brief account of his aims in that campaign. But these cannot justly be appraised unless we understand something of the man who devoted the best of himself to their achievement, and realise something of his passionate concentration, his intense emotional nature, and of his "unusual moral principle and self-command."

John Ruskin was born, of Scottish parentage, at 54, Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, W.C., on February 8th, 1819. His father was a well-to-do wine-merchant, hard-working, energetic and successful in business, and "entirely honest," as his son later on described him, in words of praise which meant much coming from that source. He was also cultured and intelligent, with a real appreciation of scenery and travel, and a lover of art and literature. His wife, who was some years older than her husband, held a more puritanical view of life, and it was she who took the lead in the early upbringing of the precocious and not very robust little son. Her methods were as stern as they were affectionate and careful; he was allowed no toys but a cart and a ball and two boxes of well-cut wooden bricks; he had few or no playmates, and he was taught to rely on himself for amusement and occupation. "I . . . could pass my days contentedly in tracing the squares and comparing the colours of my carpet . . . The carpet, and what patterns I could find in bed-covers, dresses, or wall-papers to be examined, were my chief resources." It sounds a lonely and self-centred life for a small boy, though doubtless it resulted in the powers of concentration and accurate observation which were to distinguish him later on.

Ruskin, in his own summary of the "blessings" of his childhood, puts first the fact that he had never heard his parents'

voices raised in anger, nor seen any disorder in any household matter. Thus, he early learned " the perfect meaning of Peace, in thought, act, and word." On the other hand, he complains that he had no one to love or assist or thank, and nothing to endure. " My strength was never exercised, my patience never tried, and my courage never fortified."

In 1823, his parents moved to Herne Hill, and, from this time onwards, his outdoor recollections were of the garden where he played and of the surrounding country in which he delighted. It is tempting to linger over these early days, and to trace in the child the father of the man. Narrow and conventional as was his home in many ways, it was in other respects unusually cultured and intellectual. From his babyhood, long before he was supposed to care to listen, he heard great books read aloud by his parents for their own amusement—the eighteenth-century novelists and Byron, as well as the authors usually considered more suited to the family circle. Above all, his imagination was awakened by the yearly journeys all over Great Britain, and, later, on the Continent, which gave him his first introduction to the beauties of nature. His father " travelled " for his own orders, and wife and child accompanied him on the pilgrimages, which combined pleasure and sight-seeing with business. The happy weeks spent on these driving tours gave Ruskin just the education he needed. Old buildings stirred his interest in the past; beautiful scenery and, above all, mountains, stimulated the love of nature which, at the age of three and a half, already led him to ask for a background of " blue hills " when his portrait was painted by Northcote. A little later he was enquiring of what the mountains were made, and soon he was poring over minerals, beginning his study of geology, and pulling to pieces every flower he could pluck, until he knew " all that could be seen of it with child's eyes."

Very early in life he learned, after his own fashion, to read and write, and he soon began to imitate his father by keeping a journal, in which every detail of his travels was set down. Thus, naturally, the habit of descriptive writing was acquired. Doubtless, Ruskin was right in supposing that his extraordinary command of rhythm and language was largely due to his mother's training. From the time he could read, until he was fourteen, and about to start on his first continental journey (1833), morning after morning, year by year, they read together two or three chapters of the Bible, completing the whole, from the first verse of Genesis to the last verse of the Apocalypse, only to begin once more at the beginning. Every day, too, the child committed to memory some verses of the Bible and of the Scottish paraphrases, and was compelled to repeat them over and over again until not a syllable was missed or misplaced, not a sentence wrongly accented. To this daily discipline he rightly attributed " the best part of his taste in literature," his appreciation of the music of words, and also his capacity for taking pains.

Pope's Homer, Walter Scott's poems and novels, " Robinson Crusoe," " Don Quixote " and " Pilgrim's Progress," were his

other "text-books" of literature, but these from choice, not compulsion.

Human companions he had few: his Scotch cousins, one of whom became his adopted sister, his cousins at Croydon and a boy friend at Herne Hill, are all that he mentions, and we know that he was not allowed out except under supervision, that he was not sent to school until he was fourteen, and then only to a small private class to which every day he was personally conducted by his father, and where he remained less than two years. There is no doubt that he suffered from this mode of upbringing in so self-contained a household. He was over-fostered and over-cared for, "safe against ridicule in his conceit," his "father and mother in their hearts caring for nobody in the world but me." He developed prematurely in many directions; he wrote too much, both of prose and verse; he exerted his mind more than was wholesome, and he became too self-opinionated.

The first disturbance in his sheltered life came when, somewhere about the age of seventeen, he fell in love with the young daughter of his father's French partner, Mr. Domecq. The passion was not requited, and four years later, in 1840, the girl married Baron Duquesne. The effect of the disappointment on a lad of Ruskin's temperament was great. "Men capable of the highest imaginative passion are always tossed on fiery waves by it," he writes; and again, in referring to the evil consequences of his isolated childhood, "when affection did come, it came with violence utterly rampant and unmanageable, at least by me, who never before had anything to manage." We know that the young man broke down in health and spirit as a result of this unfortunate experience, which darkened several years of his life.

Meanwhile he had been prepared for Oxford at King's College, London, and, in 1836, he matriculated as a gentleman-commoner at Christ Church, going into residence in the following January. Already he had made his appearance as the defender of Turner in *Blackwood's Magazine* (1836), and earlier than this he had seen his verses in print in *Friendship's Offering*. But his regular academic studies were less advanced, and his lack of accurate scholarship was a drawback to him at college, and a hindrance all his life. Yet he did well at Oxford, not only taking the Newdigate Prize for English Verse, as he had intended, but winning a reputation as a writer and student, and raising hopes that he would secure a first class. Then at the critical point, when all seemed going well, and in spite of the care of his mother, who had followed him up to Oxford in order to watch over him, the crash came and his health broke down. For two years he was more or less an invalid, threatened with permanent lung trouble. Foreign travel restored his health, but all idea of an honours degree had to be abandoned. In 1841 he went up for the pass examination and did so well that he was granted the highest distinction possible—an honorary double fourth class in honours—always a most unusual, and nowadays an impossible, reward of merit.

Ruskin as Art Critic.

By this time (1841-2) his ill-health, combined with his interest in art, changed his plans for the future, and Ruskin finally abandoned the idea of taking Holy Orders. He settled down to serious art study, and it was in this same year that an attempt to sketch a tree-stem with ivy upon it, forced upon him the consciousness of his vocation. Suddenly he realized that it was his mission to preach the gospel of sincerity in art, "to tell the world," in the words of Mr. Collingwood's "Life," "that Art, no less than other spheres of life, had its Heroes; that the mainspring of their energy was Sincerity, and the burden of their utterance, Truth."

It was many years before Ruskin passed from the rôle of art-critic to that of social reformer and preacher, and there is no room in the limits of this tract to trace in detail the process of the evolution. But a cursory investigation is enough to show that it was by a natural course of development, and not by any sudden change of idea, that the author of the first volume of "Modern Painters" (1843) became the inspired prophet of "Unto this Last" (1860) and "Munera Pulveris" (1862). Because, not in spite of, his study of art, Ruskin was bound to grow into a student of sociology. The underlying principles of his teaching develop, but fundamentally they remain the same. The foundations of his creed, whether in art, in thought, in morals, or in sociology, may be expressed in his own words: "Nothing can be beautiful which is not true." Sincerity is the foundation of all true art; honesty of purpose in the artist, truth and beauty in the thing portrayed; and to Ruskin, art, religion and morality are different only in so far as they reveal different aspects of the same thing. Hence "all great art is praise," that is to say, it is the result of the artist's instinctive reverence and delight in the beauty, which it is given him to see more truly and accurately than other men, and which it is his supreme mission to reveal to others. He sees more truly and must make others see too; he must be faithful to nature, representing with exactitude that which he perceives. But there is a spiritual as well as a physical perception—the insight which pierces through externals to the essential truth that is beyond, and is the result of intuition, inspiration, enthusiasm and of all that is implied by the word "imagination." To Ruskin, as to other great critics of the nineteenth century, imagination is the interpreter, the power which transforms or transfigures reality, but without destroying the basis of ordinary perception. It does not change facts, but, by rendering them imaginatively, it forces them to yield something beyond themselves. It is this "putting the infinite within the finite" that differentiates art from "imitation," which can be only of the material.

Essential truth is, then for ever inconsistent with imitation. "Ideas of truth are the foundation, and ideas of imitation the destruction of all art"; for, in the words of Gothe, "The *spirit* of the real is the true ideal." This being so, it is not difficult to

understand how Ruskin came to connect morality with art: he shows us the links between the two when he writes that art is an inspiration, " not a teachable or gainable thing, but the expression of the mind of a God-made great man "; and again, from a somewhat different angle, art " declares the perfectness and eternal beauty of the work of God, and tests all work of men by concurrence with or subjection to that." Art unites the real, the ideal, the moral and spiritual, and by this union it is serviceable to man. " All art which involves no reference to man is inferior or nugatory. And all art which involves misconception of man, or base thought of him, is in that degree false and base." In other words, art must be brought to the test of life, and is worthy, as all other work is worthy, when it is of use, though the kind of usefulness is of course quite different from that of the things which as Ruskin says disdainfully, " only help us to exist." It is by presenting noble ideas nobly that art fulfils its function of service.

By criticism on these lines he justly claims that the distinctive character of his " essays on art is their bringing everything to a root in human passion and human hope." He holds that art exists for the service of man, and is greatest when its service is greatest; without this motive no true art can come into being.

A study of " Modern Painters," shows that Ruskin was early led to the belief that the nature of the work of art depends primarily on the character of the artist. Later, he came to the conviction that a nation's art is the expression of its life and character, the individual artist being moulded by his surroundings and by the age in which he lives, so that, if these be unclean, the resulting art will be, like Renaissance architecture, decadent and unpure. Thus, he writes in " On the Old Road " (§ 276): " Let a nation be healthy, happy, pure in its enjoyments, brave in its acts and broad in its affections, and its art will spring round and within it as freely as the foam from a fountain; but let the springs of its life be impure and its course polluted, and you will not get the bright spray by treatises on the mathematical structure of bubbles." And again, in " Lectures on Art " (§ 27): " The art of any country *is the exponent of its social and political virtues*. . . . The art or general productive and formative energy of any country is an exact exponent of its ethical life." From this position there was no very startling transition to the famous chapter " On the Nature of Gothic " in " Stones of Venice " (1851-3), which contains in embryo all his later sociological and economic teaching. From teaching art and from the promotion of culture, both ethical and intellectual, Ruskin passed to the final phase of his life-work, and that which he considered by far the most vital.

Ruskin's Later Life and Work as Practical Reformer.

In the years which had elapsed since his graduation as M.A., and his subsequent settlement with his parents at Denmark Hill in 1843, Ruskin had succeeded, in spite of violent opposition, in

establishing himself as the leading critic and exponent of painting and architecture. A series of provocative and brilliant volumes* had gained him this position; his defence of the Pre-Raphaelites had won for him the affection of Rossetti (whom he helped in a characteristically quixotic fashion), Millais, and their circle, while of the older men, Turner, Carlyle, and Browning were among his friends. Lastly, he had secured devoted adherents among his pupils and fellow-teachers at the Working Men's College; while his own old College had recognised his achievements by the award of an honorary studentship of Christ Church in 1858. Thus, though his marriage had been brief and unhappy (1848-1854), and his private disappointments many; though his violent assertion of his opinions had aroused enmity and detraction, it nevertheless seemed by this time that he had outlived the period of storm and stress, and might look forward to a future of happy and successful work as an art-critic. But from 1860 onwards, that is, from the time when the last volume of "Modern Painters" was published, he no longer made art his main theme. Art he believed to be the outcome of a true and elevated national life, and he had been forced to realise that English national life was neither pure nor elevated. Social evils went too deep for philanthropic tinkering, and he therefore set himself to plan a complete scheme for social reorganisation. This scheme, unfortunately, never systematically developed, has as its leading feature the banishment of utilitarianism and materialism, for which it substitutes the beauty which is also justice and truth. It insists that there is no necessary antagonism between industry and art; that, on the contrary, both are indispensable elements of the social organism, though they can be combined in various ways in order to fulfil various functions. But unless work is beautiful, it is not true work, and unless the life, even of the humblest worker, is beautiful, it is not a true life.

It is difficult to speak quite dispassionately and temperately about this last development of Ruskin's teaching; difficult, too, to realise what was entailed by his change of plan. For years, he had struggled single-handed, against enormous odds, in his endeavour to revivify English thought about art, and to overcome its insincerity and conventionality. Now, when any success he could desire seemed within his grasp, he came to realise that his most important work was still before him, and the battle still to wage. Never for a moment did he flinch or hesitate. He allowed his books on art to run out of print, that attention might be concentrated on the new message he had to deliver; while he withdrew into the solitude of the seer and prophet, upon whom are laid the burden and the consciousness of a great mission. "The loneliness is very great," he cried; "I am . . . tormented between the longing for rest and lovely life, and the sense of this

* Of these, the chief are: "Modern Painters," five vols., 1843-1860; "Seven Lamps of Architecture," 1848-9; "Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds," 1851; "Stones of Venice," 1851-3; "Lectures on Architecture and Painting," 1853-4; "The Political Economy of Art," 1857; "The Two Paths," 1859.

terrific call of human crime for resistance and of human misery for help, though it seems to me as the voice of a river of blood which can but sweep me down in the midst of its black clots, helpless."

It is not necessary to dwell in much detail on the outward circumstances of the remaining years of Ruskin's life. His father, who had loyally endeavoured to understand his vagaries in art, was bitterly distressed by his heresy in economics, while his mother was wholly out of sympathy with his falling away from religious orthodoxy. At home, as abroad, he had to submit to misunderstanding.

From his parents, Ruskin inherited £157,000 in money, as well as houses and land. The whole of this property he expended during his life-time upon the promotion of reforms in which he was interested, while he lived for many years solely upon the proceeds of his books. Much of his money went to the foundation of the St. George's Guild, which was intended to prove the possibility of uncommercial prosperity in a society contented to get its "food . . . out of the ground and happiness out of honesty." (See "Fors," Letter LVIII., for the creed of the Guild). What it did prove was Ruskin's lack of success in the management of men and of detailed and complicated business affairs.

Again, he gave liberally to many individuals, educating promising young artists, or subsidising craftsmen and their crafts; he founded and arranged a model museum at Sheffield; gave pictures to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; established a drawing-school at Oxford; and bestowed collections of drawings and of minerals on museums, colleges and schools.

His belief that all children should be taught to draw, as a means of training eye and hand and mind; his pioneer work in founding the Art for Schools Association; and his sympathy with the education of women, are other instances of his practical wisdom. Similarly, his suggested reforms in education, which are founded on the assumption that every child has the right to be properly housed, clothed, fed, trained, and taught until it reaches years of discretion, are for the most part now generally accepted, at any rate in theory. Ruskin was, for example, the pioneer of technical education in England; and even his road-making experiment with the Oxford undergraduates, which brought him so much ridicule, was the result of a sound educational ideal.

Ruskin also spent much time and money on sociological innovations, which have since been generally approved and imitated. For instance, he gave Miss Octavia Hill the means to manage house-property by a system of helping the tenants to help themselves. In pursuit of this aim he himself became a slum-landlord. Moreover, he never ceased his demand for the provision of decent accommodation for the working classes, though his agitation for housing reform made him many enemies. Another of his enterprises was the establishment of a model tea-shop; yet another, a scheme for the organised relief of unemployment and for the training of the unemployable.

Indeed, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that almost every modern measure of social improvement may, either directly or indirectly, trace its origin to the precepts and example of John Ruskin* Thus, nothing can be more fallacious than to regard him as merely capricious and fanciful in matters of practice, or to forget his proposals for definite schemes of social regeneration, because he blinds us with the lightening of his zeal, or deafens us with his moral fulminations.

"He was like the living conscience of the modern world," says Sir E. T. Cook, his editor; and his health, never robust, was eventually undermined by the strain of his exertions and disappointments. The last twenty-five years of his life were clouded by frequently recurring attacks of illness, which sapped his powers and added to the misery of private grief and mental overstrain. The first grave collapse occurred in 1878, and soon afterwards he resigned his Oxford professorship (1870-1879) and retired to the peace of Brantwood on Lake Coniston. The retirement was not absolute: he wrote much and gave many lectures during the ensuing ten years, and from 1883-1884, he was even well enough to return to Oxford; while as late as 1888 he went once more abroad—his farewell journey to France and Switzerland and Italy. But from that date onwards until the end he was in a state of mental decay, when "his best hours were hours of feebleness and depression." Death released him on January 22nd, 1900, and he lies buried, as he wished, in Coniston churchyard.

When, in 1860, Ruskin ceased to devote himself to pure art, and turned instead to the problems of sociology, when he abandoned the search for abstract beauty, in order that a little more beauty might be brought into unlovely human lives, then by that sacrifice of inclination and of popularity he enrolled himself among the lonely thinkers whose message is not accepted by their own generation, and whose lot in this world is aching disappointment. Ruskin had tasted the joys of popularity and friendship; he had known the smoothness of a life of wealth and ease; above all, he possessed the artistic and poetic gifts which made the strife or the arena particularly hateful to him, and rendered him peculiarly sensitive to harsh criticism. These facts give the measure of his sacrifice and of his faith. They explain, too, the emotional strength of his social criticism, and of his demand for social regeneration. It was no Utopian dreamer, no armchair-philosopher, who proclaimed insistently the old truth that whosoever will save his life shall lose it. This man had made the supreme offering, and he spoke from the certainty of his experience.

* "National Education, National Hygiene, National Dealing with the Housing of the Poor, even National Succour for those who fall by the way in the toilsome march of the Army of Labour, National Dealing with Land, National Dealing with Trade, with Colonisation, with all the real National Interests—all these measures, so long denounced without distinction by the old sham political economy of the past, be advocated, and now they are within or at our doors."—YORK POWELL.

The Meaning of "Wealth."

The warmth of Ruskin's pleading misled the so-called practical men of his generation, who accused him of unlawfully confusing sentiment with business. But passionate earnestness is not necessarily fanaticism, nor does burning hatred of wrong inevitably lead to distortion or even exaggeration of fact. To apply everywhere and always the test of humanity and of life, rather than the test of money-gain, may, even from the commercial standpoint, in the long run be the most profitable course. Certainly, if Ruskin's standard be the right one, if "the essence of wealth is in its power over man, and the grandeur of wealth is to make men better and happier," then it may reasonably be accepted "that the final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in the producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed and happy-hearted human creatures." The most hard-headed business man cannot, at any rate, controvert the next statement: "Our modern wealth, I think, has rather a tendency the other way; most political economists appearing to consider multitudes of human creatures not conducive to wealth, or at least conducive to it only by remaining in a dim-eyed and narrow-chested state of being."

It is not easy to formulate a systematic body of sociological teaching from Ruskin's writings, for he never arranged his doctrines with scientific clearness and logical consistency. Yet the underlying principles are, as we have seen, laid down with perfect simplicity. His political economy is founded on the conviction that "there is no wealth but life—life including all its powers of love, of joy and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings." Those who deal with the science of mere getting and spending, who conceive of "wealth" as mere material possession, have no just claim to be called political economists. At best, they are interested only in a science of avarice, a mercantile economy, which ignores human welfare and has no right to arrogate to itself the title "political," i.e., belonging to the citizens who form the State. At worst, their teaching is wrong, even in so far as it deals with buying and selling, since it deliberately starts from the false premise that men are moved, permanently and essentially, by nothing but their desire for material gain.

Now Ruskin interprets life always in terms of humanity, and is consequently impervious to arguments which postulate an "economic man," "a covetous machine," in whom "the social affections are accidental and disturbing elements." On the contrary, he proclaims, in the words of Wordsworth, that "We live by admiration, hope and love," and that it is for ever unsound and unscientific to ignore these permanent attributes of human nature. The individual cannot separate his work from his human feelings on the one hand, or from his physical capacities and desires on the other. What is true of the individual is true also of society, which is made up of individuals and cannot, therefore, satisfactorily be regarded as an abstract theoretical entity. Any

competition or money-grabbing that injures the individual, at the same time reacts against the State and is opposed to civic and social welfare.

Again, things which cannot be bought and sold in the market-place—e.g., love, friendship, self-sacrifice, capacity, truth—do nevertheless, and must inevitably, have a very real influence even on supply and demand. Ruskin shows, for instance, in an unforgettable paragraph in the first chapter of "Unto this Last," that "all right relations between master and operative and all their best interests ultimately depend" on the "balances of justice, meaning in the term justice to include affection—such affection as one man *owes* another." Since a workman is not a machine who is moved by steam "or any other agent of calculable force," but "an engine whose motive power is a Soul," it is obviously impossible to deal with him as if the so-called economic man were separable from the emotional man. Even from the lowest point of view, the greatest material result of his work will be obtained if he serves his master gladly, i.e., if his "soul" enters into his work. To treat him as a machine, as something less than a man, is to lower the economic worth of his work, which is best done when, valued and valuable for its own sake, a blessing and not a curse, it calls into activity all the noblest human energies and emotions. (This argument does not apply to purely mechanical operations. But these, Ruskin would, precisely on this ground, reduce to a minimum, as tending to the destruction of real wealth, which is life and has no relation to market-value.) It must be admitted that, if this be sentiment, it is sentiment of a very practical, reasonable kind. Similarly, it is illogical and misleading to make a science of industrial wealth and to ignore "real wealth," i.e., human welfare in the widest and deepest interpretation. Thus the statement that "There is no wealth but life" is again a literal statement of fact, a common-sense doctrine which is intended for the plain business-man and not for the idealist. Wealth, according to Ruskin, does not depend on market-value; the worth of any object cannot be determined by the price that may be obtained for it; and on the other hand, as we have seen, many inestimably valuable things can neither be bought nor sold. "A thing is worth precisely what it can do for you, not what you choose to pay for it. . . . The thing is worth what it *can* do for you, not what you think it can." ("Queen of the Air," § 125.) Thus a miser, with hoards of money and jewels, is not really wealthy in any accurate sense of the term. His store benefits no one, himself least of all. Again, there is all the difference in the world between the value of a field of corn, and of a factory full of costly and death-dealing implements of war, or between a cheap edition of Shakespeare's works and an edition de luxe of the latest fashionable small poet: the corn is worth its weight in gold, Shakespeare's plays are priceless wealth —and the other things are not really valuable at all. For "there is no wealth but life"; wealth-giving things are those which "avail towards life." Whether we do or do not desire them, whether there is "demand" for them, does not affect their

worth. A picture by Whistler is no more valuable now, when it fetches thousands in the auction-room, than when it first left the unknown artist's brush to be reviled by Ruskin. The worth, as distinct from the exchange-value, is not to be estimated by passing whims on the subject, nor by the price paid, but by the intrinsic power to be of service if rightly used. So that the wealthy man is he who possesses useful things and also the power and capacity to use them: wealth is the "possession of the valuable by the valiant": "usefulness is value in the hands of the valiant" (or availing). Things which are desired for base purposes and which pander only to the lower nature, are "illth," not wealth, "causing devastation and trouble around them in all direction," having no *use* at all, since they avail not for life, but for death. Wealth promotes life and all the life-giving, wholesome desires which are natural to healthy men and women. "Perhaps it may even appear after some consideration that the persons themselves *are* the wealth."

The above argument of Ruskin is open to certain objections which have tended to obscure the essential truth of his contention. In the first place, as he says himself, though he does not always remember it, the potentiality for good, i.e., the "value" of anything depends invariably on the owner's capacity to use it. Certain things have no life-giving power, except under certain conditions of culture. For instance, the beads given to savages by travellers are, both actually and potentially, valueless; but Shakespeare's plays or Whistler's pictures would not give so much pleasure or produce equal effect. The *actual* worth does not vary, but the *effective* worth does. To that extent it is untrue that "evil and good are fixed . . . inherent, not dependent on opinion or choice." ("Modern Painters," § 33.) Ruskin states the case better when he writes that "a horse is no wealth to us if we cannot ride, nor a picture if we cannot see, nor can any noble thing be wealth, except to a noble person" ("Modern Painters," § 14, and *cf.* "Munera Pulveris," § 35). Secondly, though Ruskin ignores the fact, even the potential value of things varies in inverse ratio to their quantity. Thus, in spite of its intrinsic, life-giving quality, corn becomes potentially useless if there is a glut of it, and already more bread available than can be consumed.

Even more misleading, though this is not altogether the fault of Ruskin, is the fact that, as we have seen, he refuses to use the term "value" in any current economic sense. Thus he implies by it, neither market-value, nor worth to an individual, but, almost invariably, "life-giving quality." Now the ordinary science of political economy is concerned very little with "wealth" as measured by any life-giving properties. It deals simply with demand and supply, that is, with what men actually want at any given moment, and the means of satisfying their desires. Ruskin, on the contrary, insists that every demand for commodities is, of necessity, a demand for life or for death—a demand, that is, for things both in themselves and in the nature of their production, either good or evil, promoting human welfare or human misery. Thus it makes a very real difference whether

money is exchanged for shoddy cloth or for hand-woven material; for penny-dreadfuls or for the romances of Scott.

The Meaning of "Political Economy."

Thus, Ruskin substitutes a human life-standard for a money-standard. Political economy, since it has to do with living men and women, must treat them as such, and not as money-producing and money-spending and calculating machines. Here, as everywhere else, he bases his deductions on an ethical foundation—refusing to discuss theories which leave out of sight the fundamental factors of right human nature. What *is*, cannot be made a satisfactory starting-point for the determination of what ought to be: men do not always want what is best and most desirable, but a true scientific political economy must raise them up to worthy desires, not pander to their most degraded instincts and the brute desire to over-reach one another. It must, therefore, insist that "In true commerce, as in true preaching or true fighting, it is necessary to admit the idea of occasional loss . . . sixpences have to be lost as well as lives, under a sense of duty . . . the market may have its martyrdoms as well as the pulpit, and trade its heroisms as well as war." The merchant's business is to provide for life, and, if necessary, like the members of the other great intellectual professions, to *die* for it; his function is to provide for the nation, not merely to get profit for himself. "This stipend is a due and necessary adjunct, but not the object of his life," if he be a true merchant. That object is, to produce the best commodity at the lowest possible price compatible with making himself responsible for the kind of life led by the numerous agents who necessarily work under his direction. For cheapness must not be obtained at the fatal cost of human lives or human character: the work required must be beneficial to the worker as to the consumer. In any commercial crisis, the merchant, like the captain of a ship, is bound to share the suffering with his men. Thus must he prove that he cares most for the state or commonwealth, and that he understands the real meaning of political economy, the economy of the "polis," which, if it be true to its name, is a social and not an individual science.

The Cost of Production and of Consumption.

Such being the case, Ruskin is careful to point out that "production does not consist in things laboriously made, but in things serviceably consumable: and the question for the nation is not how much labour it employs, but how much life it produces"—and life includes more than meat; it includes wisdom, virtue, salvation, the right and opportunity to be "holy, perfect, and pure." "The presence of a wise population implies the search for felicity as well as for food." Hence the authoritative command: "In all buying, consider, first, what condition of existence you cause in the producers of what you buy; secondly, whether the sum you have paid is just to the producer, and in due proportion, lodged in his hands; thirdly, to how much clear use, for food, knowledge, or joy, this that you have bought can be put; and fourthly, to whom

and in what way it can be most speedily and serviceably distributed."

If production consists in things serviceably consumable—tending to obtain and employ means of life—then, naturally, the use of the things produced is at least as important as their actual production. This leads Ruskin to a statement which is startlingly unlike that of most political economists, viz., that "consumption is a far more difficult art than wise production. Twenty people can gain money for one who can use it; and the vital question, for individual and for nation, is never 'how much do they make? but to what purpose do they spend?'" What has been done with the potential wealth that has been produced? If it has been hoarded up, not used, it has been wasted, and has never really become wealth at all. "The true home-question to every capitalist and to every nation is not, 'How many ploughs have you?' but 'Where are your furrows?'" Thus, "to use everything and to use it nobly" is the final object of political economy. "The essential work of the political economist is to determine what are in reality useful or life-giving things, and by what degrees and kinds of labour they are attainable and distributable." Wealth can be estimated only by discovering the remaining amount of utility and enjoyment—the life-giving properties—after the cost of production has been deducted. "Cost" is "the quantity of labour required" for production, and in so far as this implies loss of life to the worker, the worth of the work is diminished. When the cost includes the physical or spiritual degradation of the worker, then it can never be worth while to produce such goods, for no function of use or enjoyment which they fulfil suffices as a set-off to the harm committed in their manufacture. To produce such goods can never be "profitable." "Labour is the *suffering* in effort. . . . It is that quantity of our toil which we die in."

If, in such production, suffering outweighs the desirableness of the thing produced, then such labour is death-bringing—and "there is no wealth but life." It is wholly and eternally different from work and effort, the application of power (opera); that, in its noblest form, whether in physical action or mental, intellectual striving, is pleasurable and recreative. "It does not matter how much *work* a thing needs to produce it; it matters only how much distress. Generally, the more the power it requires, the less the distress; so that the noblest works of man cost less than the meanest." Thus interpreted, work, as distinct from labour and suffering, is salutary and beneficial to the worker. Ruskin realises the impossibility of doing away with all unpleasurable labour, but at the same time he points out that its amount may be decreased in various ways.

The Mechanisation and Division of Labour.

For instance, he shows that in manufacture the interest is diminished and the monotony, i.e., suffering, increased, when the worker continually carries out the same process without seeing any visible result of his labour. It is true that division of labour

lowers the money-cost of many manufactured articles, but it is often soul-destroying to the producer. Less wages are obtained by the tailor who spends his life in stitching buttonholes, than by the skilled workman who is capable of making the whole garment or any part of it. But to counterbalance the reduction of wages, it is necessary to remember the lowered standard of workmanship, and also the lessening of power, efficiency, and well-being of the workman. It does not really "pay," even in the lowest sense, to degrade human skill and taste, and to decrease healthy interest in the work done. This fact, almost unrealised either by economists or employers when Ruskin first stated it, led him to condemn both machine-made goods and also that over-specialisation which is the tendency of modern life. Just as the artist's personal touch differentiates a picture from the best photograph ever taken, so, in lower kinds of creative work, the maker's individuality must be expressed if the thing made is to be, in the best sense, valuable. There is an eloquent passage in one of Ruskin's books, in which he explains that no two specimens of great Venetian glass ever were, or could be, exactly similar, though modern Venetians turn out vase after vase exactly to pattern. The moral he deduces is universally applicable—namely, that the human standard alone is the true test of efficiency. Machine-made things are inferior in quality, whatever the ease with which they can be produced; purely mechanical labour is inferior, though the wages required to command it be never so low.

Hence, Ruskin's re-introduction of hand-loom weaving and handicrafts of every kind; hence, too, his tirades against steam power and steam engines. He hated them, because they necessitate all sorts of degrading labour in mines and in factories, and because, at the same time, they destroy the beauties of nature. For he believed "that a nation is only worthy of the soil and the scenes that it has inherited, when by all its acts and arts it is making them more lovely for its children."* Moreover, since beautiful work can be produced only by people who have beautiful things about them, if the workers are surrounded by chimney-pots and smoke, their ears deafened by steam whistles, and their hearts saddened by a grey and dismal life of toil, they will create nothing which contains even the elements of beauty†

In spite of the common belief, Ruskin did not wish indiscriminately to destroy all railways and all factories, and very often his complaints against them were eminently reasonable and right, as when he objected to spoiling beautiful Swiss valleys by running trains through them for excursionists who were too lazy or too hurried to enjoy them wisely. He would have allowed railways

* *Cf.* "Lectures on Art," § 123: "Find places elsewhere than in England, or at least in otherwise unserviceable parts of England, for the establishment of manufactories needing the help of fire . . . reduce such manufactures to their lowest limit." And see "The Two Paths," §§ 89, 90.

† Love of beauty "is an essential part of all healthy human nature and . . . is itself wholly good—the direct adversary of envy, avarice, mean worldly care, and especially of cruelty."—"Lectures on Art," III.; and see *infra* §§ 25, 26.

only where their presence tended definitely to broaden men's minds and to facilitate the production of ideas; he would have subordinated them everywhere and always to the real "wealth" and "utility," which no money advantages can outweigh. Here, as everywhere, he applied the human instead of the commercial standard. This does not imply that he never exaggerated his complaints or went wrong in his condemnations. Much of what he said, for example, of hand-weaving, was the result of imperfect knowledge. No life could well be more brutalising than that of an eighteenth century loom-worker; and in the same way, the lot of an agricultural labourer was not, from any point of view, more attractive in the days when the whole of his labour had to be accomplished by hand. But mistakes of this kind do not in reality detract from the truth of Ruskin's main contention, that the mechanisation of labour and of life is an evil which needs remedy, in so far as it destroys individuality and wholesome enjoyment in men's work and in their surroundings. As long as human skill and understanding are necessary in order to guide the machine, as long as man is its master, not its servant, so long may its use be justifiable. As soon as it is possible to put in raw material at one end to come out manufactured goods at the other, without any further attention than that which is purely a matter of routine, such as stoking or turning a handle, the workman deteriorates and the kind of labour is harmful. It cannot be right, for it is degrading to press a button and let the machine do the rest.* The tests of wise work are, that "it must be honest, useful and cheerful": work that ruins the worker can be none of these things. To be occupied solely with mechanical work is necessarily and inevitably to lose in individuality and in humanity —to sacrifice soul, the development of which is the most "leadingly lucrative" of national manufactures. When such labour is unavoidable, the hours of toil should be correspondingly short, in order that the workers may have ample time for recreation and for the development of their powers and sympathies.

The Morality of Taste.

Moreover, from another point of view, mechanical work produces mechanical results which, as Ruskin has shown in much detail and in various places, are almost, if not quite, as bad for the consumer as for the producer, since they destroy taste. This brings us to one of Ruskin's most startling assertions, which is also one of the most vital elements in his teaching. He insists

* *Cf.* "Crown of Wild Olive," § 45: "What! you perhaps think, 'to waste the labour of men is not to kill them.' Is it not? . . . It is the slightest way of killing to stop a man's breath. Nay, the hunger, and the cold, and the whistling bullets—our love-messengers between nation and nation—have brought pleasant messages to many a man before now: orders of sweet release. . . . At the worst, you do but shorten his life, you do not corrupt his life. But if you put him to base labour, if you bind his thoughts, if you blind his eyes, if you blunt his hopes, if you steal his joys, if you stunt his body, and blast his soul, and at last leave him not so much as strength to reap the poor fruit of his degradation, but gather that for yourself, and dismiss him to the grave, when you have done with him . . . this you think is no waste, and no sin!"

upon the *morality* of taste. " Good taste is essentially a moral quality . . . not only a part and an index of morality; it is the *only* morality. . . . Tell me what you like and I'll tell you what you are " (" Crown of Wild Olive," § 54); and again, " Good taste is the instantaneous preference of the noble thing to the ignoble." Happily, it may be acquired and developed, and not least by the influence of our surroundings, natural and artificial. But since the converse is equally true, a smoke-begrimed or ugly environment has a far reaching influence for ill. For, " what we *like* " (or endure) " determines what we *are* and is the sign of what we are; and to teach taste is inevitably to form character."

If Ruskin was right, it is small wonder that he protested against shoddy and machine-made goods, and against the ugliness of the modern industrial system and its productions. For to be satisfied with quantity instead of quality is a sign and precursor of worse evils which lurk behind. If we suppose, as he contended, that national taste be indeed the expression of national character, severe judgment must be passed not only on the Venetians, but on all nations who are content to exist without art or with inferior art. For they are proved incapable of delight, that is, in the true sense, uneducated, unable to be " glad justly." Yet enjoyment is a right which belongs to all in a well-ordered society—a right sadly curtailed for most people under present economic conditions, when they are taught neither what to like nor how to like it.

Lack of taste results, too, in the wrong use of labour and the substitution of commercialism and competition for honest work.

Competition and the Problem of Right Payment.

It is not too much to say that for commercial competition of all kinds Ruskin had an utter loathing. Thus his treatment of the wages-problem is unusually enlightened. At the beginning of " Unto this Last," he insists that the question of supply and demand ought not to affect the wages paid in one sort of work more than another. A doctor's fees, quite rightly, do not vary in accordance with the amount of illness at a given time. A cabman is not allowed to ask higher fares because it is raining and his services are much in demand. Nor, in a dry season, is he expected to accept less. All work is worth a certain wage and should, in Ruskin's opinion, be paid at a fixed rate, irrespective of other factors. Bad and good workmen, who are entrusted with the same task, should receive equal pay: in this respect Ruskin is entirely in accord with modern trade-unionism. A bad workman should not be allowed to undercut prices " and either take the place of the good, or force him by his competition to work for an inadequate sum." " The natural and right system respecting all labour is that it should be paid at a fixed rate, but the good workman employed and the bad workman unemployed." We do not choose our doctor because he is cheap—provided, that is, that we have money—but because we think him efficient. The same principle should be applied in choosing a

bricklayer or any other worker. No other form of wage-competition is justifiable.

Again, it is infamous that a man's necessities should determine the amount he is paid for his work: he should be paid what it is worth—that amount, neither more nor less, he ought to have. Moreover, to cheapen labour is in every sense bad economy, since it results in bad workmanship and inferior workers. From the lowest point of view, it does not pay to keep men down to a barely living wage; it is wise policy, even from a selfish standpoint, to let good workmen benefit from the increased goodness of their work.

When Ruskin advanced this theory it was laughed at, like so much else which he stated almost for the first time. Nowadays practical business men are coming more and more to adopt what their predecessors termed a "sentimental" doctrine, which after all amounts to little more than that it is in the long-run more profitable to pay a higher wage to an efficient, than a lower wage to an inefficient workman. In this instance, as in many others, Ruskin's prophetic insight helps him to the vision of a very practical and far-reaching reform.

In spite of this, Ruskin later, in "Arrows of the Chace," II., 97, makes a claim which might lead to dangerous results. He is far ahead of his time in his demand that salaries shall be determined by a standard of life instead of by competition. He asks for a definitely prescribed, uniform income or wage for each type of worker, that is, as he defines it, "the quantity and kind of food and space of lodging . . . approximately necessary for the healthy life of a labourer in any given manufacture." Doubtless this is a better method of payment than that resulting from blind obedience to "supply and demand," since at least it secures a minimum of comfort to all workers, irrespective of competition. But Ruskin does not appear to recognise that this definitely prescribed, uniform wage might be a maximum as well as a minimum. It is not enough, as he himself implies in "Unto this Last," "Munera Pulveris" and elsewhere, that the workman shall be paid at a fixed wage. He has the right to raise his standard of life as the average product of his community increases in value; and he, as well as the capitalist-employer, ought to profit by industrial improvements.*

Competitive industry is not merely bad policy in so far as the workers are concerned. Its ill effects are felt in every direction, and perhaps chiefly in that it lays the main stress on "profit" rather than on utility and good workmanship. For it is simply untrue that rivalry promotes excellence of manufacture. On the contrary, it causes that mechanisation of labour which results in the evils to which we have already referred—the deterioration of the worker and the degradation of work by the production of cheap and nasty goods which are palmed off on the consumer, whenever he can be deceived, as equivalent to something better.

* Compare his own assertion ("Time and Tide," § 8): "It is the merest insolence of selfishness to preach contentment to a labourer who gets thirty shillings a week, while we suppose an active and plotting covetousness to be meritorious in a man who has three thousand a year."

Advertisements tell their own tale, and are a sure indication of the dangers of trade competition. Ruskin may overstate his case and ignore everything that can be said in favour of modern commerce. Certainly he makes no reference to the social qualities sometimes developed in the struggle for life—enterprise, industry and self-sacrifice for example, all of which qualify a man for service as well as for the attainment of personal ends. But he is right in recognising the moral and material waste which normally results from the system of fraud upon which trade, to a lamentable extent, depends; and in anathematising the selfishness of the struggle and the loss of power which result from individualism.

Ruskin's Views about Interest.

He is not equally incontrovertible in his attack on interest, which, in the latter part of his life, he denounces as indefensible. In his earlier writings he is content to condemn usury: in "Fors," and especially in Letter XVIII., he makes no distinction between this, which is rightly called extortion, and the interest on commercial capital. There is nothing surprising in the fact that Socialists accept his position, since they detest the capitalist system, which allows wealth to accumulate in the hands of the few and to be used for their personal advantage. For Socialists hold that all wealth should be created and expended for the common good, and that the conduct of the community's business for private profit is prejudicial to the body politic. But Ruskin never goes so far as this, though he advocates the increased ownership and control of industry by the State ("Time and Tide," § 81), and its organisation for social service. Consequently his condemnation of reasonable interest on capital cannot be substantiated. He argues that interest is a forcible taxation or exaction of usury, adding that, since money cannot produce money, there is no sense in the claim that savings ought to be increased by interest. "Abstinence may, indeed, have its reward nevertheless; but not by increase of what we abstain from, unless there be a law of growth for it unconnected with our abstinence." This is plausible, but unsound reasoning. It is easy enough to see the evil of usury, of profiting by the need of an individual, and losing all charity in the process. But if, as Ruskin rightly maintains, money consists merely of counters symbolising command of commodities and of labour, then the use of capital in production does result in an increase of the product, and investment of money in enterprises needing capital is a social service, for which (so long as there is not enough capital for its unlimited use) the consumer of the product may fairly be charged. So long as society relies, for obtaining capital, on its accumulation by individual owners, there is reason in this charge for its use, which is included in the price of the commodity.

Consequently there is an essential difference, in a capitalistic community, between reasonable interest on capital and the exaction of usury. A labour-basis of exchange and social service, instead of profit, are not feasible ideals until society has been reconstructed on a more satisfactory basis. And of this reconstruction, Ruskin refused to hear. He believed in a capitalistic

society and did not altogether condemn the private control of industry for individual profit; as a result, his attacks on interest are unreasonably ferocious. Until industry is deliberately organised by the State for the common good, social saving is desirable, and, until borrowed capital is no longer needed for commercial enterprises, interest is both permissible and inevitable.

Society is an Organic Whole.

While Ruskin refused to go the whole way towards the nationalisation of capital and of the means of production, yet the reforms he advocated tended always towards the promotion of economic equality; and he had a real horror of the unlawful accumulation of personal possessions. No one has ever more clearly recognised the fact that society is an organic whole, and that injury to an individual is therefore injury to the State. But he believed that industry could be saved from the slough of commercialism only by reforming individual capitalists and members of the ruling classes. He had a touching faith in the doctrine of *noblesse oblige,* but no hope of any reform that could come from the people and from democratic rule. In this we hold that he was doubly mistaken. However enlightened and virtuous the individual capitalist or manufacturer, it is, in the nature of things, impossible for him to revolutionise commercial conditions. Ruskin himself was forced to defend his own possession of money and acceptance of interest, by pointing out the indubitable fact that an individual can do no good, and probably will do much harm, by tilting, as an isolated Don Quixote, at the windmill of commercialism. Similarly, though Ruskin did not recognise the truth, an individual manufacturer or merchant would simply land himself in the bankruptcy-court, while benefiting nobody, were he, as an individual to refuse to conform with the conventional conditions of trade. Individual efforts must be supplemented by social co-operation and State action; similarly the progress of all must come through all, that is, " the State " should be the expression of the whole of society, and not of any one section thereof.

It is strange that Ruskin failed to recognise this fact. He was hindered, as Carlyle had been hindered, by his acute realisation of the natural inequalities of men, both mental and moral. These convinced him that it was the duty of the strong man to govern, and of the ordinary man to reverence and obey his superiors. On the whole, it seemed to him that the existence of a powerful aristocracy was the safest form of government, since all social order must be built on authority. But the aristocracy he upheld was to be " the assured measure of some kind of worth (either strength of hand, or true wisdom of conduct, or imaginative gift)." Position was in no way to be purchasable with money, but to be obtainable only by superior intellect and energy. Hence he was conscious that, if ruin were to be arrested, there must be " repentance of that old aristocracy (hardly to be hoped), or the stern substitution of other aristocracy worthier than it." Yet in the very next sentence comes the startling and short-sighted admission : " Corrupt as it may be, it and its laws together, I

would at this moment, if I could, fasten everyone of its institutions down with bands of iron, and trust for all progress and help against its tyranny simply to the patience and strength of private conduct.

Obedience may be, as he held, "an inherent, natural, and eternal inheritance of a large portion of the human race," but there is no duty of obedience to the laws of primogeniture, nor to mere wealth and social advantages. It is true, and no modern Socialist will deny the fact, that men's capacities differ along with their functions, and that equality among millions of individually developing units is as inconceivable as identity. There are, as Ruskin says, "unconquerable differences in the clay of the human creature." But this does not warrant any individual in using his unequal powers as a means of injuring or oppressing those who are inferior to him. Nor ought the State to permit him to use his superior capacity in such a way as to build up either riches or dominion. Moreover, equality of opportunity ought to be secured for each individual, and for this no man has more earnestly pleaded than Ruskin himself, who even stated, in so many words, that "this enormous difference in bodily and mental capacity has been mainly brought about by difference in occupation, and by direct maltreatment." Let every child have his chance, and the right spirit of reverence for superiority will not disappear: rather will it grow and develop in those who have no cause for envy or hatred, but only for the "admiration, hope and love" by which we live.

And, indeed, in "Time and Tide," Ruskin propounds a theory of government by co-operation and fellowship among nations, as among separate peoples, which is conceivable only in a world from which the evils of commercialism and tyranny have disappeared, and in which all men have been protected both from the unnatural inequalities born of oppression and from any misuse of the natural superiorities of others.

The Nationalisation of Land.

Ruskin's opinions about the possession of land are in some respects remarkably modern, and although not identical with the latest Socialist doctrine on this question, they come surprisingly near to the view that land held by occupying owners for agricultural purposes belongs to the category of tools, and is, therefore, quite properly in individual ownership.

Ruskin is clear that land and water and air, "being the necessary sustenance of men's bodies and souls," must not be bought or sold. Yet he believes, up to a certain point, in the hereditary private possession of land by occupying owners, superintended by State overseers and paying a tax to the State as State tenants—the amount of land thus owned being strictly limited by the capacity to make good use of it. Apparently he has in mind a sort of peasant-proprietorship; in cases where larger tracts of land are granted in perpetuity to "great old families," "their income must in no wise be derived from the rent of it." Land must never become a source of income to such

owners; its possession is a trust and " should be, on the whole, costly to them . . . made . . . exemplary in perfection of such agriculture as develops the happiest peasant-life." (See e.g. " Time and Tide." Letter XXIII.)

The Organisation of Labour.

Perhaps he is most a pioneer in his demand for the complete organisation of labour and his belief in the right to work and to the best possible training and education for its accomplishment. His system of selecting the suitable worker for a particular job, and of utilising every potential labourer, is complete and satisfactory. All children are to be taught the laws of health, habits of gentleness and justice, and the calling by which they are to live. All those who are out of employment are to be received at once in government-schools or labour-colonies and set to such work as they can do, or trained for such work as they are fit. For the old and destitute, comfort and home are to be provided. " A labourer serves his country with his spade, just as a man in the middle ranks of life serves it with sword, pen or lancet. If the service be less, and, therefore, the wages during health less, then the reward when health is broken may be less, but not less honourable; and it ought to be quite as natural and straightforward a matter for a labourer to take his pension from his parish, because he has deserved well of his country." (Preface to " Unto this Last."). The case for old-age pensions has never been more trenchantly stated.

Lastly, he demands either government-workshops or trade guilds which shall set the standard of price and of workmanship for every commodity, " interfering no whit with private enterprise,"* except in so far as their productions are " authoritatively good and exemplary." Ruskin's desire for some such guild system, self-governing in its constitution, but vocational and voluntary in its composition, brings him nearer to the aspirations of Guild Socialism than to the achievements of Collectivism, but in any case, and in spite of his denials, his ideal is definitely Socialistic in its trend.

The Results of Ruskin's Economic Teaching.

Omitting, as we must, within the limits of a tract, a more detailed description of Ruskin's actual plans, and ignoring his somewhat perverse attitude on the subject of a fully democratic suffrage, we are now in a position to summarise something of what Ruskin effected by his economic teaching, and to estimate his influence on the nascent Socialist movement of the second half of the nineteenth century.

In the first place, he justifies his claim that " honest production, just distribution, wise consumption " are the reforms that it is most necessary to enforce. For these reforms, radically insti-

* It is interesting to note that the establishment of such government-workshops, as a means to secure a high standard of workmanship and to prevent or reduce adulteration, is an " original " panacea recently proposed by Mr. Emil Davies, who would, however, also use them as a method of obtaining additional revenue for the State.

tuted, would go far towards the establishment of what to-day still beckons to us as a far-off Utopia.

But more important than any particular means that he advocates, is his whole attitude towards social problems, and, indeed, towards life itself. Above all else, he acts as a stimulating power, a disturber of the vulgar modern complacency which he hated, an awakener of ideals, of higher motives and more generous resolves. Everywhere and always he applies the test of humanity; he breaks down the barriers which divide one human activity or instinct from another, and insists on the interrelation of all social and individual interests. The supreme moral and spiritual teacher of his age, he penetrates everywhere to first principles and ultimate truths; and whether his ostensible subject be art or economics, he attempts to alter men's aim and motive in life, to uproot evil however manifested, and to bring a little nearer "the true felicity of the human race," by showing wherein nobility, wealth, and beauty consist.

Thus, while errors and extravagance are to be found in his teaching, and while he may justly be accused of lack of system in the presentation of his ideas about social reform, yet the abiding impression left by his work is not of these. It is rather a conviction of the breadth and vividness of his sympathies, and of his clear vision of essentials. His belief that no system of economics can be of permanent value, if it fails to develop "souls of a good quality," the insight which enables him to recognise the ultimate connection between economics and morals—these are perhaps his most important contribution to social science. But greater even than the great lessons which he taught, the man's own nobility of purpose shines forth in all his writings—a beacon-light for future ages.

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"Stones of Venice." The chapter "On the Nature of Gothic." 1851.
"Unto this Last." 1861.
"Munera Pulveris." 1862.
"The Crown of Wild Olive." 1866.
"Time and Tide." 1867.
"Fors Clavigera." 1871-81.

The standard library edition of Ruskin is that by Cook and Wedderburn. (Thirty-nine vols. 1903-12.) There are various cheaper editions, one at 1s. the volume, which includes all the above-mentioned works, except the last. This is obtainable in The Pocket Ruskin, in four volumes at 1s. 6d. each. The publishers are, in every case, Messrs. Allen & Unwin, Limited.

Fabian Tract No. 180.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM - - -

By A. CLUTTON BROCK

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM.

What is the Aim of Civilization?

SOCIALISM is the attempt to put a certain theory of human nature into political practice. If it is separated from that theory, it loses all its virtue and its sense of direction. It becomes a mere mechanical expedient, and might easily produce that Servile State about which its opponents are always talking.

My aim in this tract is to state that theory, and to show how Socialism owes its virtue to it and its sense of direction.

We are all agreed that we have attained to a certain amount of civilization, and that we wish to attain to more of it. We are also agreed that civilization has an aim—in that it differs from barbarism, which has no aim—but there are two opposed theories about the aim of civilization, and they may be stated shortly thus: the one theory says that the aim of civilization is to organize the struggle for life; the other that it is to transcend the struggle for life.

Each theory is based upon a certain view of human nature. The first assumes that human nature is, and always must be, controlled by the struggle for life. Men have been made what they are by that struggle, and it is, necessarily, the only business of their lives. The best they can do is to wage it efficiently; and the aim, the only possible aim, of civilization is to wage it so.

That phrase, *the struggle for life*, is often misunderstood by those who wish to misunderstand it for their own purposes. It does not mean, necessarily, a struggle between men. It does not mean that life is a substance of which there is not enough to go round, so that one man must always be fighting with another for it. A man struggles for life when he fights with a disease; and men certainly have discovered that they can carry on the struggle for life better by co-operation than by fighting with each other. When, therefore, this theory says that men are controlled by the struggle for life, it means, not that they must necessarily be always struggling with each other, but that their final aim is to go on living, and that civilization is an organized and co-operative effort to go on living.

Quantity or Quality of Life.

There is one obvious objection to this theory, which seems fatal at first sight, namely, that, as a matter of fact, individual men are often ready to sacrifice their lives for others. But the answer made to that objection is that there is in men, not only an instinct for self-preservation, but also an instinct for race-preservation. It is this instinct for race-preservation which gives us what we call our higher values. We value in men those qualities which make for race-preservation more highly than those which make for self-preservation. But, according to this theory, all our values are ultimately survival values, though we may not know it. Those

emotions which seem to us the noblest are aroused in us by whatever makes for the preservation of the race. There is some power in us which, unknown to ourselves, always aims at that, and which imposes illusions upon us so that our instinct of self-preservation may be subordinate to our instinct of race-preservation. For, without those illusions, the man who has risen superior to self-preservation would care nothing for race-preservation. The good man, as it seems to us, prefers quality of life to quantity. Without quality life would be worthless to him. But this quality is all an illusion. He only gets the sense of quality in life by doing that which secures quantity of life for others. He holds life cheap for himself so that he may have the glory of giving that which he holds cheap to others. And those others, too, can only have the sense of quality in their own lives if they are ready to sacrifice them so that yet others may have quantity. Ultimately there is nothing but quantity of life to be lived for, however much we may disguise the fact to ourselves.

So civilization must be an organization of the struggle for life, since there is nothing else to be struggled for. This is a universe in which living consists of the effort to go on living, whether the individual makes that effort for himself or for the community. Civilization would induce him to make it for the community, but only so that the community, now or in the future, may have that quantity of life which the individual is trained to despise for himself; and civilization will persist and improve only if men are continually trained to despise that which alone is worth having.

Socialism is for Quality of Life.

The other theory, as I have said, holds that the aim of civilization is to transcend the struggle for life, and it is based upon the belief that men are not ultimately controlled by the struggle for life, and that their proper business in life is to escape from the control of it as completely as possible. It denies that all our values are survival values, or that those emotions which seem to us the noblest are aroused in us by what makes for the preservation of the race. A man does not love truth or spend his life in seeking it because it makes for the preservation of the race, but because it is truth, and therefore to be loved for its own sake. He does not do what is right because it makes for the preservation of the race, but because it is right, and therefore to be done for its own sake. He does not make beautiful things for the preservation of the race, but because they are beautiful, and therefore to be made for their own sake. And his proper business in life is to do all these things for their own sake, and to live, not that he may go on living, but that he may do them.

To the question why they should be worth doing for their own sake, there is no answer, because they are worth doing for their own sake. They are absolutes, and cannot be expressed in terms of anything else. Man is of such a nature that he desires to do those things for their own sake, and the universe is of such a nature that they are worth doing for their own sake. If he asks what is right,

the answer is that which he permanently finds worth doing for its own sake, and not so that he may go on living. For life itself is not an absolute, but merely a condition of action. We must think of life in terms of those things which we do for their own sake, and not of those things in terms of life. And the more we do things for their own sake, the more clearly we shall see what things are to be done for their own sake. If we think that the aim of life is to go on living, we shall not see anything clearly at all.

There is no Safety in Altruism.

This theory is dogmatic, but not more dogmatic than the other; and its appeal is to experience, whereas the appeal of the other is mainly to facts observed about savages or animals. But my object in this pamphlet is, not so much to defend one theory or to attack the other, as to show which is consistent with Socialism and which is not. Socialism, I believe, is necessarily based upon the theory that the aim of civilization is to transcend the struggle for life; and, unless it is based upon that theory, it loses its virtue and its sense of direction.

It might be contended that each theory will lead to altruism, and therefore that it does not matter practically which theory you hold. An altruistic organization of society, a Socialistic organization, is the logical result of both. But altruism is an ugly word, and may mean a very ugly thing. If you believe that the proper aim of civilization is to organize the struggle for life, that quantity of life for the race is the highest thing that a community can aim at, then the individual has no rights for you. Not only may he sacrifice himself, but he may also be sacrificed, for the community. Quantity of life is the only absolute; and everything else, including all our morality, is to be thought of in terms of it. There is nothing to stop you from killing a minority so that a majority may live longer. There is nothing to keep you from attempting to breed a race of over-men, at the expense of all those whom you consider under-men, if you believe that life for the race of over-men will be longer and more secure. All this you may do quite altruistically, in that you do it, not for your own advantage, but for the better preservation of the race. If quantity of life is your final aim, you will have no desire to provide quality of life for the individual, unless you think that quality for him means quantity for the race; and there is no certainty whatever that you will think this, since quality of life is to you a mere illusion. As for pity and virtues of that kind, they will not be virtues to you at all, if they seem to you to endanger race-preservation. You will think altogether in terms of the race, and not at all in terms of the individual; and altruism may lead you, if you have the power, into a tyranny which will be utterly ruthless because you think it scientific.

The Sanctity of the Individual.

But the theory that the aim of civilization is to transcend the struggle for life is a theory which necessarily implies the sanctity of

the individual. For if the aim of civilization is to transcend the struggle for life, its aim is that every individual here and now shall transcend it; and, so far as any one man is prevented from transcending it, there is failure of civilization. According to this theory there are desires in every man, which we may call desires of the spirit; a desire to do what is right for its own sake, a desire to discover the truth for its own sake, and a desire to make things as beautiful or as well as they can be made for the sake of making them well. And the proper object of life is to satisfy these desires, not to go on living. Further, Society is an association of human beings with the object of giving to all of them the opportunity to satisfy these desires. If it has not that object, it is vicious and perverse in its whole constitution. It must have other objects, of course, such as defence and the better organization of the struggle for life; but these are subsidiary to its main object, which is to give freedom to satisfy the desires of the spirit.

Now this is the only theory upon which what we call social justice can be securely based, for, if the aim is to give all men freedom to satisfy the desires of the spirit, it follows that some men must not have freedom at the expense of others. It is necessary that a mass of work should be done so that men may live; but, if all are to have an equal freedom, all must do their fair share of this work. And it will be a further aim of Society that men shall, as far as possible, satisfy the desires of the spirit in the work which they have to do. The test of all work which is not absolutely necessary will be—whether the worker can take pleasure in doing it well for its own sake. If he can, then it is worth doing; if he cannot, then it is an offence against civilization to force him to do it. It is not strict laws against luxury which are needed for civilization, but a sense of the iniquity of unnecessary and joyless labour. And this sense can only be based upon a belief in the sanctity of the individual, in his right to the satisfaction of his spiritual desires.

The other theory will not give social justice, because it will not aim at it. It will not assert the right of the individual to satisfy his spiritual desires, because it does not believe in the existence of spiritual desires. It only believes in existence itself without any further aims. It has no value for anything except existence itself, and all our other values it necessarily reduces to a value for existence and nothing more.

The Sacrifice of the Individual for the Race.

In practice, of course, there are few or none who carry this theory to its logical conclusion. But the theory is always with us and is always affecting our thought about social and political matters. It produces a kind of altruism which is dangerous because it necessarily denies the sanctity of the individual. For the only altruism which is consistent with this theory is an altruism which neglects the individual for the race, which exalts the struggle of the race for existence above the struggle of the individual. You cannot attain to altruism at all through this theory except by giving up the individual

for the race, except by valuing the race instinct for preservation more than the individual instinct. This valuing of the one more than the other is your religion, the principle upon which all your morality is based; and there is nothing whatever to limit it in your theory. So it may become a fanaticism as cruel as any of those religious fanaticisms of the past which were based upon a belief in the paramount importance of salvation. For them there was nothing but the struggle for eternal life; for this theory there is nothing but the struggle for temporal life. For both the individual, and his sanctity and freedom, are nothing compared with the struggle, and he may be sacrificed in any way which the struggle demands.

The German Error.

The only alternative which this theory permits to such inhuman altruism is the instinct of self-preservation with its merely barbaric selfishness. There is nothing in politics between anarchy and a State in which the individual has no rights. If anyone would say that the theory does not exist, or that it has no practical influence in any existing State, I would draw their attention to Germany at the present moment and to our own country for the last hundred years. Germany has developed that inhuman altruism for which the individual has no rights. Her whole conception of the State is that it is a unit in the struggle for life to which all individual rights must be sacrificed. The aim of the State, Treitschke says, is power; but power to do what? Power to survive as a State; and to this power every individual and every individual conscience must be sacrificed. It does not matter that the Germans themselves consent to this sacrifice. You do not remain free because you willingly give up your freedom for something else. You do not keep your conscience because you have conscientiously surrendered it. The Germans talk of their idealism and their Kultur, but in their political life both are subordinate to the struggle for life itself, a struggle carried on with an altruism the more ruthless and the more dangerous both to themselves and to others, because it is altruism and not selfishness, because it has sacrificed the claims of the individual to the claims of the race.

It matters not that this altruism is for the German race and not for the human. That is, perhaps, merely a want of logic in detail; or it may be that they think the human race has the best chance of surviving if the German race is supreme. In any case their altruism is based upon a belief that the individual must be sacrificed to the race; their Socialism, so far as they are Socialists, is an organization of the struggle for life and not an attempt to transcend it. Needless to say, there are many attempts in Germany, as elsewhere, to transcend the struggle for life, but these are attempts of individuals. The theory of the State is not their theory, as the present war has proved.

The English Error.

In England, on the other hand, we have inclined more to anarchy than to the organization of the struggle for life, because we have

trusted rather to the instinct of self-preservation than to the instinct of race-preservation. We have, very justly, disliked and distrusted the ruthless altruism which will allow no rights to the individual; but we have based all his rights upon his instinct of self-preservation. We, no less than the Germans, have seen something holy in the struggle for life itself, believing it to be the ultimate and controlling fact of life. Politically, we too have believed that all values are only survival values. The only difference is that, for us, it is the survival of the individual that matters. It is his struggle that is holy and the source of all virtues.

"Competition is the soul of trade" and also the soul of the universe. We would rather carry on the necessary and holy war with each other individually than as a drilled and regimented nation with other nations. That is why the Germans despise us and we despise the Germans. We see the wickedness of their altruism, they see the wickedness of our individualism. They talk about our slums and we about their shambles; and we are both right. At the present moment their altruism is a danger to all the world and must be withstood. But our individualism is a danger to ourselves always; and the source of the danger in both cases is the same doctrine, that doctrine which says that there is nothing worth having in life except life itself.

But if you believe that life is worth having only for certain things that can be done in life, if you desire quality of life rather than quantity, you will not think the struggle for life holy, whether a struggle of individuals or of larger units such as nations. For life is not worth having on the terms that it alone is worth struggling for. It is merely a condition precedent to the doing of those other things which are worth doing; and the State exists not for its own power, which means the survival of its members or some of them, but so that its members may all be able to do those things which are worth doing. We have discovered by experience, if we do not all know it in our hearts, that those things which are worth doing for their own sake are best done in co-operation, can indeed only be securely and persistently and largely done, when men are able to forget the struggle for life in co-operation; for it is only co-operation which enables them to forget the struggle for life for one moment. Every State, every degree of civilization, aims at a certain amount of co-operation, and is kept in being only because men are able to forget themselves in co-operation. The question is therefore, the ultimate political question, why shall they co-operate? No indvidualist can give a clear answer to that question. No Socialist can be logically and thoroughly a Socialist, unless he gives the right answer—which is that they shall co-operate so that they may, as far as possible, escape from the struggle for life to the doing of those things which are worth doing for their own sake.

The Proper Purpose of Co-operation.

Co-operation itself is one of the things that are worth doing for their own sake. It is morally right, as conflict is morally

wrong. It is true, of course, that men may co-operate for a wrong purpose, but even then they get some moral or spiritual satisfaction in their co-operation, in their self-forgetfulness. The German Army, because of its co-operation, is not morally as low as a footpad. The individual members of it do display certain virtues, and often very high ones, which they could not display if they were footpads. But their co-operation is a danger to the world because its purpose is bad, because it does not aim at something which is worth doing for its own sake, but merely for national success in the struggle for life. There is not complete self-forgetfulness in it, but only self-forgetfulness for the sake of a national egotism in which every German self has a part.

As co-operation implies self-forgetfulness, so its ultimate aim should be one in which self is forgotten, one free from egoism, national as well as individual; otherwise it will be dangerous because of its power, and will raise up a desperate opposition against itself. One can easily imagine a world of highly organized States rushing to a conflict far worse than the present one, and destroying all civilization in the course of it, if their Socialism was controlled by national egoism, if the aim of their co-operation was power, and not the doing of those things in which men forget all egoism. Co-operation, however far it is carried, must be dangerous, and must raise up enemies and provoke conflicts, unless its aim is the doing of those things which are worth doing for their own sake. So long as that is its aim, there is no danger in it, either of tyranny within the State or of aggression upon other States; and with that aim it may be carried as far as possible without fear of tyranny or aggression.

That, therefore, is the test of Socialism. Is it consistent co-operation that it aims at, a co-operation which means self-forgetfulness both in its process and in its ultimate aim, or is it an inconsistent co-operation, in which men forget themselves so that they may ultimately in some way satisfy their egotism? If the latter, it is dangerous in proportion to its efficiency. Aiming at power, it leads to war; aiming at comfort, it leads to stagnation. But if the former, there is no danger in it, since the more men forget themselves, the more they wish to forget themselves, and in forgetting themselves they can do no harm to each other. But they can only consistently and completely forget themselves if they are aiming at those things which are worth doing for their own sake, at doing what is right for the sake of doing it, at discovering the truth for the sake of the truth, at producing what is beautiful for the sake of what is beautiful.

Men have a desire to do what is right, and that, not for any ulterior benefit to themselves, but simply because it is right. When they see it to be right, they wish to do it. That is what we mean by doing right; it is not right if we do it for some ulterior purpose. So they have a desire for the truth, and they wish to discover it because it is the truth, and for no other reason. When we say that a man has a love of the truth, we mean that he loves it for its own sake, and not because he hopes in some way to profit by it.

The Imposition of Morality on the Poor.

Now, in our pursuit of all these things for their own sake, we are constantly hindered by the struggle for life. The mass of men, by reason of their poverty, have hardly any chance at all of exercising their intellectual or æsthetic faculties, and we take it for granted that they ought to be satisfied with exercising their moral faculties. The business of the poor is to be good. But a man cannot be good if he is confined to the exercise of his moral faculties alone, and we cannot be good if we confine him to it. Spiritual health consists in the exercise of all spiritual faculties, the intellectual and the æsthetic as well as the moral. If we wish the poor only to be good, we may be sure that we wish them to be good for our own profit. Their goodness to us means such conduct as will make us most comfortable, which is not goodness at all, but merely submission to a moral code imposed upon them. If we wish them to be good for our profit, we misunderstand the very nature of goodness and cause them also to misunderstand it. If we are to understand the nature of goodness ourselves, or to give them a chance of understanding it, we must not see their goodness in terms of our convenience. Our aim must be to release them from the pressure of the struggle for life, so that they may exercise all their spiritual faculties, so that they may have that freedom in which alone a man can do what is right for its own sake, can pursue truth for its own sake, and can enjoy and produce beauty for its own sake.

That freedom is very far off from all of us at present, from the rich no less than from the poor. In a society like ours the rich fear truth and are stinted of beauty, and their very conception of goodness is perverted by their fear of truth and by the general penury of beauty. They, anxious to maintain their position, are subject to the struggle for life no less than the poor. The only difference is that they exact more from life than the poor do, and therefore struggle for more. But their sense of the absolute, of those things which are worth doing for their own sake, is just as weak as if they were poor themselves. It is not spiritual freedom that they aim at, but success in the struggle for life; and therefore, not aiming at spiritual freedom, they cannot attain to it.

Yet we can aim at spiritual freedom, and we can understand that it is only to be reached if we aim at it for all. A man cannot enjoy a private spiritual freedom in a society based upon injustice any more than he can enjoy health in a plague-stricken town. The very desire for spiritual freedom must arouse in him a desire that all shall have it. If he wishes to do what is right for its own sake, he must wish that all should have the chance of doing what is right for its own sake. If he wishes to know the truth for its own sake, he must wish that all should have the chance of knowing it. If he wishes to make things beautiful for the sake of their beauty, he must wish that all should have the chance of making them so. And where the mass of men have not this chance or this desire, he finds himself continually thwarted in his own aims. Right is wrong, truth is falsehood, beauty is ugliness, to a society which does not

desire these things for their own sake. We must desire them for their own sake, if we are to know what they are; and we must wish for a society in which every man shall desire them for their own sake, a society in which the obstacles to spiritual freedom shall be removed.

The Desire for Spiritual Freedom is the Basis of Socialism.

So the desire for spiritual freedom is the basis, the only basis, of Socialism. Without it co-operation will mean merely tyranny; it will be a means by which some will exercise their "will to power" over others. It will be a change in the organization of society, but merely one that will give those who start rich more power than ever over those who start poor. There is in everyone a will to power, just as there is a sexual instinct. But this will to power is, if indulged, more of an enemy to spiritual freedom than the sexual instinct. If I am possessed by the will to power, I cannot be a saint or a philosopher or an artist; I cannot even wish to be any of these. I shall wish for nothing except to exercise my own will; and, because I have no sense of the absolute, I shall not know what to exercise it upon. Even if I think that I aim at the truth, my sense of the truth will be continually perverted by my will to power. I shall aim at freedom to do what I want to do, but what I want to do will not be dictated to me by a desire for spiritual freedom; and this wilful freedom of mine will mean slavery for others.

Hence the extreme importance that the fundamental doctrines of Socialism should be clearly defined and held by all Socialists; that Socialism should be desired for the right reason, not for the wrong; that it should mean to every Socialist spiritual freedom, and not an organization by which he shall be able to work his will upon other men. Before the desire for Socialism, there should be the desire for spiritual freedom. And Socialism should endeavour to prove that it is the natural and inevitable product of the desire for spiritual freedom. We wish for a society in which all men shall have the chance of doing what is right for the sake of doing it, of seeking truth for truth's sake, of producing beauty for beauty's sake. We believe that in every man there is the desire to do those things, that no man can be happy except through the satisfaction of this desire. Further, we believe that this desire can only be satisfied in common and in a society whose chief aim is the common satisfaction of it. Without that aim a society is blind. It has no test by which to distinguish progress from reaction, civilization from barbarism, freedom from tyranny. It may be engaged in incessant changes and adjustments, all of which will be merely the exercise of the will to power by one class or another. It may organize itself into a very high state of efficiency, and then, in its pride at that efficiency, become only a unit in the struggle for life, and provoke against itself a continued opposition that will destroy it.

The Logic of Socialism.

There is, in fact, no theory of man's nature, or of the nature of the universe, upon which any social organization can be logically founded, except the theory that men do above all things, and beyond all things, desire spiritual freedom, and that they know how to use it when they have got it. And Socialism is the logical expression of this theory in political practice. It would carry the organization of society further than individualism would carry it, not merely because it believes in efficiency or any such meaningless abstraction, but because it believes that men do desire spiritual freedom above all things, and that they will aim at spiritual freedom individually whenever they have enough control of the struggle for life to do so. This is the faith of Socialism, a faith in the mind of man, not in mere mechanical efficiency, a belief that when men are all reasonably prosperous they will not fall in love with a dull prosperity. For it is not in man's nature to fall in love with dull prosperity. When he seems to do so, it is not because he is Philistine by nature, but because he is afraid to lose what he has. All those evils of prosperity about which reactionaries tell us are evils of insecurity or of unjust excess. No man, not even a poet, is the worse for a good meal of wholesome food. He will write poetry better on it than if he is over or underfed. Prosperity demoralizes men only when it is unusual. If it were common and equal, it would be to them a necessary condition of their spiritual activities.

But, further, we believe that a common and equal prosperity can be attained to only if society aims at spiritual freedom for all. To aim at prosperity alone will be to lose the way to it; therefore means to prosperity must not be imposed upon the unwilling poor by masterful philanthropists. Socialism is not, as its cleverer enemies pretend, a method of regimentation; although a capitalist tyranny might learn much from Socialism, if it were clever enough, and might even call itself Socialist. But the difference between such a tyranny and Socialism would always be in aim. It is difference of aim and difference of faith that produce difference of result. That is why we need to insist upon the importance of the Socialistic faith and to define it with almost theological precision. Unless it is so defined and held by all Socialists, Socialism will become what its enemies say it is, merely a method which an intelligent despot could use better than anyone else. He, of course, would ignore the logic of Socialism, or would apply it only so far as suited his own purposes, but that would matter little to him. To the Socialist, on the other hand, the logic of Socialism should be everything. It should connect his conception of the nature of man and of the universe with every detail of political action; otherwise Socialism will be to him also only a method and one in which his faith may easily be shaken.

Why is it that so many men, in their youth ardent Socialists, afterwards become reactionaries and yet do not know that they have changed? It is because they have never grasped the logic of Socialism, because it has never been to them anything but a method which they can apply to any purpose. There is logic in Socialism

only when it is a faith, not in method, but in the mind of man and the nature of the universe, and when this faith expresses itself in a method which is Socialism. I will not say that Socialism is a religion, any more than I would say that art is a religion. But Socialism and art are themselves only when they make or express certain affirmations about man and the universe in common with religion. Religion is an affirmation of absolute values. It tells us that we are to value certain things because they have value in themselves and not because they help us to go on living. It tells us that we live to do what is right because it is right, to discover truth because it is true, to make what is beautiful because it is beautiful, and that the purpose of our lives is not to go on living. So Socialism is the application of these affirmations to politics. It is an effort to attain to a state of society in which every man will be able to make these affirmations in practice as well as in theory; and it is based upon a religious belief that every man desires to make them and will make them if he is freed from the tyranny of circumstance. This belief may seem forlorn in our present society; it often does seem forlorn to us when we look at other men of a different class or nation. Yet it never seems forlorn to us when we look at ourselves. We make these affirmations about ourselves, and we are angry with a society which does not allow us to practise them. This anger, without logic, produces a belief in aristocracy. There are a few, ourselves among them, who ought to rule the world so that they may practise these affirmations, of which the vulgar herd are incapable either in theory or in practice. But, with the logic of religion, which tells us that other men are to themselves what we are to ourselves, it produces Socialism. We know that to be released from the pressure of the struggle for life would not demoralize us; why then should it demoralize the mob, which is only a name for men seen hostilely and in the mass? We want material freedom so that we may attain to spiritual freedom; and so do all other men, even those who think they can attain to it only at the expense of the mob. We all have the same desire; but there are some who think that this desire is peculiar to themselves and a few other aristocrats like them; and there are some who have forgone their desire from fear or from the tyranny of circumstance. For one reason or another they lack faith and the logic of faith. Their politics are disconnected from their desire and they are not Socialists. But the politics of the Socialist are connected with his desire and with his religion. He believes about other men what he wishes them to believe about himself. That is why he is a Socialist, why he is not afraid of trusting mankind as he himself would wish to be trusted. But unless he has this belief and this trust he is not a Socialist, whatever he may call himself.

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WHEN PEACE COMES—THE WAY OF INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION.*

I.—THE GREAT DISBANDMENT.

The difference between the Outbreak of War and the Outbreak of Peace is that we did not expect the former and we do expect the latter. War sent the whole nation scurrying round like scared rabbits trying to prevent dislocation from spelling unemployment and starvation. The Declaration of Peace will entail an even greater dislocation of industry and of wage-earning than did the Declaration of War. If we let it come upon us without adequate preparation, it will be much more difficult to deal with, and much more socially disastrous, than anything that we have yet had to face. It will create much more discontent and angry feeling, for thousands who would cheerfully die for their country in the stress of war will furiously resent going hungry in time of peace. But we can see the trouble coming, and we can, if we choose, prepare for it. Great will be the responsibility of the Cabinet if the nation presently discovers that proper preparation has not been made for what we can all see is a certainty.

When War Wages Cease.

To-day at least seven millions of our wage-earners (probably not far short of half the total wage-earning population) are engaged on "war work," either in the Army and Navy and their innumerable subsidiary services, or in the four thousand factories making munitions, or in the countless other establishments working on Government orders of every kind. These millions, together with their managers and officers, and the shareholders and other capitalists who are living on their labours, are being fed from the five million pounds per day that the Treasury is disbursing. From the very moment that peace is assured the Treasury will do its utmost to stop that expenditure, and to reduce it as rapidly as possible to the

* This tract is reproduced, with slight additions, from half-a-dozen articles in the "Daily News" (which appeared July 28, August 3, 12, 19, 26, and September 5, 1916), with permission of the proprietors. Many of the facts, figures, and proposals will be found more fully stated in "Great Britain After the War," by Sidney Webb and Arnold Freeman, price 1s. net (supplied by the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster).

few hundreds of thousands per day that will represent the future normal outlay on these services. This means, under the system on which we have chosen to conduct our industry, the stoppage of the earnings of nearly half our manual working population. No such economic convulsion has ever menaced the inhabitants of these islands. And we know that it is coming; we can foresee its approach, and we can, if we choose, take the action necessary to prevent it from resulting in distress and demoralisation and starvation. If our people have any political capacity—if those whom we have put in high places to rule over us have any "gumption" and any sense of public duty—let them show it now, or dire will be our fate. What is approaching in all the belligerent countries, so far as the mass of the people are concerned, is more like an Indian famine than like any ordinary depression of trade.

The War Office Promises.

So far as is known, the Government has come to practically no decision on the Problems of Demobilisation; and the preparation of the Great Peace Book, about which Mr. Asquith was talking about six months ago, has in September, 1916, resulted only in the secret appointment of a score of different committees, not all of which have yet got under way. We learn from Lord Newton's answers in the House of Lords in December, 1915, and from a stray reference or two elsewhere, that the War Office has come to certain provisional conclusions about the disbandment of the soldiers. The return of some three millions of men from all the various theatres of war, and their discharge from the Army, must necessarily be gradual; but it is to be proceeded with, under Treasury pressure, as promptly and rapidly as possible. Moreover, the mass of the men are enlisted only "for the duration of the war"; and they will nearly all eagerly claim an early discharge. The disbandment will be governed exclusively by military considerations, without reference to the position of the Labour Market. It must take place, so the War Office declares, by entire military units, irrespective of the needs of particular industries or the desires of individual men. The only concession that the War Office will make to those who are troubled about getting these millions of soldiers back into civil employment is to promise that a form shall be filled up for each man, stating his occupation, the town to which he intends to proceed, and whether he desires a place to be found for him. This form is to be forwarded through the War Office to the Labour Exchange of the town which the soldier has designated at least one month before he will be discharged. Every soldier will be given at the port of disembarkation a free railway ticket to any station in the United Kingdom; and he will be allowed a month's furlough, during which pay and separation allowance will be continued. He will be awarded a gratuity of an amount not yet fixed. (After the South African War the men received five or six pounds each.) And, as if with a magnificent gesture washing its hands of the whole problem,

the War Office promises to every discharged soldier, for a whole year after his discharge, that he shall be entitled, whatever his occupation, whenever he is out of work, to call at the Labour Exchange and receive Unemployment Benefit (for which, if he belongs to an insured trade, he has already been paying), to an amount not yet definitely fixed, but probably ten or twelve shillings per week.* It is believed that the Admiralty will not refuse to do the same for the couple of hundred thousand sailors whom it will dispense with.

Finding Situations.

Now this provision, which leaves the War Office astonished at its own munificence, and to which, it is feared, the Treasury had not then given its consent, is considerably in excess of any previously made. It does not, as will be explained later, go far to ensure the soldier civil employment. But, so far as merely disbanding an army goes, it is on the right lines. It is quite a good innovation to send forward the soldier's application for employment a whole month before he can possibly take up a job, although it may be doubted whether this will, in most cases, lead to any engagement in advance. In spite of the fact that the Board of Trade has hardly kept faith with the trade unions in the matter of Supervisory Committees of the Labour Exchanges—there are such committees, but they have been formed in secret, usually for impossible areas; they hardly ever meet; they are given next to nothing to do; and they are carefully prevented from knowing anything of the daily operations of the Labour Exchanges—it is absolutely necessary to entrust the Exchanges with the finding of situations. The Board of Trade ought promptly to make its Trade Union Advisory Committees into realities; to constitute them, as at present, to the extent of one-half of representative local trade unionists; to have a separate one for each town or county district; to let them meet regularly and control their own secretaries and agendas; and to enable them to see exactly how the Exchange is being run. After all, these committees are only advisory. They can do no harm. The timid secretiveness of the Board of Trade over this matter arouses a quite unwarranted suspicion and distrust of the really fine work that the 400 Exchanges are doing. They have at present accommodation and staff adequate to deal with fifteen or twenty thousand cases per day. The task thrown upon them by the receipt within a few months of these millions of applications for situations will be immense. It can be satisfactorily accomplished only if the Exchanges are adequately strengthened by the Treasury, generally utilised by employers, and trusted by the trade unions, and if their work is better understood by the

* It is to be noted that these are definite promises by the Government, which Lord Newton publicly announced on their behalf that he was authorised to make; and voluntary recruiting took place on this basis. It would therefore be a grave breach of faith if these pledges were in any detail departed from.

public. But, with all their shortcomings, the Labour Exchanges are far more efficient and far more trusted by the workmen than any philanthropic committees would be. There has been an influential backstairs movement going on to get the whole business of finding situations for the soldiers handed over to a series of charitable bodies, working on Charity Organisation Society lines. This, it is believed, is now scotched. In view of the fact that the important thing is not to get the ex-soldiers into employment *at any price*, but to do so without in any way lowering the Standard Rate, the intermeddling of the philanthropists would be simply disastrous. The only appropriate answer would be an immediate labour revolt.*

Soldiers and Savings Banks.

A very serious question—not, it is believed, yet answered—is how the War Office is going to pay these three millions of soldiers their gratuities. What the Army Pay Department wants to do is what it has done before—apparently merely because it is what it has done before—namely, pay each man his five to ten pounds in cash when he is given his railway ticket at Folkestone or Southampton or Plymouth! We hope that the strongest protest will be made against any such insensate endowment of the local publican. Why should the Government incur the unnecessary expense—no inconsiderable item—of paying over in cash three million separate sums of money to the aggregate amount of twenty millions sterling? It was all very well at the end of the eighteenth century wars, when there were but scant banking facilities, and these were not understood by the soldiers of the time. But to-day the Post Office stands ready with 25,000 branches, eager to do the business. The Postmaster-General would jump at the chance of opening three million special accounts in the Savings Bank. The War Office would supply a list of names and amounts, and would pay the twenty millions to the Postmaster-General in a single cheque. Each soldier would be told to call at the Labour Exchange of the place to which he was returning, and would there be handed—along with any news as to employment—his new Savings Bank book, showing the gratuity and balance of pay standing to his credit, withdrawable from the local post-office at his will. All that the Army Pay Department need do is to accompany the railway ticket with a one-pound note as "journey money." All the rest ought, in the twentieth century, to be done through a bank (as it has long since been done for the officers). The saving in cost to the Treasury might be as much as 5 per cent. on the sum to be handled—a clear million sterling! The saving to the three million men themselves would be inestimably great.

* The schemes of the Social Welfare Association of London, though doubtless well-intentioned, are wholly inapplicable, because they show no comprehension of the supreme national importance of maintaining the Standard Rates of Wages. They actually take for granted that wages must be left to supply and demand!

What about the Munition Workers?

But all this relates only to half the problem of disbandment. The three or four million men, women, boys and girls now working on Government orders will also be summarily disbanded. For their immediate necessities the Government has, so far as is known, yet made no provision. Probably a quarter of a million of them are directly in the pay of the Minister of Munitions, the Admiralty, or the War Office in the hundred or more national factories already at work. Nearly three millions are working in the 4,000 odd controlled establishments, at rates of wages fixed or controlled by the Government, and they are legally forbidden to relinquish their employment in order to take up more permanent jobs, as some of them would wish to do. The Government, in fact, is as responsible for their discharge, when it comes, as for that of the soldiers. The Treasury will be just as insistent in its demands for immediate stoppage in the one case as in the other. Yet we can learn nothing of any decision as to their fate. What has just been done is—not to provide for their disbandment—but to start levying 2½d. per week upon their wages (the employer having to contribute a like sum), so as to bring them, in six months' time, into eligibility for Unemployment Benefit when they are out of work (but only so long as they remain in these "insured" trades), to the extent of seven shillings per week for a limited number of weeks. Even this limited provision is refused to the poorly paid workers for the Government in the food and confectionery trades; and the textile and the boot industries, with some others, have also been omitted at the request of the employers and the better-paid sections of the workers—to the loss of the badly paid youths and women and unskilled workers, who have not been consulted. This Unemployment Insurance is in itself a good thing, which might well be made universal, except where the trades make other adequate provision for themselves; but it is not provision for demobilisation. We hear nothing as yet of (1) securing these munition workers, like the soldiers, a gratuity on discharge, or a month's furlough, or even any prescribed notice of dismissal; or (2) providing free railway tickets (for which the Government would not have to pay any fares) to enable them to get back to their former homes, or some place where alternative employment can be found; or (3) ensuring that particulars of their needs as to new situations are supplied to the Labour Exchange one month before they are discharged. Why cannot these things be done by the Ministry of Munitions for the army of men and women which has worked for us in overalls just as well as by the War Office for the Army of about equal numbers which has worked for us in khaki?

The Need for National Organisation.

The machinery and the provision for the disbandment of the three or four million munition workers, no less than of the three or four million soldiers and sailors, are of vital importance, because of

their influence on all the Problems of Demobilisation. These seven million men and women have to be helped to sort themselves out afresh. They have to be got as quickly as possible into appropriate civil employment. The send-off is half the battle. It is very largely upon the organisation that we devise for discharging them from war service that will depend our success in getting them back to wealth-producing service without loss of time, loss of health, loss of character, and loss of temper. For it is upon a sea of troubles that we shall be discharging them. What will be the state of trade after the war, immediately or eventually, no economist dares to predict. What is certain is that the sea of employment will be "choppy"; that even if a large proportion manage to keep afloat in trade revival, the tides will leave many hundreds of thousands on the rocks; and that nothing but national foresight and national organisation on the largest scale will save us from calamitous and long-continued unemployment. This demands a separate section.

II.—THE PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

What the Government is presently going to do—it is as well to re-state the position clearly—is, as soon as possible after the Declaration of Peace, to bring to an end the war employment, and to stop the wages of nearly seven million men and women, equal to not far short of half the industrial wage-earning population of these islands. It is the most gigantic "turning off of hands" that the world has ever seen. And the Government will, of course, be right in this step. The sooner we can take our people off this "unproductive" war work, and get them back to wealth-production, the less will be the burden of debt that the nation has to shoulder. But the dismissal of these six or seven million wage-earners from the Army and the munition works—the sudden stoppage of the means of subsistence of possibly one-third of the families of the community—will be one of the most momentous economic decisions ever taken by a Government.

The Disbanded Millions.

Now, this is not an unnecessary warning. On no previous occasion, when similar but much smaller dislocations have been imminent, has the Government admitted any particular responsibility in the matter. The Treasury, it is believed, still clings to the old-fashioned economic doctrine that the "labour market" will in due course "absorb" those who are unemployed, and that it would be contrary to all financial precedent to admit any obligation to find situations for the disbanded millions. On this occasion, however, it will be the deliberate act of the Government that will produce the crisis. It will be a Cabinet decision that will summarily bring to an end the incomes of these millions of families. The nation ought to insist—I think the nation will insist—on the Government

taking as much trouble to prevent the occurrence of unemployment after the peace, as it is now being practically driven to take over the mere disbandment of the Army.

It is not as if there need be any lack of employment after the war. There will be work enough for a whole generation in repairing the ravages of war, and replacing the enormous mass of commodities that have been destroyed. We know that every one of the seven million wage-earners can produce at least the value of his or her subsistence; and, indeed, a great deal more, as is shown by the tribute of rent and interest that the mere landlords and capitalists actually derive from the industry of those who labour by hand or brain. But we know also that, if we "let things alone" the process of "absorption" by the labour market may take a long time; and that it will certainly mean a great amount of more or less prolonged unemployment, the slow starvation of men, women, and children, the lowering of the rates of wages, even of those fortunate enough to get employment; and the Degradation of the Standard of Life of a large proportion of the population. That is what happened after the Peace of 1815, because the Government of that time "let things alone." That is, quite certainly, what will happen after the coming peace until a different policy is adopted.

Trade After the War.

What will be the "State of Trade" in the first, the second, and the third year of peace? No one can predict with any confidence how things will go on the whole. We know, on the one hand, that there will be millions of men and women simultaneously running up and down seeking for new employment. We shall have looking for jobs the disbanded soldiers and sailors (together with 50,000, or it may be 100,000, partially disabled men); the displaced substitutes; many of the ousted women. There will be sudden slumps, too, not in "war trades" alone, but also in all the diverse industries that have been producing substitutes for the things that we could not get during the war—just as there will be local slumps in the present congested "munition towns" and at those ports (including London and Liverpool) to which traffic has been artificially diverted.

On the other hand, there will immediately be local trade expansions at the ports which have been largely closed to Continental traffic, and at other towns characterised by the reviving trades. The industries repairing war damage will become suddenly busy. The shipbuilding yards will go on working continuously at their fullest strength for the next few years at least. The world-scarcity of warm clothing will long keep the woollen and worsted industries occupied. The makers of marine-engines, of agricultural machinery, of automobiles, and of sewing-machines and many other engineering mechanics will be in demand. The devastated areas all over Europe will require iron rails, bridges, rolling stock, and every kind of railway equipment; they will need every builder's requisite

and all sorts of raw material; they will have to import coal, and, for a long time, food, for all of which their Governments will have to find the necessary purchasing power.

Thus, we shall have the strangest possible mixture of local booms and local slumps, with the most unforeseeable "repercussions" and "reverberations" at a distance; some trades suddenly reviving in more or less lasting spurts of activity, whilst others simultaneously go down into the dumps of depression; pressing demands for additional labour in some places for some purposes, whilst other places will have crowds of men and women who can find no situations. It is emphatically a case for national organisation.

The Prevention of Unemployment.

What, then, can the Government do? It can, if it chooses, prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It is emphatically not a case for merely relieving the unemployed. That is a poor business, always unsatisfactory in its working and its results, and unnecessarily very costly; but inevitable when the Government has failed in its duty of preventing unemployment. It is plainly better to prevent the occurrence of unemployment (as of cholera) than to let it occur and then relieve the sufferers. And though it is not pretended that every individual case of unemployment can be prevented —any more than we can prevent individual cases of cholera—it is now known that it is quite within the power of the Government, by nothing more recondite than using the huge orders of the various public authorities in such a way as to keep at a fairly uniform level the aggregate national demand for labour within the kingdom as a whole, actually to prevent any widespread or lasting involuntary unemployment in any part of it.

The first step in organising the Labour Market lies in systematising the disbandment. That is why it is so important (as already indicated) to provide in the same sort of way for the three or four million munition workers as for the three or four million soldiers—to secure them all pay or gratuity during a brief spell of leave, as well as adequate notice of their coming dismissal; to arrange for them all to be looked after at the Labour Exchange before their dismissal, so as to stay the aimless wandering in crowds after "will of the wisp" rumours of vacancies that will otherwise ensue; and to promote mobility by a free railway ticket (the Government being still in control of the railways). It is plainly imperative to strengthen the 400 Labour Exchanges, which are now staffed to deal, in the aggregate, only with fifteen or twenty thousand applicants per day, and which will certainly, in the first year of peace, have to grapple with soldiers and munition workers discharged in successive batches of hundreds of thousands within single weeks. A calamitous breakdown of the official machinery will only be averted by a timely addition to the staff and the premises, so considerable as probably to take away the breath of the Treasury!

But the Labour Exchange is dependent, at present, on the

goodwill and intelligence of employers, most of whom neglect to make known their labour requirements in advance of the vacancies, and many of whom still refrain from notifying them at all. It may not be practicable to make it compulsory on employers to use the Labour Exchange, though the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act, obliging shipowners to complete all engagements of seamen through the Mercantile Marine offices (provisions found most successful in preventing unemployment among seamen) afford a useful precedent.* But would it not be possible for the Government to request the principal employers in the kingdom—notably, all the 4,000 "controlled establishments"; all the railway companies; all the dock, harbour, gas, water and electricity undertakings; all the firms seeking Government contracts in any industry; all the mines; all the factories and workshops to which the Factory Acts and the Trade Boards Acts apply; and all the firms with which the Board of Trade is in friendly communication over statistics, etc. —to agree, as an act of patriotism, in the colossal "general post" of workers that is about to take place, at least to notify all their labour requirements to the Labour Exchange?

Organise the Public Work.

The Labour Exchange, however, cannot find situations that do not exist; and we know that there is going to be a shortage, in particular trades and at particular places, of longer or shorter duration, until the revival of trade becomes sufficiently general to take off all the six or seven millions who will have to find jobs. Now, at this point trouble will arise. There are those who want to see the difficulty dealt with on what we may not unfairly call C.O.S. lines—the getting of particular men and women into places by philanthropic influence and personal favour; in short, by kindly jobbery. Against this idea every Trade Union will protest, and rightly protest. What will become of the Standard Rate if it is to be left to kindly charity to get people into work? The right course is quite otherwise. The number of situations can, if only the Government chooses, be made equal to the number of applicants for them. There should be no question of "making work for the unemployed." There need be no unemployed. What is required is to maintain at a constant aggregate the total demand for labour, by systematically organising with this object the extensive orders that the local and central Government authorities will, during the ensuing five or ten years, certainly be giving. Let us note one or two of these inevitable developments.

* To make the use of the Labour Exchange as compulsory as is that of the Mercantile Marine Office does not mean, as is often supposed, that no worker will be permitted to get a situation otherwise than through the Labour Exchange; or that an employer may not take on any man he pleases. All that it would involve would be that the employer would be required to notify to the Labour Exchange how he had filled the vacant place.

Housing.

The nation will need to lay out a very large sum—possibly as much as a couple of hundred millions—in housing. The building of workmen's cottages and blocks of dwellings, very largely suspended as a builder's speculation since about 1905 because it could not be made to pay, and actually prohibited during the war, has left us with a ten years' shortage in town and country. We shall not get enough farm labourers unless we build a couple of hundred thousand new cottages.* We shall not be able to face the widespread rise in rents that will be made by the town landlords of weekly property, when the present Rent Restriction Act expires soon after the end of the war, unless the Local Authorities have actually increased by several hundreds of thousands the supply of dwellings in all the congested areas. We know, from the Census of 1911, how many hundreds of thousands of families were then living in an overcrowded condition. We know how many had only one room. We know how many had only two when the minimum requirements of decency were three or four. Great Britain needs, it may be thus calculated, at least five million additional rooms, in cottages or town tenements before the humblest third of its population can be said to be housed up to a bare minimum standard. But the Local Authorities cannot now build without a subsidy; and objectionable as a subsidy is, the Government has definitely adopted this policy. In Ireland, which has less than one-tenth of the population of Great Britain, it will be remembered that some 40,000 cottages—healthy, but unfortunately very ugly—have already been built wholly at the Government expense. This precedent is now to be partially followed for Great Britain. As long ago as November 24, 1914, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proclaimed, in a long and careful statement, how the Government would not only advance the necessary capital on the most favourable terms, but would also render it possible for Local Authorities to build without involving any charge on the rates *by making a free grant of a substantial percentage of the total cost.* Since that date nearly a dozen towns have received these free grants for housings (in addition to loans), to the amount of about 20 per cent. of the cost; and have thus been enabled to build without any charges on the rates.

What ought now to be done is for the Local Government Board to put pressure on all the Local Authorities, urban and rural, to secure sites and at once prepare plans for cottages, up to a possible total expenditure even of a couple of hundred million pounds, so as to enable as many as a million cottages, if need be, to be put in hand on the very morrow of the Declaration of Peace; and to be proceeded with in batches, quickly or slowly, according as the

* As to the rural shortage of cottages, see "The Rural Problem" (Constable, 1913), being the Report of the Fabian Society's Committee on Land Problems and Rural Development, edited by H. D. Harben.

Board of Trade reports unemployment to be setting in. Conditional on these preparations being now made by the Local Authority, the Government might renew its promise of free grants in aid of the capital cost so as to make the enterprise involve, with rents deemed "reasonable" in the locality, no charge on the rates. In no other way are we likely to get the workers decently housed. What is more urgent, in no other way can we avoid very serious disturbances when the Rent Restriction Act expires.

Schools.

There is no need to enlarge on the necessity for the same procedure of timely preparation and promise of grants (in this case, of loans and the ordinary maintenance grants), to enable every local education authority to put in hand, the very morning after peace is declared, the necessary making-good of two or three years' arrears of buildings, repairs, school furniture, books, etc.; and it is to be hoped, of the promised great new developments in education. To name only one item, the calamitous shortage of teachers ought to lead to the taking into the University and other training colleges immediately peace is secured of at least 20,000 young men and women with adequate Maintenance Scholarships. These educational developments will be further discussed on a subsequent page. For the moment we need note only the opportunity they offer for keeping the aggregate volume of wage-earning employment approximately level from year to year.

"Preparedness."

Nor need we do more than mention the very considerable orders that will necessarily be given by the War Office and Admiralty during the next few years in order that the nation may have in store, in case of any sudden need for reconstituting "Kitchener's Army," enough khaki uniforms, sailcloths, blankets, boots, belts, rifles, etc. These orders for equipment to be laid up in store should be given, not just as the War Office and Admiralty think fit, but at dates deliberately arranged, just when unemployment shows signs of occurring, with a view to prevent it.

Keep the Wage-total Even.

It is, in fact, easy to foresee that in every branch of the public service there will have to be, at any rate, within five years, the same bound forward. What is needful to prevent the occurrence of unemployment is only to put brains and forethought into the work. The Government should (1) authorise, here and now, these bounds forward, which it can be foreseen must occur, and get the plans ready; (2) deliberately control the time and rate of putting all this public work in hand (including the extensive orders of all the public departments and local authorities) in close correspondence with the amount of the contemporary labour demands of the private capitalists, and in such a way as to keep the total aggregate of weekly

wages paid in the kingdom approximately at a level.* There would then be—apart from individual cases and particular trades and localities in exceptional circumstances—no involuntary unemployment. It can be done, and done even by the present Board of Trade, if the Cabinet would consent. And this mere rearrangement and control of the public orders, it is now statistically demonstrated, would, by the endless reverberations that it would set up, automatically prevent any unemployment on a large scale, or for any long period.

But although the Government knows how to prevent unemployment, and thus save themselves all trouble about dealing with the unemployed, and although the officials realise exactly how it can be done, the Cabinet is not prepared yet to give the necessary orders. The Chancellor of the Exchequer does not want to be committed to finding all the capital that the local authorities would need, or to making the necessary increase in their grants in aid. There are still some Ministers who hope, after the war, actually to cut down the public services (such as Housing and Education), instead of expanding them as is required, because they wish to reduce the supertax! The general opinion of employers is against the Government taking steps to prevent the occurrence of unemployment—they honestly cannot bring themselves to believe that there will be any more men at their factory gates than will be convenient for their foremen! The result is that the Cabinet has, so far, come to no decision on the subject; and the President of the Local Government Board has merely asked the local authorities to tell him what works are likely to be put in hand.

Unless "Labour" wakes up, and insists on the proper steps being taken in time, this Government will do what every other Government so far has done, namely, let the unemployment occur (which it knows how to prevent); and then, in the most wasteful way, grant sums of money merely to relieve the unemployed!

Yet this time the importance of preventing unemployment is greater than ever; because, as Mr. Gosling said in his presidential address to the Trades Union Congress in September, 1916, this Prevention of Unemployment is actually the key to the very serious industrial problem with which the Government is confronted.

III.—THE INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT.

Reluctant though we may be to face the fact, there is the gravest danger that peace on the battlefield will be followed by tension between employers and employed at home—indeed, by spasmodic and possibly widespread industrial war. Employers are counting on being able to secure a heavy fall in wages, when several millions of men and women will be simultaneously seeking employment. But unless prices come down with a run, the conditions to meet

* One imperative need is for an Act enabling Local Authorities to secure sites for schools, housing schemes, etc., without the present interminable delays.

which war bonuses and war rises were granted *will not have changed;* and every Trade Union will fight its hardest against any reduction of rates, *which have nowhere risen in proportion to the cost of living.* Now freights are going to remain high, owing to the shortage in ships; and practically all raw materials owing to the renewed demand from Central Europe. All woollen clothing will be dear; and meat and milk may go to famine prices when Germany begins to replace its slaughtered herds, and the American Meat Combine once more gets hold of the refrigerating ships. (Why should not the Government retain its present control of these?) Rents are, to say the least of it, not likely to be lowered. All over the world the currency will long remain inflated; and this in itself causes high prices.

No More Cheap Bread.

Though bread may fall by a penny or two per loaf, it is not within human foresight likely to go back to the fourpence or fivepence per quartern of previous decades. We cannot hope to get rid of heavy taxation on tea and petroleum at least. We are accordingly in for years of dear living. Yet, unless very drastic action is taken by the Government to ensure that the aggregate number of situations is kept approximately equal to the aggregate number of applicants for them, employers will undoubtedly seek to beat down wages. The Majority Report of the recent Committee on Agricultural Employment almost openly relies on unemployment and distress in the towns to compel men to become farm labourers at the insufficient wages of the past. When the separation allowances cease, and the overtime earnings—when the school children and the grandfathers are no longer adding to the household incomes, and even the adult man goes on short time—any fall in wage-rates would seriously aggravate what may anyhow prove to be a socially disastrous Decline in the Standard of Life of the mass of the people.

Restoration of Trade Union Conditions.

But the tension will not be confined to the attempts that will be made to lower wages. The men in the engineering workshops have, at the instance of the Government, patriotically given up the regulations and customs—often originating in the shop and quite unconnected with any trade union—which they had built up in resistance to the employers' continual attempts, by "speeding up" and cutting piece-work rates, to lower the rate of payment for each unit of effort. They have (and not in the engineering industry only) submitted to autocratically determined piece-work rates without Collective Bargaining; they have yielded up their places to women and labourers, and allowed their skilled jobs to be subdivided and brought down to unskilled level; they have accepted the utmost possible acceleration of work without guarantees against the maximum output of piece-work intensity being presently con-

verted into task-work at virtually time-work earnings. The Government has sworn itself black in the face, and pledged its honour, and Parliament has endorsed the guarantee by express words in a statute, that all these new departures shall be unconditionally reversed and undone at the conclusion of the war.

Employers and Pledges.

The employers are laughing at the pledges, and openly saying that the restitution of the old conditions is physically impossible, even if it were desirable; and that, from the standpoint of maximising production and minimising expense, it is so undesirable that nothing will induce them to consent to it. Moreover, some of the leading "captains of industry" are going further. They make no secret of their intention to insist on complete control over their own factories; they will henceforth brook no interference with their decisions as to the machines to be used, the "hands" to be put to any kind of work, the speed to be maintained, the hours to be worked, the holidays to be allowed, and the piece-work rates to be given. They propose, so they declare, to treat the workmen fairly; but they intend to deal with each man or woman as they choose. This means, as they realise, a death-blow to trade unionism. They have made up their minds that, in competitive factory industry on a large scale, the only "scientific management" is autocracy.

It is doubtful whether the Government, if it decides simply to adhere to its plighted word, can enforce on the employers the *status quo ante;* especially as this might involve ousting many tens of thousands of women and labourers, and "scrapping" the machines constructed for them. What we are in danger of is the proposal of some specious alternative, privately suggested by the employers, to which some trade union leaders may be persuaded to agree, in despair of finding anything better, but which will not satisfy the members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers—the representatives of the Government then retiring from the dispute, and quibbling over the exact terms of the Government pledge—and an era of local strikes, demarcation disputes, sullenness and anger; possibly the destruction of trade unionism in the engineering industry, and the revival of the objectionable tricks of restriction of output, and refusal to make the best of machines, which are the angry workman's reprisals when he feels himself baffled and cheated.

Canon Barnett's Suggestion.

What can be done to avert such a calamity? There comes to my mind a remark of one of the nation's wisest teachers, the late Canon Barnett, of Toynbee Hall, very shortly before his death. Admiration was being expressed of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's successful audacity in the grant of Constitutional Government to a South Africa lately in rebellion. He had triumphed, it was said, not by any great political genius, but because of his simple

faith in "Liberal principles," and his honest determination to apply them. I well remember Canon Barnett turning suddenly round, and asking, "Cannot we apply Liberal principles to the Labour problem?"

Will the Government have the courage to declare that autocracy can no more be allowed in the factory or the mine than on the throne or in the castle? That after a century of Factory Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, and Minimum Wage Acts, the claim of the employer to "do what he likes with his own" has long been obsolete; and that the time has come, as the only means of averting social disaster, to *grant a Constitution* to the factory; and quite frankly to recognise and insist that the conditions of employment are not matters to be settled by the employer alone, any more than by the workmen alone, but in joint conference between them; and not even for each establishment alone, but subject to the National Common Rules arrived at for the whole industry by the organised employers and employed, in consultation with the representatives of the community as a whole? The principle of conjoint control is already embodied at various points in our industrial legislation—for instance, in the checkweighman and pithead baths clauses of the Mines Regulation Acts, in the Joint Boards fixing wages under the various Minimum Wage Acts, and, again, the other day, in the clause in the Act providing for welfare work. On the other side, the employers in each great industry may presently be organising themselves, as Mr. Ernest Benn suggests,* in a National Association for the better management of scientific research, representation in foreign countries, standardisation of production, and other parts of their business.

What is needed now is for the Government, supported by the House of Commons, very definitely and decidedly to negative the claim that employers are once more making to autocracy; to insist that any National Associations of Employers cannot be allowed to refuse a constitution to their employees; to set up the necessary machinery of workshop committees and national industrial committees, formed from the trade unions concerned; and to give the decisions of these committees (which would not, any more than do the Factory Acts, compel any employer to engage in business, or any workman to accept employment) as to the minimum conditions upon which the industry shall be carried on, all the backing of law, administration, and public opinion.

A Workers' Constitution.

Such a grant of a constitution to each industry would go far to allay the discontent that may presently flame up into anger. But the mere establishment of constitutional machinery to deal with difficult problems does not in itself find solutions for them. The employers are already at work with their plans for such a factory

* "Trade as a Science." By Ernest Benn. Jarrold. 2s. 6d.

reorganisation as shall give them the largest possible profits. What are the Trade Union proposals for factory reorganisation? It is imperative that the workmen, if they are not eventually to be "done" in the deal, should have thought out separately for each industry and prepared in detail their own solutions of such problems as the effect of piece-work on the standard rate, the rates to be fixed for labourers, women, and boys in relation to those for skilled men, the avoidance of disputes as to demarcation, the maintenance of the standard minimum per unit of effort, and so forth. We ought to hear that each Trade Union Executive and every local Trades Council has appointed its own committee to solve these difficult problems from its own standpoint.

What the workman wants is status and security and freedom, as well as better conditions of life. But, after all, one of the biggest immediate issues will be the amount of wages that his work will bring to him. Now on this issue five general principles stand out as of national even more than of individual importance, upon which the Government and the House of Commons and public opinion ought to insist, and for the enforcement of which in all industries every adminstrative device and social pressure ought to be employed:

1.—Prevention of Unemplayment.

There must be (as already explained) an actual Prevention of Unemployment.

2.—Maintenance of Standard Rates.

There must, in the second place, be a very authoritative maintenance (and a very definite security for maintenance) of the existing standard rates. A degradation of the standard of life is the worst calamity that can happen to a nation.

3.—Security Against Cutting Piecework Rates.

There must be, in particular, wherever any form of piece-work remuneration is adopted, some effective means of protecting the scale of piece-work payments against the insidious degradation of the pay per unit of effort, whether by the progressive "cutting of rates," or by various forms of "speeding up," to which (as a whole century of experience has shown) unregulated individual piecework is prone.

4.—No Limitation of Output, or Hindrance to Machinery or to New Classes of Workmen.

On the other hand, we cannot as a nation afford to permit, for this or any other purpose, anything in the nature of limitation of output, or restriction on the best possible use of machinery or new materials or processes, or hindrance to the employment of any individuals or classes for any work of which they are capable. We must simply find some other way of achieving the object.

5.—Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum.

Finally, we cannot as a nation afford to let any of our workers remain at wages, or under conditions, which do not allow of the maintenance of their strength and of a continued healthy family life. We must, perforce, start from existing conditions, inexcusably bad as in many cases they are; and only gradually build up whatever may be prescribed as the national minimum of subsistence, sanitation, education, and rest, below which no employer and no worker can, in the interests of the community as a whole, be permitted to descend. But build it up we must, at whatever cost of capitalists having to forgo some of their possible profits. It was Mr. Asquith himself who said that "every society is judged, and survives, according to the material and moral minima which it prescribes to its members." Huxley warned us a quarter of a century ago that "any social condition in which the development of wealth involves the misery, the physical weakness, and the degradation of the worker is absolutely and infallibly doomed to collapse." We all admit it in general terms. But how to apply these five principles in the prevention of the industrial conflict with which we are threatened must be left for another section.

IV.—THE TWO MAIN PUZZLES: WOMEN IN INDUSTRY AND "SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT."

We have seen that, whilst the grant of a constitution to the factory and the mine may be the only way to prevent the industrial conflict to which the autocracy of the employer will inevitably bring us, no constitutional machinery, however perfect, will in itself supply a solution of the problems of industrial organisation. We are warned by a whole century of experience that not even the most effective democratisation of control will prevent a disastrous lowering of the standard of life without the adoption of regulations, and especially of systems of remuneration, that will automatically counteract this constantly working tendency of competitive employment. Not even the fullest representation of the workers on joint committees will avail to prevent the recrudescence of such anti-social devices as Limitation of Output, Demarcation Disputes, and the exclusion of those "who have no right to the trade" on the part of workmen who, owing to the failure of their representatives to solve the problem, feel their accustomed livelihood slipping from them. The two main difficulties which the Government has to face in any reconstruction that will not only prevent industrial strife, but also, in the words of Mr. Asquith's new pledge, "secure a fairer distribution amongst all classes of the products of our industries," are the entrance into occupations hitherto monopolised by skilled craftsmen of women and other new workers, and the great extension of the piecework which is an element in what is known as "Scientific Management."

Now, it is not irrelevant to observe that the difficulty of solving both these problems will be enormously increased or diminished according as the Government fails or succeeds in preventing unemployment. If the influences now at work to dissuade the Government from undertaking the "very serious responsibility" of daring to touch "the labour market" should prevail; if the Cabinet should decide against such a deliberate organisation of the housing, school-building, road-making, and the mass of other public orders that must anyhow be given sooner or later as will keep the aggregate demand for wage-labour approximately level, and thus substantially *prevent unemployment*, then any satisfactory solution of the two main puzzles may well be impossible. The Prevention of Unemployment is, in a very exact sense, the key to the position. Against being thrown into a sea of unemployment all the trades will fight like tigers.

Six-and-a-Half Million Women Workers.

Let us take first the case of the women and other newcomers in the skilled trades. There are now probably six and a-half million women "gainfully occupied" in the United Kingdom, as compared with five and a-half millions five years ago. There are apparently nearly 300,000 more than just before the war in the principal industries; over 200,000 more in commercial establishments; over 9,000 on the railways, and 7,000 in other transport work; over 63,000 more directly in the national and municipal departments—altogether perhaps 650,000 who have come in during the war, but 100,000 of these have merely shifted from domestic service, etc. Thus the war has merely increased the total number of "gainfully occupied" women by as many in two years as they increased during the preceding four or five years of peace. But, besides this not very important quickening of the pace, there has been a new opening of gates. Women have been put to many kinds of work hitherto supposed to be within the capacity of men only; and they have done it, on the whole, successfully. In the same way many thousands of unskilled labourers have been put to new jobs, many of them hitherto reserved for skilled men; and they have rapidly become expert at these tasks. The women will not all wish to remain in industry when peace comes; but a large proportion—perhaps a majority—of them certainly will. None of the labourers promoted to skilled jobs will want to relinquish them. Yet the Government has definitely promised that they shall do so.

Keeping up the Standard Rate.

Whether or not we can get over this difficulty peaceably depends, it is necessary to repeat, on whether or not there are in the first year of peace thousands of men walking the streets unemployed. If the Government lets this happen (as it need not) the unemployed men will naturally not be satisfied with anything less than the fulfilment of the nation's solemn pledge, and the ousting of the women and

the newly introduced labourers from their avowedly temporary employment, the scrapping of the new machines, and the reversion in all respects to pre-war conditions, as the Government has guaranteed. This many employers will resist or evade, even to the extent of setting up new factories, and calamitous will be the resultant bitterness. On the other hand, if there is still work to be done, and no competent skilled men are unemployed, it would be difficult to argue, after the war as during the war, that the services of the women and of new classes of men should not be utilised. What the workmen would then mainly object to would-be the chance—indeed, the certainty—of the women and the unskilled men being used as a means of undermining and reducing the Standard Rate. If the Government take steps (as it quite well can if it chooses) to make such a misuse of female or unskilled labour impossible, as well as to prevent unemployment, the Trade Unions might properly agree to release the Government from fulfilling its pledge. But not unless.

Women's Wages.

It comes, therefore (with unemployment prevented), to a question of the terms on which the new workers should be employed. Now, apart from exceptional cases, we cannot, unfortunately, usefully insist that women should be paid the same as men. To enact this would mean the exclusion of women from the majority of industrial employments, because the typical woman is worth less to the employer than the typical man. It is true that the employer finds her more "docile" and more "conscientious." But she is not usually available for night-work; she does not do so much overtime, and she often works shorter hours, which suit her better. She is, on an average, absent from ill-health more than a man. She is unable, on account of physical or other incapacity, to do certain services that are occasionally required. She is usually unwilling to remain long years at her work, or to undertake additional responsibility; and she is less eligible for promotion. Where both sexes are employed, additional expense is involved for superintendence, lavatory accommodation, "welfare work," etc. Thus, at equal time wages, men would nearly always oust women. Even at equal piecework rates, if the men and women really execute the same tasks, men would be usually preferred. Now we cannot ask the six million women to propose terms which would mean to many of them —perhaps to most of them—the loss of their situations. The women simply will not ask for wages equal to those of the men. What is required is—to use the words of that wonderful shilling's worth, the "Labour Year-Book" *—"the fixing of a rate for men and women which shall be in equitable proportion to any less degree of physical endurance, skill, or responsibility exacted from the women, or to any additional strain thrown on the men, and which shall neither exclude women on the one side, nor blackleg men on the other." It

* Published by the Labour Party. Post free from the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, for 1s. 5d. paper, or 2s. 11d. cloth.

is this delicate adjustment that the Government will have to make, perhaps by one of the devices suggested below (*prescribing minima only*, and securing by law the rigid enforcement of the minimum rates thus fixed). Only at this price can very serious trouble be averted. The same principle applies to the newly introduced unskilled men. It could equally be applied in solution of the difficulties presented by Demarcation Disputes, and by the admission of outsiders to a trade. If once the skilled craftsmen are secured against unemployment (as the Government can, if it chooses, secure them), their quarrel as to the employment of women, labourers, and men of other trades concerns only the Maintenance of the Standard Rate. This the Government can, if it chooses, also secure.

No less grave and no less complicated is the difficulty presented by the employers' insistence on what they call "scientific management." This American invention (as to which Hoxie's "Scientific Management and Labour" should be consulted †) aims at greatly increasing output. As to much of it that concerns the greater use of machinery, the provision of the very best appliances, the better organisation of the factory so as to avoid waste of time or discontinuity of work—all this amounting to a severe indictment of the knowledge and capacity of our own factory managers—we need say nothing here. Nor need we criticise the application of brains to find out how each job can be most efficiently done, least of all the discovery of the proper intervals of rest and change of motion so as to minimise fatigue. What is dangerous is the introduction (and this is an integral part of the scheme) of payment by the piece, without any guarantee for the maintenance of the standard rate. One of the changes under the Munitions Acts, which the Government has pledged itself to reverse, is a vast extension of piecework, in one or other form, to jobs formerly paid for by time rates.

Piecework.

What is the workmen's objection to piecework—an objection in which they are now upheld by all instructed economists? It is that, however liberal may be the piecework rates fixed at the outset, managers and foremen cannot refrain, and never do refrain, as is proved by a whole century of experience in all countries, from sooner or later "cutting" the rates, when the workmen have increased their output (and the intensity of their effort). This is, of course, a fraud on the workers, who have been tempted to substitute piecework intensity for timework intensity; and then eventually find themselves giving piecework effort for no more than their old timework earnings. Against this every workman revolts. The standard rate of pay per unit of effort is thus subtly lowered. The result is, if not a series of embittered strikes,

† Published by Appleton and Co., New York. To be got at the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster. See also "Great Britain After the War," by Sidney Webb and Arnold Freeman, price 1s. net (on sale at the same address).

sullen resistance to "speeding up," more or less concerted limitation of output, refusal to make the best of machines, "ca' canny" in all its forms—in short, the parlous state into which this ill-considered and, in fact, fraudulent action of the employers had brought some of our factories prior to the war.

Now, workmen do not really object to piecework as such—they usually prefer it, and more than half the Trade Unions, including some of the most powerful and most successful, actually insist on it. But what every instructed Trade Unionist fights against is a system under which the piecework rates (a) are autocratically fixed by the employer; or (b) are not settled by Collective Bargaining; and (c) do not embody some effective safeguard against a subsequent "cutting of rates," either for the same or similar jobs, or for all the work of the trade, contrary to the implied agreement to maintain the Standard Rate *per unit of effort*.

What has to be discovered and adapted to the special circumstances of each industry is some permanent and automatically acting brake on the successive lowering of the piecework rates—not in order to ensure that the individual workman shall take home undiminished earnings (comparatively a minor matter), but in order to maintain undiminished for all the workmen in years to come the Standard Rate per unit of effort. *The problem has been solved in some industries;* in fact, a whole wealth of experiment, hitherto usually ignored by employers and Trade Unionists in other industries, as by the economists, lies open to the inquirer.

Piecework Lists or Independent Rate-fixers.

The devices found successful in safeguarding the Standard Rate, whilst allowing piecework or "premium bonus" systems, seems, fundamentally, to fall into three classes. There is the collectively-bargained-for "List of Prices," unalterable by the employer, however much the workmen may earn. These piecework lists, of which hundreds are published by the Board of Trade,* are often (as in the cotton trade) of great complexity, and (as in the boot trade) successfully applied to jobs varying in minute details. Where the variations are incessant, almost every job differing from the last, the device of a salaried and disinterested Rate-Fixer, or couple of Rate-Fixers—in practice, usually the officials of the Trade Union and Employers' Association—has been found successful (as among the brassworkers and some of the coal-miners), "pricing" each new job on the agreed basis of a percentage above a standard time-rate. Where women are employed, there ought to be a pair of such Rate-Fixers, one of each sex. Failing such independent rate-fixing, an automatic brake on the employer's constant reductions was found, a quarter of a century ago, by some of the branches of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (have they now forgotten it?) in the Guaranteed Time and a Quarter, a standing agreement with the

* The latest volume so published is Cd. 5366 of 1910, price 2/2.

employer that, " whatever the piecework rates, every workman in the shop should always be guaranteed a minimum earnings *each week* of ' Time and a Quarter.' " The importance of this rule lay, not in preventing all cutting of rates, for this it did not achieve, but in the fact that the employer found that it did not pay to " cut " the piecework rates or premium bonus times below such a minimum level, because in such case *he failed to evoke the piecework intensity that he desired.* The workman dropped back to timework speed whenever he found he was not making " Time and a Quarter " at least.

There may well be other devices equally effective. But, in one or other way it is vital to Industrial Reconstruction to make it impossible for the employer to use either the labour of women and unskilled men, or the substitution of piecework for timework, as a means of reducing the Standard Rate of remuneration, not merely per hour, but also per unit of effort. We must not only replace the autocracy of the employer by a constitution for the factory and for the trade, but also place in the hands of the representative Workshop Committee or Trade Board some device effective in preventing, whether by the employment of women or the use of piecework, any degradation of this Standard Rate.

V.—THE NON-ADULT.

The nation does not realise to what an extent its boys and girls are helping to win the war. Among the three million workers in controlled establishments and firms fed by war orders there are literally hundreds of thousands of " non-adults," from 13 upwards. The hundred or so National Factories already at work have on their wage-rolls boys and girls between 13 and 18 to the number of tens of thousands. At Woolwich Arsenal alone there is believed to be a larger working force of boys—I will not state the number of thousands—than in any other industrial establishment in the world. Less creditable to us as a nation is the fact that boys and girls of 13, 12, and even 11 years of age are being allowed to absent themselves from school, to the number, in the aggregate, of many tens of thousands, in order to earn a few shillings a week in industry or agriculture. We have, in the stress of war, called in even the children to help the State. How are we going to make it up to them?

The non-adults will bear their full share in the suffering that peace is destined to bring by industrial dislocation. The boys and girls now serving as inadequate substitutes for men will be discharged when men can be got; the swollen pay-rolls of the 4,000 munition factories will rapidly shrink, and the boys and girls will lose their present highly paid jobs: there will be a sudden besieging of the juvenile departments of the Labour Exchanges, which (unless the Treasury sanctions a gigantic expansion of staff and premises) will be unable to deal with the rush of applicants for places; and

whilst employers will be glad enough to pick up smart youths for new occupations at "improvers'" wages (if the Trade Union does not revolt against it), there will be at least as great a risk of unemployment—indeed, the same certainty of slumps in particular trades and in particular localities—for the non-adult as for the adult.

Unemployment Among Youths.

The sudden unemployment among youths in East and South-East London will be extensive and lasting. And the failure of the boy between 16 and 21 to get immediately into a new situation when he loses his job is nothing less than a national calamity. Unemployment is bad enough, cruel enough, demoralising enough in the grown man, but any prolonged unemployment for the average manual working youth in our great industrial centres is soul-destroying. Forty per cent. of all the crime in the kingdom, so the Chairman of the Prison Commission informs us, is perpetrated by youths between 16 and 21. It is literally the fact that 80 per cent. of all the inmates of our prisons are found, on investigation, to have gone to prison for the first time before they were 21. *In the vast majority of cases their first offence was committed whilst they were unemployed.* The inference is that, important as it is that the Government should take the necessary steps to prevent unemployment among the adults, it is still more important—nay, absolutely vital for national health—that the Government should take the necessary steps to prevent unemployment among the youths who will be discharged by the thousand when peace comes (how many thousands from the Government's own factories?).

But we cannot deal only with the particular non-adults who happen to have been engaged in "war work"—these cannot be saved from unemployment and destruction except by the means that will save equally the other workers of their own age. What the Government has to reconstruct, in order to solve this particular Problem of Demobilisation, is, in fact, our social machinery for dealing with the non-adult—what we call, for short, our educational system.

A System in Ruins.

It sounded an exaggeration when Sir James Yoxall declared in the House of Commons that "the elementary school system of this country is in ruins." But there is a sense in which this startling statement is quite true. It is not merely that the children are slipping out of school-attendance, that hundreds of school buildings have been taken for Army needs, and that the supply of teachers has been knocked on the head. What is even worse is the demoralisation of the Local Education Authorities, the "slipping up" of the machinery for securing attendance, and the sudden loss of faith in the validity of the structure which Whitehall has been painfully

building up. The nation is half-conscious of the ruin. Public opinion, as yet very little concerned about preventing unemployment, is already whole-hearted about improving our educational system. Nothing meets with more acquiescence (outside the households of Lord Midleton and Lord Cromer) than the boldest demands for educational reconstruction. The nation is prepared for an authoritative lead, and will eagerly adopt any reasonably plausible Government plan, if it is only large enough! And we have come to the point when, as Mr. Henderson emphasised in moving the vote for the Board of Education, we know that "it is a question of money, more money, and still more money." We are spending only eighteen millions of national and eleven millions of local funds on education of every kind—less than threepence per week per head! After the war the vote for the Board of Education will need to be trebled.

The Home Child.

What social provision do we need for the Non-Adult? Let us begin at the beginning. At present our Local Education Authorities are hampered because the material on which they have to work is largely spoilt when it is handed over to them. The physical wreckage among the children under school-age, due simply to social neglect, is appalling. The Local Government Board and the Board of Education are now making a good start with their schemes of maternity provision and infancy care, their "Baby Clinics" and Schools for Mothers. Up to twelve months old in most towns the Health Visitors more or less successfully look after the infants; and infantile mortality has already gone down by 30 per cent.! The unguarded tract is now between the ages of one and five. Only in one or two pioneer boroughs does the Local Health Authority at all systematically look after the children in these perilous years, in which the lives of tens of thousands of our future citizens are wrecked. The London Education Authority has distinguished itself by using the device of excluding the "under fives" to turn 50,000 of them out of the infant schools into the gutters. We need (i.) to make the maternity and infancy provision, now elaborately prescribed in the L.G.B. circulars, obligatory on all Local Health Authorities; (ii.) *to extend its scope right up to school age;* (iii.) to pay at least 80 per cent. of the whole cost by grant in aid in order to overcome municipal apathy.

The School Child.

So calamitous are the results of our social neglect of the Home Child that when it becomes a School Child 15 per cent. of all the millions we spend on its schooling are wasted. The Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education tells us that a million of the children at school are in so bad a state as to be unable to

get any reasonable amount of benefit. So tragic a waste demands an immediate development of the School Feeding and School Medical Treatment services.

A determined Minister of Education with anything like a free hand from the Cabinet would put such pressure on the Local Education Authorities, by honours and rewards to those who did well, no less than by holding up to public opprobrium and by reducing the grant to those who lagged behind, that he might (a) make elementary schooling genuinely obligatory and universal, even in Ireland; (b) insist on having enough really qualified teachers at decent salaries; (c) compel such a reorganisation of schools and classrooms as had already been adopted in principle at London and Bradford to bring down the maximum class to not more than forty, and the average per teacher to fewer than thirty; (d) make the leaving age everywhere effectively 14; (e) secure by-laws limiting much more severely than at present the employment of children out of school-hours; (f) get everywhere an adequate provision of Maintenance Scholarships to enable not merely the budding geniuses but all bright children to continue their education; and (g) induce every local authority to complete its numerical quota of secondary schools and training colleges.

Our Anæmic New Universities.

What would do most to invigorate and vivify the feeble score of Universities, which is all that this nation at present affords (and most of the newer among these are anæmic from a shortage of students having both brains and enough to eat), would be the establishment at each of them of at least 100 national scholarships of the value of £150 a year, given in open competition to the ablest young people of each adjacent area proposing to follow one or other brain-working occupation. Such a system of national scholarships would cost only £300,000 a year—less than ninety minutes of the war!

This sounds like an extensive programme. But it is literally true that the whole of it needs no alteration of the law. It requires only a wisely imaginative use of the grant in aid; the tactful distribution of knighthoods to mayors, chairmen of education committees and local education officers who push their local authorities on in advance of the ruck; the incessant harrying of the laggards, with an organised campaign of persuasion of the obstructive local potentates; and the effective local publication of really stinging reports on the authorities that are most backward, with a demonstration of the injury done to the ratepayers in the shape of substantial reductions of the grant in aid. If the Minister of Education was as keen about getting his job done as the Minister of Munitions is, can anyone picture what a change there would be? What Parliament needs to do, besides at least doubling the present Education Votes, is to raise the school-leaving age, at any rate to 15.

Half-time for Adolescents.

Such education proposals are, however, the stalest of commonplaces. What will strike the ordinary citizen as revolutionary is the demand now made on all sides—by the practical teachers, by the Government health experts, by the economists, by Lord Haldane every time he speaks—for the rescue of the precious years of adolescence from enslavement in wage-earning. These years, from 14 to 21, must now be claimed for production in the highest sense —not, as at present, absorbed in the making of material things, but dedicated primarily to the building up and training of the man and woman. We cannot create healthy and productive citizens so long as we let our boys and girls be wholly swallowed up by industrial or agricultural wage-earning at 13, or 14, or even 15. Nor will our evening class system ever suffice, in which tired teachers try to teach youths exhausted by a factory day. There is universal agreement that, if we are to have an efficient or even a healthy community, we must rescue some of the youth's time from competitive industry. *We see now that there must be, in some form, half-time for adolescents.* Even employers are coming round to agree, provided that the measure is made universally applicable throughout the kingdom, so as to prevent any competitor from taking advantage of the backwardness of his own local authority. We must re-enact, in principle, the present half-time clauses of the Factory Acts—merely substituting new ages for those now in the Act—and prohibit employers from employing youths under 18 (or even under 21) for more than thirty hours per week; with possible alternative systems, allowing the devotion to training of whole months at a time, for agriculture, seamanship, etc.

The Halving of Boy Labour.

From the standpoint of Labour, this would mean, virtually, halving the number of boys in industry; and the consequent stoppage of the misuse of boy-labour for other than apprenticeship purposes. A period at which it is all-important to prevent unemployment, and especially unemployment among youths, is just the time for such a revolution. Its gradual introduction would in itself enable the Government absolutely to prevent all unemployment among young people. From the standpoint of education, the change would involve the preparation of the best possible curriculum for some millions of boys and girls at the most formative period; attending, according to the industry in which they were engaged, either alternate half-days or days, or alternate weeks, months, or seasons, for a duly organised mixture of physical and technical and intellectual training. This might be completed by whatever training in drill and the use of arms is deemed requisite. Meanwhile *there need be no interruption of industrial employment, wage-earning, or home*

life. The farmer's boy, the van boy, the errand boy, the newspaper boy, the "glue boy" of the carpenter's shop, the shipyard rivet boy—if these are really the best uses to which employers can put boys—might still unfortunately continue; but the nation would at least be doing its best, by their Half-time Training, to prevent them from graduating as hooligans and unemployed corner-boys into the gaol. We want, it need hardly be said, for all our bright boys and girls an abundance of Secondary Schools and Maintenance Scholarships. But more important than these is Half-time Continuation Schooling—physical, technical, and intellectual—up to at least 18 for those whom we now permit the employers to take wholly into their service at 14. And now is the time, just when the Government, as we may believe, is concerned to prevent the occurrence of unemployment, especially unemployment among youths, for the preparation of such a scheme of Half-time for Adolescents, to be put in force as soon as Peace is declared.

VI.—THE CONTROL OF CAPITAL.

Two unspoken anxieties haunt many of us. Shall we, amid all this destruction of wealth, have enough capital to maintain the nation's industrial pre-eminence? How can we, in face of our war losses and a staggering National Debt, afford to pay for the social readjustments required?

Now it may seem a paradox, but the economic student will at once realise its truth, that this war, like all wars, is carried on, substantially, out of national income, not out of national capital; and that there is every reason to believe that this country will come out of it with its industrial capital almost undiminished. The land is all there, with its buildings and improvements, happily exempt from any more devastation than a few bomb explosions. The machinery and plant of all kinds have actually been increased. There is no prospect of any shortage of raw materials or of food. Our herds of horned cattle are greater than ever before. We shall, it is true, have lost some of our merchant shipping. We shall have neglected many works of maintenance and repair, thus deteriorating our roads, railways, buildings, etc.; and some appreciable work will be needed to adapt our whole industrial machine once more to a peace production. But, taking all this into account, it is doubtful whether the lessening of material capital has yet been greater than the current increase. And if it be objected that "credit" will be lacking, or currency, or banking facilities, let it be noted, once for all, that all this is merely a question of organisation, which can be indefinitely increased up to any extent found genuinely useful by ordinary Government action.

What is happening is that those who can spare any part of their incomes, after paying the heavy taxes and the high prices, are lend-

ing these savings to the Government.* At the end of the war the Government will probably owe to various individuals 4,000 million pounds, involving a mortgage on our earnings, for the benefit of those who lent the money, of 200 millions a year. But the aggregate capital within the kingdom is not affected by these paper transactions.

The Proprietary Class.

But although the nation's capital will still be there, substantially undiminished, we have to take account of the fact that we have allowed nearly all of it—practically all but the thousand million pounds' worth or so that is administered by the national Government and the municipal authorities, together with the fifty or sixty million pounds' worth of the co-operative movement—to be counted in law as the personal riches of private individuals, nine-tenths of it belonging to a class of about a million families, or one-tenth of the community.† We are accordingly dependent on the proprietary class, which we have thus artifically created, for permission to use the land, the buildings, the railways, the shipping, the machinery, and the stocks by means of which the nation lives. Thus, although there is no reason to anticipate any deficiency in capital, the capital will not necessarily be available for the purposes for which the nation may deem it most urgently required. The owners may prefer to invest it, in its mobile form, in South America; or, for that matter, in Germany or Austria, which will be offering high rates of interest. Last century we were told to trust to the workings of the enlightened self-interest of the capitalist; to believe that where the highest rate of interest was offered for a loan (allowing for insurance against loss), there the capital was most urgently required in the public interest; that, consequently, extravagant Sultans and corrupt South American Republics, foreign armament firms, or enemy shipowners ought to be allowed to compete freely for capital with home needs; and that, as between home needs, the capitalist's preference for whisky distilleries and automobile factories over arable farming and cottage building proved that the nation did not really require the latter so much as the former.

We know now—even the economists—that this system of *laissez-faire* cannot be relied on to secure the devotion of the national capital to the national needs in anything like the proper order or the proper proportion. The capital may be there, but it will not necessarily flow where it is most urgently required—according to

* At the same time, those of us who own securities of Neutral States are exchanging these for British Government securities. These mortgages will henceforth be on the production of the United Kingdom, instead of on that o the Neutral States. This transfer of mortgages equally leaves unchanged th amount of capital in the United Kingdom.

† See Fabian Tracts, No. 8, "Capital and Land"; and No. 5, "Facts for Socialists," for the most authoritative statistics on this point.

any public estimate of requirement—*unless the Government takes care that it shall do so.* That is why we have had, during the war, a great deal of control of capital, and we see now that we ought to have had much more. *Can we afford to relinquish that control when peace comes?*

The Export of New Capital.

Take, for instance, overseas investments. At present the Treasury temporarily prohibits all public raising of capital for investment abroad, unless in exceptional cases. If, after the war, there is any doubt or difficulty about getting enough capital for (i.) the full restoration of all our home productive force; (ii.) the execution of the extensive programme of public works, national and municipal, which the Government is actually now beginning to consider, and which (let us not forget it) alone can enable the Government to prevent the occurrence of unemployment; and (iii.) all the "preparedness" that the nation deems necessary, in the way of storage of food and materials, against the chance of a future submarine blockade—then the question arises: Why allow the export of capital? Of course, there are advantages in leaving property-owners free; the capital exported goes away largely in the shape of machinery and other goods, and thus momentarily benefits particular home industries; the development of other countries through our capital is indirectly of some use to us at home; the interest on the foreign investments of our capitalists comes in commodities, and thus benefits our shipowners and import merchants; and it seems, at any rate, more profitable to the proprietary class. All this, as we have realised during the past two years, counts for very little against the public interest in having enough capital at home. There is a great deal to be said, at any rate as a temporary measure during the Great Reconstruction that the Government has to undertake, for an extension *to all new investments of British capital overseas*, public or private, of Mr. McKenna's additional income-tax on the foreign securities which the Treasury wishes to buy or to borrow. It is found quite easy to enforce such a tax by special assessment on the dividends or interest coming from the penalised source. Moreover, we ought all to be required to produce a complete list of all our investments. If any capitalist abstracts his capital from the work of national reconstruction, preferring to lend it to foreigners at higher rates of interest, let us not only stigmatise such action as unpatriotic, but also penalise it by an additional income-tax of 2s. in the £. At any rate, until such step is taken no Minister can pretend that shortage of capital stands in the way of any desirable measure of reconstruction.

Railways and Canals.

Particular forms of capital obviously need special measures of control. The railways, for instance, cannot be left as they are nor

yet be allowed to revert to private control. To buy out all the private interests at full Stock Exchange prices would cost little over 800 millions in Government Bonds; and would permit of the organisation of an entirely disinterested Public Service of Railway and Canal Transport, managed by the ablest technical experts, henceforth concerned only to serve the public and give proper treatment (including a share in control) to the employees; expending all the economies of amalgamation and improvement on better conditions of transport and of service; and yielding a fixed amount to the Treasury sufficient only to cover interest and sinking fund on the railway debt.*

Housing.

To put a stop to insanitary housing and (a far-reaching evil) indecent occupation, the nation probably needs, as has been suggested, the prompt building of a million new cottages and town tenements. This will not be done by the capitalists, who gave up this form of investment ten years ago for rubber planting and petrol production. It will be done only if the Government stirs up the local authorities, and *renews the offer already made*, not only of favourable loans, but also of free grants sufficient to enable the municipalities to build without charge on the rates. Possibly a couple of hundred millions will be required in this way, in loans or grants, as part of the Programme of Reconstruction.

Agricultural Land.

Consider, too, our agricultural land, which, as the Board of Agriculture has just told us (Cd—8305, price 4d.), produces per 100 acres of cultivated area less than half as much corn as the German land, one-fifth as much potatoes, less than two-thirds of the milk, *even slightly less meat*, and next to no sugar, of which Germany produces a great deal. It feeds, in short, only two-thirds as many people. Why? Fundamentally because the Germans have invested many millions in fertilisers and in arable cultivation. Our farmers have found it more profitable to themselves, though not to the nation, to invest little capital and to "let the grass grow." The result is our perilous dependence on the uninterrupted arrival at our ports of our food ships. Nor will any import duty on corn or guarantee of price secure the end. We shall not get our landlords and farmers to plough up their worst four million acres of grass without definite control—either by peremptory legal obligation on the private owners and farmers to cultivate; or by public ownership and leasing, under strict covenants to maintain the cultivation that the nation requires, or, finally, by State farms.

* See the fully worked out scheme in "How to Pay for the War," to be obtained from the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, at 6s. net; or the reprint of the chapter, "A Public Service of Railway and Canal Transport," price 1s. net.

The Coal Supply.

Can we afford any longer to leave our coal mines in private hands? These 3,300 pits, belonging to 1,500 companies, are worth at the present inflated Stock Exchange prices perhaps 200 million pounds, or only six weeks' war; but they employ one-tenth of the community, and upon their uninterrupted working our very life depends. It would be well for every householder—certainly every Trade Union Branch—to learn how we could nationalise our coal production and municipalise our coal distribution; paying out every capitalist interest at full price and securing uniformly improved conditions for all the million colliers; and supply every family in the kingdom with all its coal for domestic use at a fixed and uniform National Price for Household Coal, no more liable to variation than the penny postage stamp, of one shilling per hundredweight delivered to cellar.*

National Factories.

Before the war the Government had made itself dependent on the private capitalist ("the Armament Ring," etc.) for very nearly all the supplies that it needed—the output of Woolwich Arsenal and other public factories having been reduced to the smallest possible dimensions deliberately in order to permit more contracts to go to the capitalist firms. Now the Government possesses altogether between one and two hundred factories of its own, producing many kinds of war stores. Most of these are newly built and equipped, regardless of cost, in the most efficient manner. When peace comes the Government will want to get rid of these, and it intends at present to hand them over to private capitalists! This must not be permitted. Why should fresh opportunities for profit-making be given to private capitalists at the expense of public funds? We ought to insist on all these National Factories being retained by the Government, and kept running to their full capacity, in order to supply the national needs. When their lathes and other machines are not wanted for shells, they should be used (as are the engineering shops of the Hungarian State Railways) for making agricultural implements or motor-cars.

Can We Afford to Pay?

We come now to the second anxious inquiry: Can we afford to pay for the social readjustments required? Fortunately the war has answered this question. We see now that when Ministers postponed Old Age Pensions for nearly twenty years because the nation could

* See the completely elaborated scheme in "How to Pay for the War," to be obtained from the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, at 6s. net; or the reprint of the chapter, "The Nationalisation of the Coal Supply," price 1s. net.

not afford twelve millions a year, when Lords Goschen and St. Aldwyn shrieked with horror at the rise of the Grants in Aid, when Chancellors of the Exchequer—from Gladstone downwards—deliberately starved the Education Estimates to avoid having to increase the National Revenue—either they "did not know their job" or they were shielding the rich from bearing their share of taxation. Even the "Morning Post" sees that it will never again do for any Chancellor of the Exchequer to pretend that "the nation cannot afford it." "We are at least sure," declares that organ of the wealthy, "that the working classes who are fighting side by side with those who once had leisure and wealth will never again believe that there is not sufficient money in the country to provide sufficient wages and good houses." The Chancellor's revenue for the current year is over 500 millions sterling. The Government, which is the sleeping partner in every business firm, and the mortgagee of every private proprietor, ought never to budget for a less sum. *To reduce taxation whilst leaving urgent social needs unprovided for means that we prefer to endow the taxpayers rather than meet the social needs.* Not that we can keep the War Budget unchanged. We must, at any rate, abolish the sugar tax and reduce the tea duty. We shall, unfortunately, be urged to repeat the temporary Excess Profits Tax; though, as it only hits excess profits—profits in excess of those of the most profitable years known to British industry—there seems no reason why some similar tax should not be imposed. We must promptly remedy the shocking unfairness of the Income-tax, and especially its immoral and anti-eugenic special penalisation of lawful matrimony and an adequate family.

But, after making all proper allowances, the systematic regraduation of the Income-tax and super-tax on the scale suggested by so moderate a statesman as Lord Courtney of Penwith—beginning, say, with a penny in the pound on the small incomes, and rising to 16s. in the pound on those of £100,000 a year—would yield, in the fairest way, all that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will need to maintain a 500 million Budget.* It is, as we see very well, mere pretence to say that the nation "can't afford it." It has shown that it can afford it *when it chooses*. Any hesitation over measures of social reconstruction, any denial of social justice on the ground that the nation cannot afford it, means henceforth only this, that the Government, *speaking for the payers of super-tax*, does not wish to afford it.

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* See "A Revolution in the Income Tax," price 1s. net; or "How to Pay for the War," 6s. net; to be had of the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster.

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ROBERT OWEN, IDEALIST

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ROBERT OWEN, IDEALIST.

THE main facts about Robert Owen's career as successful business man, and his endeavours to bring about social reform by means of State action, have been already described in a previous Tract treating of "Robert Owen, Social Reformer." Finding politicians unsatisfactory, the public thick-headed, and his attempts to create a Utopia on the basis of existing institutions impracticable, Owen diverted his eloquence, his energies, and his wealth to the task of setting up model communities which should realise those ideals of a rational life founded upon communal ownership of property which were peculiarly his own.

The amazing optimism with which he continuously prophesied sudden and complete moral and social revolutions, and the unflagging enthusiasm which led him to embark on new communities after repeated failures, spring from, and were in the main conditioned by, that particular view of human character for which he is perhaps most famous. It was because he believed that human nature was entirely malleable to impress, that he so continually strove to impress it with his own mark. It was because he was convinced that men could be made to lead any kind of life, that he never tired of preaching the life he wanted them to lead. Hence his practical efforts at community-forming arise directly from his psychological view of character-forming—otherwise their persistence would seem incredible.

The objects of this Tract are therefore twofold. Firstly, to give some account of Owen's peculiar view of human nature. Secondly, to describe the more important communities which resulted from that view.

PART I.

Owen's Psychology. The Five Fundamental Facts.

Owen was one of the most thoroughgoing materialists who ever lived. That is to say, he conceived of human consciousness as a purely incidental phenomenon occurring in a world of matter, and not as the essential underlying reality of the universe. He would so define the world as to leave man's soul upon it as a sort of outside passenger, or alien, as opposed to the spiritualist conception which insists that the intimate and human must surround and underlie the material and the brutish. Thus he tended to regard sequence as proceeding always from the inanimate to the animate. Whereas we most of us agree that the inanimate may have a limiting influence on the actions of the animate, Owen thought that the phenomena of consciousness were entirely caused and explained by the influence of the inanimate.

With regard to the old opposition of character and environment in the total human compound, he was continually emphasising the importance of environment, and belittling that of character. He carried this attitude to the point of denying absolutely that character was in any sense formed or controlled by the individual. It was formed for the individual by external circumstances independently of his will.

The view that the individual is in any way responsible for his character is regarded by Owen as the fundamental delusion, the arch-error, which is responsible for all the ills of society and the sufferings of the human race. He speaks of it in the fiercest terms. It is "this hydra of human calamity, this immolater of every principle of rationality, this monster which has hitherto effctually guarded every avenue that can lead to true benevolence and active kindness."

Once dragged to light by Owen's writings, this principle, "conscious of its own horrid loathsome deformity, will instantaneously vanish, never more to appear." In contradistinction to this principle, which has hitherto reigned paramount both in ethics and politics, Owen asserts his five fundamental facts, which explain the basis of human nature. The statement of and implications arising from the facts, repeated in various connections, form the contents of Owen's gospel of character, "The New Moral World."

The facts are :—

1. That man is a compound being whose character is formed of his constitution or organisation at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances upon it from birth to death: such original organisation and external circumstances continually acting and reacting upon each other.
2. That man is compelled by his original constitution to receive his feelings and his convictions independently of his will.
3. That his feelings and his convictions, or both of them united, create the motive to action called his will, which stimulates him to act and decides his actions.
4. That the organisation of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth, nor can art subsequently form any two human beings from infancy to maturity to be precisely similar.
5. That, nevertheless, the constitution of every individual, except in the case of organic disease, is capable of being formed into a very inferior or a very superior being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence his constitution from birth.

Implications of the Facts.

I. Education.

Conjoin the fifth fundamental fact, and the principle that characters are formed for individuals not by them, and the supreme importance of education in Owen's system is immediately apparent.

"The Government," he says "of any community may form the individuals of that community into the best, or into the worst characters."

"That great knowledge," therefore, with which it is Owen's privilege to enlighten the world, is that "the old collectively may teach the young collectively to be ignorant and miserable or to be intelligent and happy."

Instruction of the young becomes the keystone of his system, for, unless children are rationally trained, the State cannot hope to produce citizens sufficiently intelligent to appreciate the truth of Owen's system.

The then existing education must be "scrapped" utterly. "Reading and writing do not in themselves constitute education: they are the instruments by which knowledge, true or false, may be imparted." Thus, "according to the present system children may learn to read, write, account, and sew, and yet acquire the worst habits and have their minds irrational for life."

The true object of education is to teach the young to reason correctly, to develop their critical faculty, and to enable them to sift the true from the false. Only their memories, he says, are exercised under the present system, and these are only used to retain incongruities. The most controversial religious questions, for instance, are solved in a phrase, and the answer is taken on trust. "Children," he says, "are asked theological questions to which men of the most profound erudition cannot make a rational reply; the children, however, readily answer as they had been previously instructed, for memory in this mockery of learning is all that is required."

In his conviction that children must be taught primarily to think for themselves, Owen anticipated many educational reformers. To carry out his system of education, the most capable persons in the State were to be appointed teachers. State seminaries were to be established for the instruction of the teacher, and the children to be given uniform attention in community schools.

Owen rarely condescends to details, but a sketch of the various stages in a child's education is to be found in "The New Moral World."

There are to be four classes of children in the model community:

I. From birth to the age of five. They are to acquire the primary characteristics of Owen's system: confidence in others, unselfishness, toleration, with knowledge of simple objects. These qualities will be inculcated by the automatic action of a healthy environment.

II. Class II, from five to ten, will "discard the useless toys of the old world." Education will be confined to handling objects, and conversations with older persons. They will help in domestic arrangements, but there will be no tasks. They will work only for "amusement and exercise."

III. From ten to fifteen:

(*a*) Children from ten to twelve will instruct and supervise the work of those in Class II.

(*b*) From twelve to fifteen they will learn the more advanced arts and handicrafts.

They will also receive instruction in the mechanical sciences.

IV. From fifteen to twenty, the Communists will be engaged in becoming "men and women of a new race, physically, intellectually, and morally." They will instruct the class below, and become "active producers on their own account."

A sketch of the future activities of the model Communist may as well be inserted here. His life is divided into eight stages, of which we have already described four.

V. From twenty to twenty-five, the members, aided by the inventions of science, will be engaged in producing all the wealth required by the community. Further, they will be general directors in every branch of education and production.

VI. From twenty-five to thirty, the main activities of the Communists will be directed to the distribution of the wealth produced by the lower classes, but this only for a few hours a day. For the rest, they will engage in study and intercourse.

VII. Those between the ages of thirty and forty will govern the internal affairs of the community, settle disputes and administer justice.

VIII. The eighth class, between forty and sixty, will undertake the duties of exchange of goods with other Communists, and the maintenance of friendly relations; in the course of these duties they will spend much of their time in travelling, partly on pleasure, partly on communal business.

Thus Owen maps out the whole life of man.

II. Tolerance and Charity.

A conviction that men are in no way responsible individually for their characters will engender a universal tolerance for the shortcomings of others.

People will no longer be rewarded according to their deserts, for they are no longer responsible for their deserts. Distinctions of wealth will go the way of distinctions of birth, which are, of course, entirely irrational. Pharisaism will disappear with intellectual snobbery. Anger, jealousy, and revenge will give way to regret, perhaps, that other people's instincts are so unfortunate, but never to reproach.

"With insight into the formation of character, where is there any conceivable reason for private displeasure or public enmity?"

With this doctrine Owen lays one of the foundation stones of community life. Remove anger, jealousy, and revenge, and there is really no reason why people should not live happily together in communities, with common aims and common ownership of all property.

To remove those differences between individuals which operate in the main to create malice and enmity, Owen's system of education will act in two ways:—

First, children trained under a rational system will exhibit few

shortcomings. More especially, the desire to overreach one's neighbour in competition, which makes the majority of persons unfitted for community life, will disappear. Secondly, even if such shortcomings do exist, we shall find no cause of offence, for "rationally educated children will realise the irrationality of being angry with an individual for possessing qualities or beliefs which, as a passive being during the formation of these qualities, he had no means of preventing."

Prisons will disappear in company with workhouses. Illuminated addresses and knighthoods will be thought as illogical as satires and sermons.

Instead of blaming, "we shall only feel pity for individuals who possess habits or sentiments destructive of their own pleasure or comfort."

The problem of what to do, assuming these opinions, with the burglar who is caught stealing your silver will be solved by the considerations, firstly, that the burglar will have no incentive to steal, will, in fact, become extinct, and, secondly, that in stealing my silver he will be stealing the community's silver, whtch already belongs to him as much as it does to me.

Thus Owen's doctrine of character seemed to him to abolish at one blow the corrective and retributive functions of government, with all the difficulties they carry in their train.

III. The Laws of Nature.

Owen is continually reiterating the assertion that while all other systems, previous and present, have done violence to the laws of nature, his alone is in conformity with them.

"We undertake to explain the principles of nature," he says in the preface to "The New Moral World."

He conceives, in fact, of the present system of society as of something artificially imposed upon human nature which should be, and, in point of fact, has been at some period of the world's history, exempt from it. The Greeks thought that society was necessary to man, because it was only as a member of society that he could realise all that he had it in him to be. Owen felt, on the other hand, that the social structure, as it existed in his time, so far from developing, restricted the development of human nature.

Thus "it will be obvious," he says, "to children rationally educated that all human laws must be either unnecessary, or in opposition to nature's laws."

Like the Social Contract writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Owen envisaged a kind of Golden Age, existing before the institution of society, in which everybody did precisely what they pleased. One characteristic of this age was the fact that everybody lived according to Owen's principles, although, perhaps, they were never formulated. Owen's system, then, was an attempt to revive the freedom of the Golden Age, with the added advantages of a communal society somehow tacked on to it. So, under Owen's system, "none will be engaged in administering laws, at

once an improvement and a return, in opposition to the laws of nature ; or in adjudging artificial rewards and punishments to counteract those of nature, which are all wise and all efficient."

The sequence of the argument then proceeds as follows. The laws of nature are also the laws of the nature of individuals. But the laws of nature are not to be counteracted ; therefore no restriction is to be imposed upon human action, or check upon human feeling. Hence, "justice will be done for the first time to human nature by every feeling, faculty, and power inherent in each child being cultivated for its work to its full extent." It follows logically that every law which conflicts with individual pleasures, or violates any individual belief, is tyrannical and contrary to nature ; for it is Owen's belief that pleasures, being formed entirely independently of our will, "every individual is so organised that he must like what produces agreeable sensations in him."

Human laws, therefore, either (*a*) express our beliefs and pleasures, in which case they are expressing the laws of nature and are superfluous, or (*b*) conflict with them, in which case they are wrong. Owen never thought out all the implications of this doctrine. The following, however, which he recognises and accepts, appear as cardinal points in his system.

IV. (1) MARRIAGE. (2) PROPERTY. (3) COMPULSION.

(1) *Free divorce:* for there is no reason why people should continue to live together when it violates their feelings or proclivities to do so ; in fact, Owen sometimes speaks as if he accepted the full Platonic doctrine of the possession of wives in common.

(2) *No distinction of individual property.* In a state of nature things were held in common. The principle of the division of property is, further, the basis of the principle of division in the community, of the distinction between rich and poor, of poverty, of jealousy and of war. That harmony, therefore, which Owen claimed for his system can only exist if the institution of private property is abolished. There will be no difficulty about this, however, in Owen's state. Harness the inventions of science to the service of the community, and you will produce more than enough for all. Owen was tremendously impressed by the advance of scientific discovery. "In the time of your ancestors, sire," he writes to King William IV, "fifteen millions of men could produce enough to supply the wants of fifteen millions, and no more. But now, a population of twenty-five millions can, with the same expenditure of energy, supply the wants of six hundred millions." Thus, "wealth being made abundant beyond the wants or the wishes of the human race, any desire for individual accumulation or inequality of condition will consequently cease."

(3) "*No compulsion.*" Since no compulsion is possible where free play is to be given to every individual feeling we can say nothing either to the criminal or to the debauchee. Owen at times accepts this implication, looking to his system of education to abolish both. At others we find him faltering. Thus, although we are told that

pure affection and unreserved knowledge of each other's character is sufficient reason for any and apparently any number of sexual unions, he makes provision in "The New Moral World" that marriage shall be formal, and shall not be entered into without three months public notice, and that no separation shall take place under a year of union, and six months further notice, *i.e.*, eighteen months in all.

V. Eugenics.

At times, moreover, a tendency to flirt with Eugenics is difficult to reconcile with free play to nature and to individual choice. "We have learnt to improve the breed of the lower animals," says Owen, "but in the much more important matter of breeding human beings we are content to leave all to chance." Regulations are therefore laid down to prescribe only the unions of the fit; which seems rather unfairly to penalise the unfit for what of course they are not responsible. Such minor inconsistencies abound in Owen's work. It would, however, be wasted labour and captious criticism to continue to score academic points against a system which appears as an ebullition of Quixotic enthusiasm, and yet, strangely enough, a movement of sound common sense, rather than as a logical structure, watertight in every compartment, propounded to delight Dons.

PART II.

The Community Ideal.

It is undoubtedly to Robert Owen that the conception of the community in the modern sense must be attributed. The promulgation of his ideas forms a landmark; it is the beginning of modern Socialism. The idea arose directly out of the distress caused by the cessation of the European war in 1815. In 1816 a public meeting of the "Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor" appointed a committee to enquire into the prevailing distress, under the presidency of the Duke of York. Of this committee Owen was a member. Having impressed himself upon the committee by a powerful speech, in which he ascribed the prevalent distress as due to (1) the cessation of the extraordinary demand occasioned by the war, and (2) to the displacement of human labour by machinery, Owen was commissioned to draw up a report to the committee. This report, also called the "Plan for the Regeneration of the World," embodies for the first time a definite statement of the community theory. Any successful plan which takes into account the present demoralisation of the poor must, says Owen, "combine means to prevent the children from acquiring bad habits, and . . . provide useful training and instruction for them; it must provide proper labour for adults, direct their labour and expenditure so as to produce the greatest benefit to themselves and society, and place them under such circumstances as shall remove them from unnecessary temptations and closely unite their interest and duty."

* * * * *

To serve these ends the working class are to be gathered together into an establishment; not too small, or else the cost of superintendence would be too high; not, on the other hand, too large to be effective. Hence the community of 500 to 1,500 persons. The community should be self-sufficing, and its members were therefore to engage in various branches of agriculture and manufacture. All were to work at suitable tasks, according to their ability. The necessary capital to build the required establishment was to be raised by voluntary subscription or advanced by the Government. Thus three main advantages are aimed at in the communistic scheme:—

(1) It is the simplest and most effective method for educating the children of the poor.

(2) It enables a greater population to be supported in a given area than under any other conditions.

(3) It is so easy to put in practice that it may more conveniently be started than a new factory.

The original plan, then, in germ aimed simply at finding employment for the poor. Owen's optimism once having grasped the idea, saw far and quickly. A month later we find him stating not only that the community system was the only possible form of society for the whole world, but that, when it had once been promulgated by himself, "the principle and plan are so fixed and permanent that hereafter the combined power of the world will be found utterly incompetent to extract them from the public mind. Silence will not retard their course, and opposition will only give increased celerity to their movements."

The scheme was put forward under fashionable patronage, the papers were not unfavourable, and Owen was ingenious enough to propitiate the press as a customer and propagandise the country as a prophet at a single stroke by buying 30,000 copies of the papers containing his plan and distributing them to the clergy of every parish in the kingdom.

In 1819 the Duke of York held a meeting to appoint a committee to report on Owen's plan. The report whittled away the full-fledged communism of the plan to a joint-stock enterprise on a large scale. According to the report, the workmen would indeed feed in common and be housed in the same building, but "they will," says the committee, "receive their wages in money, and the mode in which they would dispose of them will be entirely at their own option."

A wealth of criticism and controversy centred not only round the extreme measures of the original plan, but even the milder recommendations of the other. The main point of vantage of the attack was the economic one.

Were Mr. Owen's communities, it was asked, to be self-sufficing or not self-sufficing? If they were to be the former, the number of workmen would not be sufficient to secure the sub-division of labour essential to modern processes, and the cost of production would be

increased; if the latter, and barter and exchange were permitted with other bodies, the community would lose many of those exclusive advantages for which alone it had been formed, and would become subject to the commercialism and fluctuations of ordinary markets.

Owen met such objections by emphasising the enormous ease and wealth of production which modern machinery had made possible, the importance of which, as we have already seen,* he continually tended to exaggerate. The colonists were to labour in a "community of interests." There would be no disputes either about the division of property or with neighbouring communities, because all "would produce the necessaries and comforts of life in abundance." Nobody, at present, says Owen, wants more than his fair share of air and water, simply because we have these things in abundance. The same would happen to property if society were rationally organised.

Despite, however, Owen's continual propaganda, despite the elaboration of his scheme contained in the "Report to the County of Lanark," the country still remained incredulous, and it was left to America to be the recipient of the first model Owenite community.

New Harmony.

Early in 1825 there assembled at New Harmony, Indiana, several hundreds of persons drawn from various parts of the United States to make a practical experiment in Communism. New Harmony had previously been the abiding place of a religious sect, the Rappites, who, cemented by a narrow and intense religious creed, had themselves not unsuccessfully grappled with the problems of Communism. The land was fertile, the climate good. Owen in 1824 had paid £30,000 down for the village as it stood.

The society was to be open to all the world except "persons of colour." The existing situation of the houses would not permit the establishment of an ideal community in all its completeness forthwith, nor would the inhabitants be able to adjust themselves to Communism without training. The society was at first to achieve only temporary objects; it was to be a half-way-house on the road to the communistic goal, in which materials were to be collected and preparation made for the final burst from "the chrysalis stage of semi-individualism into the winged glory of full Communism."

Accordingly, although at first there was to be pecuniary inequality in view of the superior talents or capital which certain members were bringing into the society; although members were to bring and to keep their own furniture and effects; although individual credit was to be kept at the outset for each member at the public store for the amount of work done and against it a debit registered for the amount of goods supplied: although, in short, these clogging traces of an obsolete individualism were still temporarily to cling to the embryo community, Owen hoped and stated that within three years the

* See section on "Community of Property," above.

members would be prepared to constitute a community of equality "and so for ever bury all the evils of the old selfish individual system."

The response to the appeal for members was somewhat overwhelming at first, both in quality and quantity. Robert Dale Owen, the founder's son, describes them as a "heterogeneous collection of radicals, enthusiastic devotees to principle, honest latitudinarians and lazy theorists, with a sprinkling of unprincipled sharpers thrown in." Of many it seems to have been true that their only credentials for the ideal world to come were constituted by their total failure in the world that is. A few of the most unsatisfactory were weeded out, but, in pursuance of Owen's principle, no general process of selection seems to have been exercised.

In spite of this, however, Owen on his return to New Harmony in January, 1826, after a visit to England to collect men of science and learning to leaven and instruct the community, found the experiment so far advanced that he was induced to cut short the period of probation and constitute immediately the finally developed community.

A committee of seven were elected to draw up a constitution. It will be as well to give the main articles of "Union" in full, ast hey embody fairly well what may be taken to be the main tenets of the community ideal, whether realised or not, aimed at in all the Owenite experiments.

Objects of New Harmony.

"All the members of the community shall be considered as one family, and no one shall be held in higher or lower esteem on account of occupation.

"There shall be similar food, clothing, and education as near as can be, furnished for all according to their age and, as soon as practicable, all shall live in similar houses and be accommodated alike.

"Every member shall render his or her best service for the good of the whole."

The governing body was to be constituted as follows :

Agriculture. Manufactures Literature, Science, Education. Domestic Economy. General Economy. Commerce.	Should each form one department. Each department should again be divided under intendants. Each intendant was to choose four superintendents. All the officers with the addition of a secretary were to form the executive council. The real estate was to be vested in the community as a whole.

We shall have cause to comment on the amazing intricacy of the governing body when we come to consider the community ideal in general. In the meantime it may be considered that complete communism was established. There was to be no discrimination between one man's labour and another's, and no buying and selling within the bounds of the community. Each was to give of his labour, according to his ability, and to receive food, clothing, and shelter according to his needs.

Success of the Community.

For the year following the emergence of the society into full communism all went well. A paper called the *New Harmony Gazette* gives a glowing account of the activities of the society. "The society is gradually becoming really as well as ostensibly a community of equality, based on the equal rights and equal duties of all. Our streets no longer exhibit groups of idle talkers, but each one is busily engaged in the occupation he has chosen for his employment."

Robert Dale Owen, arriving in 1826, is particularly enthusiastic. There were concerts, weekly dances, and all manner of social intercourse in the community hall; there were weekly discussions, and complete freedom of view was allowed. The housing, it is true, was of the simplest, and the fare of the rudest, while there was plenty of hard work to do. But there does seem to have been a real spirit of unity and enthusiasm pervading the community in the early days. Many distinguished persons also came to visit and observe the settlement.

Signs of Breaking-up.

From one of these latter, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, we have the first note of discord. He observed in particular two disquieting signs: the extreme frugality of the living, and the difficulty of amalgamating the different social grades. This last is significant. We are told that at the dances the "working men did not join in the dances in the public hall, but used the newspapers scattered on the table." . . . While, when partners were assigned for the cotillion, "the young ladies turned up their noses at the democratic dancers who often fell to their lot." In the lectures, the work, and the amusements alike, the better educated classes kept together, and eschewed their social inferiors. Some such social divergence was probably the real cause of the split of the main community into two smaller ones, Macluria and Feiba Peveli. Robert Owen finds only cause for increased optimism in this duplication of communities. Both societies contemplated pure Communism, it is true, and we find Owen saying that "the formation of communities is now pretty well understood among us, and is entered upon like a matter of ordinary business." But it is to be feared that Owen was gilding his facts to reflect his expectations. Divergence in the main community cannot be looked on as a healthy sign, and by 1827 no less than seven different communities had evolved from the parent society in a similar manner.

Already in 1826 we hear of dissension in the society. The real estate of the society was to be transferred from Owen to twenty-five representatives. Apparently, however, so much confusion arose in the financial affairs of the community that the transfer was never accomplished. The members complain that they are stinted in food allowance (two meals a day, costing, on an average, about threepence in all, constituted their diet), while Owen is sumptuously regaled at the tavern. The accounts are complicated, and far too

large a proportion of the members are engaged in the unproductive drudgery of clerkships. Thefts of community money occur.

Three changes of constitution took place during the next year, 1827, and an editorial in the *Gazette* of 1827 practically owns the scheme a failure.

We hear that "the whole population, numerous as they were, were too various in their feelings and too dissimilar in their habits to unite and govern themselves harmoniously in one community." Again, and very significantly, the admission is made that "the deficiency of production appeared immediately attributable in part to carelessness with regard to community property; in part to their want of interest in the experiment itself—the only true incitement to community industry; and these, again, were to be traced to a want of confidence in each other, increased by the unequal industry and discordant variety of habits which existed among them."

In fact, all the bogeys visioned and marshalled in critical array by the Individualist, when making orthodox assault on Communism, do really seem to have appeared, and in May, 1827, the parent community was formally dissolved.

Dissolution of Community.

At the dissolution of the parent society into five separate villages, the inhabitants of which voluntarily selected each other, Owen offered land and pecuniary assistance to anyone who wished to settle on the estate. Of the inhabitants, all who did not join one or other of the daughter communities were warned that they must either support themselves by their own industry or leave New Harmony. "Under the circumstances," says Owen, "many families left New Harmony with their feelings more or less hurt." Even now Owen's faith does not fail him. "The cheering prospects before the daughter communities," he tells us at this time, "induce a belief that nothing can prevent a spread of the social system over the United States."

After this we hear little of the future history of New Harmony. In April, 1828, Owen, after a visit to England, returned to the place, and in a public address to the inhabitants practically confesses that the great experiment has failed.

Speaking of the leases of land that had been made a year previously to the daughter communities, he says: "Upon my return, I find that the habits of the individual system were so powerful that the leases have been, with a few exceptions, applied for individual purposes and for individual gain, and in consequence they must return again into my hands. This last experiment has made it evident that families trained in the individual system, founded as it is upon superstition, have not acquired those moral qualities of forbearance and charlty for each other which are necessary to promote full confidence and harmony among all the members, and without which communities cannot exist." This confession on the part of the founder sounded the death-knell of New Harmony. In June,

1828, Owen bade farewell to the place, and the relics of the community soon lapsed into complete Individualism.

Queenwood.

After an interval of some dozen years, marked by several abortive attempts to establish communities, and by numberless societies formed for that purpose, the ideal once more materialised in the settlement of Queenwood, at Tytherly, in Hampshire. Queenwood was started and financed by the "Community Society," founded by Owen. Each branch of this society which subscribed £50 for the enterprise was entitled to nominate one of its members to join the community. In 1839 the members, to the number of some sixty, entered upon possession of a large farm at Tytherly. Once again, however, no real process of selection appears to have been exercised. Dissension took place in the first few weeks in the community, members were asked to resign, and the chosen residue, some nineteen in all, were entrusted with the whole management of the experiment. After numerous early struggles, mainly financial, into which it is unnecessary to enter, the community was fairly established in an apparently flourishing state by 1842. They were in full possession of a magnificent building, costing some £30,000, some six hundred people had now been collected to inhabit it, and a sketch of the life of the place at the time, given by a visitor, who writes in the *Morning Chronicle*, signed "One who has Whistled at the Plough," is full of interest.

After a description of the fields, garden, and outside of the building called Harmony Hall, we hear next of the kitchen. When the writer entered, three or four women were washing dishes with incredible speed and the aid of a mechanical contrivance. The kitchen was fitted up with every modern convenience, and communicated with the dining hall by a tunnel, along which ran trucks containing plates, dishes, etc. A bathroom and the sleeping accommodation are also described. On the estate itself we are told of the activities of builders, gardeners, brickmakers, roadmakers, and shepherds. Labourers had been hired from the neighbouring villages, and were paid at nine shillings a week, a wage apparently considerably in excess of the normal rates for Hampshire at that time.

An account of the behaviour of the Queenwood Socialists is given in a letter refuting the doubts recently expressed by the Bishop of Exeter respecting their morality :—

> They are bringing, from all parts of the kingdom, the best improved implements and methods of working. . . . Amid a poor population they are creating and enjoying wealth; amid an ignorant population they are dispensing education; amid an imperfectly employed population they are spreading employment; amid a population not remarkable for moral conduct they are showing themselves an example which compels the respect of all who know them, and who at first distrusted them. If their principles are as dangerous to society as has been often said, what is to be done to counteract them? The anathemas of the bishops neither sink their thousand acres in the sea nor set a blight upon their crops.

Another Socialist visitor gives us a description of their meals. "Coffee without cream and buttered bread form the breakfast, pud-

dings and dainty vegetables the dinner. Meat is not eaten." The visitor fed on cauliflower with sauce, a turnip nicely prepared, a potato moulded into tempting shapes, and home-made bread. Certainly the Socialists did not expend their substance in riotous living. And yet, in 1844, the committee are faced with a deficit of £2,900 on the year's working, and new managers, "business men," are elected. Even they could not stave off the impending financial bankruptcy, and by the summer of 1845 the residents had melted away and the enterprise ended.

Only the fees from the community school had kept the settlement going for as long as six years ; and before we examine some of the causes which led to the failure of New Harmony, Queenwood, and similar enterprises, we may pause a moment for a brief view of Owen's educational ideals working in practice in the communities we have described.

Community Schools.

Owen held that the individualistic tendencies of men and women, as he found them, were largely grown and fostered by the competitive spirit prevalent in the normal school. The one incentive to work was to do better than your neighbour. If you did notably better than your neighbour—or, as Owen would say, overemphasised your individuality at the expense of his—you were given a prize ; if notably worse, the cane. Had he known of Nietzsche's "Will to Power," he would have recognised in the existing school system a good example of its working. Hence, in the New Harmony Schools no rewards and no punishments were permitted. The boys, a lawless lot, were restrained and disciplined by sheer commonsense and good will on the part of Robert Dale Owen, the head-teacher. As the interest of the work itself was the only incentive recognised for the doing of it, it was plain that dull and informative textbooks would not succeed. In this matter, again, Owen held peculiarly enlightened views. He recognised that teaching does not necessarily involve a conception of a child's head as an empty box which you fill with facts as you fill a jar with jam. It was possible, he felt, to take into account the aptitudes of each individual child, and to let them to some extent dictate the teaching, instead of laying down a uniform curriculum for all ; while a sense of discipline could be inculcated by setting the older children, as a reward of proficiency, to instruct the younger.

Hence we are told that the boys and girls at New Harmony "have a very healthy look, are cheerful and lively, and by no means bashful. The girls are as little oppressed as the boys with labour and teaching. These happy and interesting little children were much more employed in making their youth pass as happily as possible."

Each boy was taught a definite trade from the very first, and the rest of his education moulded accordingly. Apparently the children were not overfed, rose at five o'clock, saw their parents not more than once a year, and were otherwise subjected to a Spartan discipline.

At Queenwood a school was started on Owen's principles, the fees for which were £25 a year, including clothing, and to which the children of people who were not members of the settlement were admitted. The school was one of the few financial successes of Queenwood. In 1844 it numbered ninety-four children, of whom sixty-four were paying fees The curriculum embraced the widest range of subjects, including astronomy, chemistry, anatomy, painting, vocal and instrumental music, land surveying, French, and German. The school, however, came to an end at the collapse of the settlement. This apparent failure does not impair the excellence of the system on which the schools were based. In education, perhaps, more than any other subject, Owen saw far in advance of his time, and it is only to-day that we are tentatively beginning to pay practical tribute, in the shape of schools on Owenite lines, to the merits of a system which has been loudly acclaimed in theory for years past.

Orbiston.

The Community of Orbiston, though prior in date to the Queenwood venture, has not been described hitherto, as Owen himself was not directly concerned with the founding of the community. He was, however, interested in the experiment, which drew its inspiration from his teaching, and he once visited the place.

In 1825 Abram Combe, a successful Edinburgh business man, who had become an ardent convert to Owen's system, associated himself with two or three sympathetic capitalists, and purchased the estate of Orbiston, about nine miles east of Glasgow.

An enormous stone building was here planned for the accommodation of a projected community, of which the left wing only, holding some three hundred persons, was ever finished

On Saturday, April 8th, 1826, the new settlers took possession, although the building was still incomplete. The objects of the community were practically identical with those already described at New Harmony and Queenwood. Each adult was to have a private room, but all the cooking and eating arrangements were to be in common.

A special feature of interest, however, was introduced in the provisions with regard to children. In each of the other communities we have noticed, the care and education of the children was to be a charge on the community. At Orbiston it was agreed that each child should be debited with the entire cost of his maintenance and education, in the confident expectation that, on growing up, the children would willingly repay the sums expended on their education out of the profits of their labour. Unfortunately, as the community only lasted for a year and a half, it was never possible to judge whether these optimistic expectations were justified.

As at New Harmony, no principle of selection with regard to the members of the community appears to have been exercised. "A worse selection of individuals—men, women, and children—could scarcely have been made," said one of their number. They were

described as "a population made up for the most part of the worst part of society."

Combe, however, justified his action in admitting all comers by insisting on the truths of Owen's system. He explained: "We set out to overcome ignorance, poverty, and vice; it would be a poor excuse for failure to urge that the subjects of our experiment were ignorant, poor, and vicious." As Combe maintained the strictest adherence to the Owenite ideals of no compulsion and *laissez faire*, the communists were at first left without organisation or direction of any kind. Each was to act on his own account, and the only incentive to work was that of loyalty to the community. In these circumstances the familiar traits of individualism began at once to reappear. Those who wished appropriated to themselves the fruits of their labour; those did not, acted on the principle of taking as much from the community and giving as little to it as possible.

Conseqeuently, Combe was forced, in order to keep the community going, to take in hand some measure of organisation. Squads were formed from among the communists, according to the capacities of the workmen. There was an iron foundry, a horticultural company, a dairy company, and a building company, whose first task was to complete the unfinished community buildings. Similarly, there were squads of hatmakers, clothworkers, and shoemakers, the necessary capital for each of these industries being provided as loan by the initiators of the community.

The domestic arrangements were divided among the women in a similar way. Payment for work done was given at ordinary market rates by book credit at the communal store, and the members were at first permitted to hire their labour to outside employers. In September, 1826, however, the members passed of their own accord the following resolution, affirming the principle of equal remuneration for all kinds of labour, according to the time given :—

> That all the members of the society unite together to produce a common stock, out of which all our common expenditure, hereafter to be agreed upon, will be paid; and that an equal share of the surplus of our labour be placed to the account of each member of the community, according to the time occupied by each.

At the same meeting the members agreed to take over the ownership of the land and premises from the proprietors, paying them five per cent. interest on their outlay, and ultimately the whole of the capital advanced, so that the community should be in every sense the owners of their dwelling-place.

By the spring and summer of 1827 the community appears to have attained a very real measure of success. The external aspect of the settlement had considerably improved. Roads had been made, and the gardens were well kept. The iron foundry was doing well, and the domestic arrangements under the squads of women were running efficiently. The boys, at first unusually unruly, had been reduced to cleanliness and order, without any grave departure from Owen's principles. The communists were, above all, remarkably happy. One lady member writes: "It is like another world. . . . I have been at a meeting last night, and such mirth I never

knew. There is dancing three times a week. Indeed, there is nothing but pleasure, with the best of eating and drinking." Nor did the stress of making ends meet preclude leisure for the cultivation of the arts. The boys were taught music, preparatory to the formation of an orchestra; and, as a crowning achievement, a theatre was actually built, and plays performed by the members. At this stage (summer, 1827) Owen paid a visit to Orbiston, and found the community afloat on the high waters of success.

Break-up of Orbiston.

Signs of disaster were not wanting, however, even while matters presented so fair an outward show.

It has already been noticed that all comers had been admitted at the opening of the settlement, and many abused to the full the privileges granted by the communist system. The method by which credit at the communal store was entered to the account of each member, according to the number of hours work returned, was particularly open to abuse. Members were constantly cheating the timekeeper by returning more hours than they had actually worked, and so inflating their credit at the store.

A large section of the communists worked just sufficiently to procure a requisite amount of food and clothing at the common store, for the remainder of their time hiring out their labour for wages to outside employers. Thus they were enabled to live in what was comparatively a state of luxury, while the more conscientious members were labouring and stinting to maintain the public burdens. Thus, in June, 1827, out of two hundred and ninety-eight persons, only two hundred and twenty-one fed at the public mess. The remaining seventy-seven fed privately, being enabled by their outside earnings to purchase at the store food superior both in quantity and quality to that which fell to their more public-spirited fellow-members. It is further hinted that some of the surplus food purchased by the individualistic seventy-seven was exchanged with outsiders for commodities which the exchangers would have been better without.

In August, 1827, Combe, the founder, died. His brother William endeavoured to carry on the community for a few weeks after his death, but from September, 1827, onwards our records cease entirely. All we know is that William Combe, probably under pressure from the mortgagees, gave all the members notice to quit the premises in the autumn of 1827, and that the whole concern was shortly afterwards sold by public auction.

There can be no doubt that financially the community was a great failure, that two at least of the founders lost all their money in the experiment, and that lack of capital accounted for the abrupt close of the venture.

Co-operative Societies.

The communities described above were by no means the only expression of the effects of Owen's teaching. Another important

development is now to be traced which resulted in the formation of co-operative societies. The rise of these societies, as contrasted with the parallel growth of communities, seems to have been due to the feeling that, assuming the validity of the main contentions of Owen's doctrine, it was still true that any attempt on the part of the working classes to better their condition must, to ensure success, originate among themselves. The communities had been artificial structures, in the sense that they had been founded from outside, and subsisted on funds provided by a few wealthy men. When outside support was withdrawn the communities went smash.

Referring to such attempts and their wealthy promoters, the *Co-operative Magazine* says: "Since their way is not our way, there could hardly be that unanimity and boundless confidence in a community established by them that there would be in one founded upon a system of perfect equality, every member of which may say, 'This is ours and for us.'"

Between 1820 and 1835 a considerable number of co-operative societies were formed, implicitly or explicitly, as a result of this conviction.

Their immediate objects are defined by the editor of the *Brighton Co-operator* as follows, though there were, of course, numerous varieties: "To protect their members against poverty, to secure comforts for them, and to achieve independence." The means to these three ends are, first, a weekly subscription from the members to secure capital to trade with; second, the manufacturing of goods for themselves; "lastly, when the capital has still further accumulated, the purchase of land and living upon it in community."

The immediate method by which profit was to be secured for the co-operators, and the chief advantage of the co-operative system, lay in the exclusion of the middleman. William Thompson, author of the "Distribution of Wealth," one of the ablest exponents of Owen's system, had done much to inspire the movement by his insistence on the doctrine that, as all wealth is the product of labour, the labourer has an indefeasible right to the whole of what he produces. He then goes on to define the primary object of a co-operative community formed of the producing classes to be the acquisition of the whole of the fruits of their labour by means of "mutual co-operation for the supply of each other's wants, and equal distribution amongst all of the products of their united industry."

Thus two more or less distinctive stages can be traced in the development of these societies:—

1. They were joint-stock trading enterprises, the goods produced by the members being accumulated in a common store. These goods were to be retailed to the members at practically cost-price, and to the outside public at a considerable profit, which was to go to a common fund. Thus the middleman and the capitalist were abolished together.

2. Out of the profits so realised, and an accumulation of weekly subscriptions, land was to be purchased and a community formed, wherein all the more revolutionary tenets of Owen's system, more

particularly with regard to the education of children, were to be put in practice. In this second stage incomes were to be pooled and all possessions held in common.

The first of these societies to be noticed, the London Co-operative Society (1824), placed in the forefront of its activities the popularisation of Owen's views. The "Crown and Rolls," in Chancery Lane, the headquarters of the society, witnessed nightly debates between Owen's followers and the individualist members of the young Liberal Party, including John Stuart Mill.

A plan was formed for the establishment of a community within fifty miles of London, and suitable farms were advertised for. Only Owen's return from America was awaited to put the project into operation.

As in the case of the Dublin Co-operative Society (1826), which was formed with the same object, and to which some thousands of pounds were subscribed, it does not appear that this project ever passed beyond the stage of optimistic anticipation.

The Devon and Exeter Co-operative Society of 1826, financed by a Mr. Vesey, seems to have been the first whose plans for a community passed beyond the paper stage. A small estate near Exeter was actually purchased, and thirteen co-operators started to prepare buildings for the expected communists. A month later twelve cottages were ready. Mr. Vesey, however, soon after this period withdrew his financial support, and the original settlement was abandoned.

In August, 1827, a fresh farm was purchased, crops were harvested, and several trades started. Although no new recruits for the society could be obtained, the prospect was regarded as not by any means discouraging. From this point, however, all record of the society in our only authority, the *Co-operative Magazine*, ceases.

In 1826 a more hopeful venture, independent of outside support, entitled the Co-operative Community Fund Association, was started. The objects of this association were identical with those already mentioned. The new departure lay in their method of obtaining the funds. £1,250 was the requisite capital aimed at, to be raised by means of fifty shares of £25 each. The shares were to be obtained by a weekly subscription of not less than four shillings from each member. When £500 had been thus accumulated, the purchase of land for a community was contemplated. The children of the members were to be supported at the common charge, and the government of the contemplated community was to be strictly democratic, consisting of committees elected from the members by the members, and sitting for short terms of office only.

With the establishment of the Auxiliary Fund by the London Co-operative Society in 1827, a new departure was made. From this time forward the characteristic feature, both of this and of the other societies whose course we are tracing, is the development of co-operative trading enterprises. Henceforward the second of the two objects noted above, the community ideal, tends to become more and more subordinated to the first. The general store or

shop, financed by the Auxiliary Fund of the Co-operative Community Fund Association, is the first step in a course of developments which ended in the famous Owenite labour exchanges.

The general store was primarily designed for the sale of articles produced by the members of the association. Before long, however, provisions and other goods in common use, by whomsoever manufactured, were admitted into the store and sold to the members at wholesale prices.

The store was very successful, and great hopes were formed of extending it. An optimistic prophecy contemplated the association as being in possession of one such repository in each of the main thoroughfares of London, which, by diverting the tide of riches from its present tendency to flood the pockets of capitalists and middlemen into the pockets of the producers, i.e., the members of the association, would "emancipate the millions from the control of the units."

The Union Exchange Society, 1827, was also formed about this time. The members agreed to meet together once a month, and sell each other such goods as they could command, ten per cent. being levied on the sales and handed over to a common fund, which was to be distributed equally among the members. Tea, bread, flour, boots, umbrellas, and brass and tin ware were sold in this way.

The Brighton Co-operative Provident Fund Association, founded with the same objects as the Union Exchange Society, had a much longer life. It started with a membership of one hundred and fifty, each member paying a penny a week subscription into the common funds. Shortly afterwards this was transformed into a trading association, with a capital in £5 shares, forty of which were taken almost at once. The association issued a circular, stating that they regarded "the real cost of all commodities to be the amount of labour employed in preparing them for use."

In order, as far as possible, to secure that the exact cost of production and no more should be paid, a joint store, repository, or exchange was established, "in which a confidential agent will receive from members of the association such articles as they produce, and, according to a scale authorised by a committee or council of work, give them an order for other commodities in store to an equal value at prime cost, or a note for the value of so much labour as is brought in, which note may be cancelled when articles of that value are issued for it, so that the labour notes may always represent the quantity of goods in store and work unrequited" (*Co-operative Magazine*, November, 1827).

It will be seen that it was but a step from a project of this kind to the complete labour exchange system.

Little more remains to be said of the co-operative societies. The Brighton Association, whose objects have just been described, is considerably the most important. It lasted for several years, started the earliest provincial co-operative magazine, the *Brighton Co-operator*, and exercised the greatest care in the selection of its members, to which fact in particular its success was attributed.

By 1830 there were no less than three hundred co-operative societies in the United Kingdom. In 1831 the first co-operative congress was held. In 1832 the number of societies had risen to from four to five hundred. These societies were becoming more and more directly simply co-operative trading associations, and the legitimate development of this aspect of the movement into labour exchanges soon followed. It is interesting to note, however, that these early co-operators never thought of competing for profit with capitalist enterprises. They were simply anxious that each man should receive the due reward of his labour, and for the great majority the immediate necessity of getting a living thrust the more inspiring aims of Owen's teaching into the background. Trading bazaars and labour exchanges took the place of communities.

The Labour Exchanges.

It is in the Report to the County of Lanark that we first find Owen suggesting that as "the natural standard of value is human labour," a standard labour unit should be established for purposes of exchange.

The inadequacy of the monetary currency system, which became a subject of acute controversy between 1830 and 1834, and was regarded by many reformers as an important factor in the prevailing poverty of the masses, together with the possibilities opened up by the stores and bazaars of the co-operative societies, combined to direct Owen's attention about this time to the question of evolving some satisfactory system of labour currency. Owen was at this time the editor of a paper called the *Crisis*, and in an editorial for June, 1832, thus states the theory which inspired the labour exchanges: "Hundreds of thousands of persons of all the various trades in existence rise every morning without knowing how or where to procure employment. They can each produce more than they have occasion for themselves, and they are each in want of each other's surplus products." He goes on to point out that the usual course then pursued is (1) to convert the goods into money by selling them to a middleman, and (2) with that money to buy the articles required again from a middleman, who thus intervenes at two points in the transaction, and diminishes the real value of the labour expended by the profits he keeps for himself.

"Now there is no necessity for the middleman," says Owen. "Producers can do without him if they merely want to come in contact with each other, and they can exchange their respective produce to their mutual advantage and to the advantage of the general consumer."

A standard of value and a medium of exchange is, however, required. The argument then proceeds as follows: All wealth proceeds from labour and knowledge. Labour and knowledge are generally remunerated according to the time employed. Hence time should be the standard or measure of wealth, and notes representing time or labour value will be the new medium of currency.

In practice the doctrine lost something of its simplicity in view

of the fact that different kinds of labour were paid at different rates, and an hour's labour expended by a skilled mechanic was more valuable than an hour's labour on the part of a navvy.

When the labour exchanges were actually working, the value of a man's labour was assessed as follows: The average day's labour was regarded as ten hours; the average rate of pay at sixpence an hour. Required, to value different kinds of labour according to this standard.

Mr. Podmore gives the following illustration: "If a cabinet maker, whose value in the open market was paid for at the rate of a shilling an hour, brought a chest of drawers to the Equitable Labour Exchange to be valued, its price in labour hours would be computed as follows: First, the value of the raw material would be set down in vulgar pounds, shillings, and pence; then the value of the labour would be added in the same base medium. The whole would then be divided by sixpence, and the quotient would represent the number of hours to be entered on the labour note." Clearly a purely artificial result, and not representative of anything in particular!

On Monday, September 17th, 1832, the first "National Equitable Labour Exchange" was opened in the Gray's Inn Road, near King's Cross. The deposits of goods produced, in exchange for which labour notes were issued, were during the first few days so numerous that the pavement outside the exchange was blocked. The goods stored at the Exchange were sold on receipt of cash as well as of labour notes issued by the exchange; but in the former case a small commission was charged, in order, as far as possible, to discourage the use of money.

For a time it looked as if the labour notes system was likely to spread. They were accepted as payment for tickets at the social festivals given at the institution run in connection with the Exchange, and many local tradesmen put up notices in their shop windows to the effect that labour notes would be accepted as payment for goods. During the remainder of the year 1832 the popularity of the Exchange continued to grow, the chief depositors being tailors, cabinet makers, and shoemakers. For the seventeen weeks ending December 22nd, the deposits represented 465,501 hours, and the Exchanges 376,166 hours, leaving a balance in stock representing 69,335 hours, i.e., £1,733. 7s. 6d.

The greatest difficulty lay in valuing the pile of diverse goods deposited, and there is no doubt that in some cases anomalies resulted. A tailor, for instance, wrote to the *Times*, stating that he had paid thirty-six shillings for cloth and trimmings to make a coat, made it, and took it to the Exchange, where it was valued at thirty-two shillings. Owen replied, justifying the assessment, on the ground that a low valuation of all goods had been purposely adopted in order to compete with outside traders; and that the tailor had suffered no real loss, inasmuch as all the goods at the Exchange were valued at the same low standard: an explanation which was clearly not very satisfactory to the tailor.

The following week, however, another tailor also wrote to the

Times, stating that he had received the full market price at the Exchange for a coat and trousers, both of which were clearly misfits and unsaleable elsewhere, so that it is pretty obvious that some of the assessments tended to be capricious.

The first Exchange, in the Gray's Inn Road, was brought to an untimely end by a dispute with the landlord, and moved to new premises in Fitzroy Square. Here, however, it passed under entirely new management; and whereas it had started as a kind of clearing house for the products of individuals, it now became a mart or bazaar for the exchange of the products of various co-operative societies.

This change took place in the following way. In 1833 a new body had been formed, entitled the United Trades Association. This association comprised societies numbering among their members representatives of all the chief producers. The main object of the association was to find employment for the out of work members of the societies. A weekly contribution provided a fund to procure material and workroom accommodation for unemployed members. The goods produced were sent to the Labour Exchange to be valued by persons elected by the societies from among themselves. In most cases the products were exchanged direct at the Exchange. Thus notes appear in the *Crisis*, the successor to the *Co-operative Magazine*, to the effect that the Surrey Society had made a quantity of clothes, for which they had received in exchange a quantity of leather. The carpenters likewise report that they have engaged to fit up a shop for the shoemakers, who have promised shoes in exchange.

It soon became apparent, however, that something was inherently wrong with the financial arrangements of the Exchange. For a considerable time the accounts were kept straight by entering on the credit side large amounts received from the lectures and festivals held by the different societies, many of the lectures being given by Owen, while at the same time a considerable amount of business continued to the transacted at the Exchange.

During the latter half of 1833 the deposits averaged over 10,000 hours a week, but by January, 1834, this figure had diminished to 5,284 hours. During the early part of 1834 the deposits continued to shrink at an alarming rate, and we find that many articles were sold for three-fourths cash payment and only one-fourth notes, so that the peculiar currency system of the Exchange seems to have been falling into disuse.

By the summer we find the affairs of the Exchange to be in such a bad way, and the surplus stock in hand so small, that the secretary of the association, who was in direct charge of the management, writes to Owen, recommending that the affairs of the Exchange be wound up. After this we hear no more of the Exchange, and the various subsidiary Exchanges that were opened about the same time in some of the provincial towns appear to have closed down also.

The immediate cause of the failure of all these Exchanges was simply that they did not pay. Their financial difficulties were, according to William Lovett, who had been at one time storekeeper

to one of the London associations, caused by "religious differences, the want of legal security, and the dislike which the women had to confine their dealings to one shop." Owen's rationalistic lectures appear to have caused much disturbance among the more religious members of the co-operating societies, and were ultimately the cause of many withdrawing their support from the Exchange.

The Exchanges had no legal safeguards, as they were not enrolled societies, and could not obtain legal redress when their servants robbed them. Love of shopping on the part of the women, and the unwillingness they felt for their husbands to be acquainted with the exact extent and nature of their purchases, precluded much enthusiasm on their part for the experiment.

Owen, however, never appears to have been heart and soul in favour of the Exchanges. He explains in the "New Moral World" that it was not his wish to start a Labour Exchange at the time and in the manner chosen, and speaks of the experiment as being forced upon him by the inexperience of impatient friends. There appears to have been always at the back of his mind the feeling that mere buying and selling arrangements were a trivial matter in comparison with the complete revolution he contemplated, and unworthy of the attention of a comprehensive reformer,

Syndicalism and Guild Socialism.

The position of Owen in the history of social reform and legislation is comparable to that of Plato in the history of philosophy. The germs of all subsequent movements can be found in his teaching. There is no single measure of social or industrial reform which has since been advocated about which he did not have something to say. Thus he has been acclaimed as the apostle of many contradictory things, and among others of Guild Socialism.

We have seen how the co-operative societies were, to begin with, miscellaneous associations of men of different trades. They discharged the functions now performed by the sick and benefit funds of a trade union, and during a certain stage of their development frequently maintained a Labour Exchange for the employment of their out of work members. As time went on it was found more convenient and more profitable for members of the same trade to associate together. As such the societies became to all intents and purposes trade unions, and during the disturbed times of 1832-1834 indulged in strikes for better conditions and more wages, mainly unsuccessful, on modern lines. The policies of these trade unions were directly inspired by Owen's teaching, and, though he disapproved of their more militant aspect, he made great efforts to capture the leadership of the whole movement.

These early trade unions rapidly took on some of the functions with which the modern National Guild movement is anxious to endow them. Thus in 1834 the operative tailors address a circular manifesto to their employers, stating that they have decided to introduce some new regulations into the trade. The circular concludes: "Your workmen, members of the society, will cease to be

employed by you should you decline to act upon the new regulations. In that case they will no longer consider it necessary to support your interest, but will immediately enter upon the arrangements prepared by the society for the employment of such members for the benefit of the society."

A Grand National Guild of Builders was actually formed in 1834, and set to work on building a guildhall in Birmingham. The guildhall was, however, eventually finished by the landlord, as the association lacked the necessary funds to complete the work.

Owen seized upon the opportunity provided by these tentative experiments as the occasion for delivering a lecture, in which he outlined all the fundamentals of the modern Guild Socialist scheme. "We have long since discovered," he said, "that as long as master contends with master, no improvement either for man or master will be possible. There is no other alternative, therefore, but national companies for every trade. All trades shall first form associations or parochial lodges, to consist of a convenient number for carrying on the business." These parochial lodges should send delegates to county lodges, and so on, up to the Grand National Council. "This is the outline for individual trades. They shall be arranged in companies or families; thus all those trades which relate to clothing shall form a company, such as tailors, shoemakers, hatters, etc., and all the different manufactures shall be arranged in a similar way. No secret shall be kept from public knowledge. Any information respecting costs and profit shall be freely communicated, and shall be done by a gazette."

Owen later made it clear that he contemplated unions, including not only operatives, but also masters and manufacturers, and ultimately the Government itself.

As a result of this propaganda there was founded in 1834, under Owen's auspices, a "Grand National Consolidated Trades Union of Great Britain and Ireland," which in a few weeks time is said to have enrolled between half a million and a million members, with auxiliary branches—"lodges," they were called—in all the large industrial towns.

The programme of the union and the objects it set out to achieve are insufficiently recorded in the evidence available on the subject, but it appears that in some rather vaguely defined way it aimed at securing control of the conditions under which its members worked in all the leading industries, the strike being the weapon contemplated in the case of recalcitrant employers.

The Grand National caused profound alarm among the propertied classes, but its career was lamentably brief. The first of its activities was the organisation of a monster procession to present a petition to the Government against the sentence of transportation passed upon six Dorsetshire labourers for an alleged offence against an out of date Act with regard to the administering of illegal oaths (the swearing of oaths was a preliminary formality to joining a trade union lodge). But the Government was determined to break the strength of the movement, and acted with a high hand. Several

unsuccessful and costly strikes on the part of various unions followed. We hear incidentally that the Potters' Union expended £6,223 2s. 11d. in strikes during ten months, 1833-1834. There seems at length to have been a growing weariness of strikes among the unions, and a desire to return to the earlier method of co-operative trading and exchange, and the Grand Lodge was accordingly shortly remodelled on co-operative lines.

In August, 1836, a special meeting of delegates was convened in London under Owen's presidency. Owen stated in his address that the union "had experienced much more opposition from the employers of industry and from the wealthy portion of the public, as well as from the Government, than its promoters anticipated."

It was then resolved that the name of the union should be changed to "'The British and Foreign Consolidated Association of Industry, Humanity, and Knowledge,' that the initiatory ceremony of membership should be dispensed with so as to conform with the law, that effective measures should be adopted to reconcile the masters and operatives throughout the kingdom, and that a charter should be applied for from the Government."

At the same time Owen, in an editorial in the last number of the *Crisis*, announces that the "awful crisis" in human affairs is now happily terminated; that the old world will pass away "through a great moral revolution of the human mind, directed solely by truth, by charity, and by kindness."

Henceforth, Owen drifted further and further away from the trade union movement. His distrust of reform springing from the people themselves left him at bottom out of sympathy with the fundamental doctrines of what we should now call Guild Socialism. At the same time his attitude was often akin to that of the modern Syndicalist.

A Syndicalist tendency is manifested in Owen's distrust of political measures as a means of engineering the revolution. He was not, for instance, in favour of enlarged political rights for the masses, and refused to co-operate with the Chartists. "The Owenites," says Bronterre O'Brien, "seek every opportunity to speak sneeringly and contemptuously of their possession (the vote) as a consideration of no value."

Owen was impatient of the slowness of all agitation on political lines, and refused, for instance, to work with Oastler for his propaganda in support of an eight hour day. Such things were mere palliatives; they delayed the revolution by chloroforming the workers. "Why waste your time in useless theories," he says, in a manifesto to the Chartists, "instead of going staight forward to the immediate relief of your wants—physical, mental, moral, and practical? You, the Chartists, have been gradually stimulated to expect the most unreasonable and impracticable results from the Charter. If it were to be obtained to-morrow and its workings known, there are none who would be more disappointed with its effects than the Chartists themselves. It is not any mere political change in your condition that can now be of any service to you or society." The true

remedy, he intimates, can only be found in the Socialist Community at Queenwood.

Bureaucratic Tendencies.

On the other hand, Owen's whole attitude towards the people whom he desired to reform was strongly bureaucratic. He always tended to regard the community ideal as something imposed on the people from without, not arising spontaneously from within. In effect he said to them: "You can lead a better life than the life you are leading: to wit, the community life as I have pictured it. But you are so stupid and ignorant that unless I keep urging, teaching, and directing you, you will never discover this for yourselves."

He distrusted a spontaneous movement for social betterment because he was convinced of the ignorance of the people. At present they were not fit; they must be remade. He was convinced of the practicality of his own proposals because his view of human nature told him that people could be remade; his view of his own, that he could remake them. He could not tolerate half measures. He preached the revolution on the Owenite plan or nothing; but this is quite intelligible when we remember his belief that nothing could prevent the revolution on the Owenite plan. He is said to have stated in an interview, explaining his high-handed conduct on a committee, that "we must consent to be ruled by despots until we have sufficient knowledge to govern ourselves."

To Metternich, Prime Minister of Austria, he reports himself to have said that "it will be much easier to reform the world by Governments properly supported by the people than by any other means. Let Governments once be enlightened as to their true interests in promoting the happiness of their peoples, and they will lend their willing assistance and powerful aid to accomplish this ever to be desired result."

Such a view constitutes the very antithesis of the conception of a spontaneous movement among the people towards self-government. Owen never seems to have recognised the almost theoretic impossibility of devising an efficient government which is truly representative of the people, and it is on this rock that his community ship was found ultimately to split.

Reasons for Failure of Communities.

The really important question that arises for consideration from this short sketch of Owen's efforts to found communities is whether the actual failure and break-up of every community that was founded was due to incidental defects of bad management in each successive case, or to anomalies inherent in the community ideal itself, which made it unworkable in practice. Did the communities fail simply because all communities must fail, or because these particular communities were badly organised, insufficiently financed, unwisely selected as to membership, and so forth?

Now the most thorough and comprehensive scheme of Communism ever put before the world is that contained in the Fifth

Book of Plato's "Republic." Theoretically perfect and logically complete, it embodies an ideal so inspiring and comprehensive that we cannot but believe that Owen endeavoured to model his own attempts at realisation closely upon it.

Against this plan for a communistic society Aristotle makes certain criticisms, which derive great interest from the significant manner in which they were borne out by Owen's experiments.

In the first place, the distribution of the common property, says Aristotle, will be a perpetual source of dispute. Members will protest that they are not receiving in proportion to their worth.

Secondly, compulsory association with others will not bring harmony, but friction.

Thirdly, common property, inasmuch as it belongs to nobody in particular, will be apt to be neglected by everybody.

Fourthly, it is obviously better to share voluntarily with others what is your own than to hold it compulsorily in common. Communism destroys generosity and hospitality by making them unnecessary.

Fifthly, unless the community is very small, there will be no real self-government by the members.

Now the truth of nearly every one of the strictures is exemplified by the course of events at New Harmony and at Queenwood. Taking the last point first, we have been struck already by the extraordinary elaboration of the governing committee at New Harmony. With a community of a thousand persons, some kind of delegation and representation was obviously necessary ; but in a community of equality, the mere existence of superintendents and intendants, a group of officials, who might conceivably act as a check upon one another, but were officially uncontrolled during the period of office by the community, constituted a grave inequality.

Hence the parent community is found to split up into daughter communities. Dissension and distrust prevailed among the members, we are told, because they had no real voice in the governance of their affairs ; the committee of government was delegated from above.

Again, New Harmony made it clear that a most careful selection of members was necessary before success could be achieved. Sharpers, unsuccessful speculators, and amiable visionaries do not form a good amalgam. There is no scourge for idleness, no incentive to work. All very well if you are a set of religious fanatics who, having abolished man-made law, will work owing to your possession of divine grace, and eschew material goods. In New Harmony, however, material goods were desired, but, being shared equally amongst all, went to the idlers equally with the workers, There were further social inequalities, religious and racial difference, yet the members were compulsorily associated. Hence we are told that "it was found much easier to assimilate a few with the same pursuits than many having different occupations."

Two lessons emerge: make your community small enough to be really self-governing, and make your members homogeneous, bound

together by a common enthusiasm, preferably religious, and it may succeed.

So far we have pointed only to mistakes in the actual experiments; we have not invalidated the ideal. To say that New Harmony was run badly is not the same as saying that a community cannot be run well. Is this latter statement true?

The Community Ideal.

Roughly, the community ideal may be said to rest upon the theory that there is a certain kind of good life that all men should lead, and that this life should be roughly the same for all men. Differences come from private property and the inequalities thereof. Abolish differences and inequalities of property, and a common kind of life may result.

Now, in the first place, equal participation in common property predicates a great degree of intimacy and power of getting on with each other among the participators. Intimacy and knowledge are required both to avoid squabbling and to ensure a proper selection of rulers. On the other hand, as soon as your community is extended beyond a small number, it is difficult to make the bulk of the members feel that they are taking part in the direction of their own property. Could you then extend those principles, which have had so little success even among small communities, to a large heterogeneous population, compelled to rely solely on itself for internal government and external defence? It seems unlikely.

Nor must it be forgotten that the disadvantages which attach to the administration by the members of property held in common are serious. It is open to question whether they do not outweigh its advantages.

The path of the individual in modern life is not a path, but a groove. He has little scope for expanding his personality or stamping his impress upon environment. His voice is a pipe in the world, but it may be a thunder in his own home. It is here alone that he may give expression to his own will and to the aspirations of his own personality.

If you give to each only according to his worth, you restrict his activities to definite tastes. On the other hand, the possibilities of falling into distress through lack of wisdom in management, and the contrary possibility of success by contrary conduct, are valuable elements in the life of the citizen. So long as private property exists, a man may, at least in that restricted sphere, possess the power of carrying out his own plans in his own way, and of displaying his own initiative. Under Communism he would simply do the State's work under regulations. It is only in the home that the capitalist may be said at present not to have got hold of the worker. Without the control of a certain amount of material property, then, a man cannot be said properly to give expression to his own will.

Finally, as Aristotle naïvely remarks, "the possession of private property is a source of harmless pleasure, and therefore desirable."

The Good Life.

The institution of Communism is not without objections; but it was not advocated as an end in itself. It was embraced and preached by Owen because he definitely desired to produce a certain kind of life in his citizens, and he considered that private property, by introducing the principle of difference, militated against it. We have already seen reason to doubt Owen's ethical principle that character and life may be formed for individuals, and not by them. We have noticed the distrust and opposition which his view of reform, as something imposed upon the worker from without, produced. Finally, we cannot subscribe to his principle that there is one kind of good life for all men. This was the Greek view, which lay at the basis of the Greek view of the State. The State, according to Greek thinkers, was the one organisation which made the good life possible for its members. It was only within the State that they realised their full nature. Similarly, in Owen's view, it was only in a community that man could realise all that he had it in him to be.

We, on the other hand, have come to hold, as the result of the individualist and democratic thinking of the last century, that neither the State nor any individual is in a position to predicate a certain kind of good life for others. We hold it vital that each man should judge for himself what he holds to be valuable in life; while, if we are to accept authority on such matters, it must be self-chosen. Hence modern Utopias have always inspired a feeling of repulsion, because men do not happen to want to live the life which the authors of these hopeful and aggressive works want them to live. It is here, I suspect, that we must look for the root reason of the failure of Owen's communities. The members did not all want to live one kind of life, nor was it the one kind of life Owen favoured. For the first and last time the hack anti-Socialist criticism hit the mark, "The Socialist did not take account of human nature."

Value of Owen's Work.

The communities were the concrete embodiment of all that Owen stood for. They failed, but their failure did not negative the value of his work. In an age when Individualism was rampant, Owen was the first to emphasise the need of State control.

The Individualism of the Manchester School of Liberals was based upon the view that man being fundamentally selfish, he himself was the person most capable of looking after his own profit and interests, without interference from his neighbours.

In a state of society with equality of power, wealth, and opportunity, this position may be sound; it is obviously better than to have everybody meddling with everybody else's affairs and the State poking its inspectors into every household. Economically, however, it rested on three fallacies:—

1. That each individual is equally farsighted and has an equal power of knowing what he wants.

2. That each individual has an equal power of obtaining it and equal freedom of choice.

3. That what all the individuals want is identical with the well-being of the community as a whole.

The results of Individualist policy were the hideous cruelties which necessitated the Factory Acts. It was seen that the State must step in to prevent some individuals exploiting their fellows in their efforts to satisfy their wants. As a result of his experiences at New Lanark, Owen realised this fact very clearly. The State must control its members; but, in order more efficiently to do this, it must delegate its functions to self-supporting communities, wherein men may be trained to govern themselves.

We have said above that only the communities which have banded themselves together for religious purposes have approached success, but it is fairly clear that to some of the settlers at Queenwood their community was a religion. An austere enthusiasm for the millennium was illuminated by a devoted veneration for their own community, which was pointing the way.

Hymns to community, a strange goddess, in the Socialists' Hymn Book, bear witness to the devotion of the early Communists to their ideal. And they worshipped Owen as a divinely inspired prophet. Amid much that is ridiculous, both in the man himself and in his followers, something cast in the heroic mould remains. Owen saw and thought far in advance of his age. But it is not in his intellectual creed that his greatness lies. Owen stands out permanently as a prophet and a dreamer. Pervaded by a real hatred of the iniquities of the social system as he found it, he combined the inspiration which he drew from this source with an unflagging enthusiasm in the pursuit of his ideals. It was the great force of sincerity which enabled him to appeal so strongly to the imaginations of men, and to suffuse his creed with a religious tinge. If he was a dreamer, he was not content to dream his life. He possessed that greatest of faiths, the faith to live his dreams.

NOTE.

The best life of Owen is entitled "Robert Owen: a Biography," by Frank Podmore, two vols. Hutchinson, 1906. It is out of print. Another is "The Life, Times, and Labours of Robert Owen," by Lloyd Jones, third edition, 1900. Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.

The most extensive bibliography available is published at 1s. net (54 pages) by the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, for the Welsh Bibliographical Society, "A Bibliography of Robert Owen, the Socialist, 1771-1858," compiled by A. J. Hawkes (1914). The best collection of Owenite literature is in the Goldsmiths' Company's Library of Economic Literature, University of London, Imperial Institute, S.W. 7, which contains a large part of the library of Owen's "Institute" in John Street, Tottenham Court Road.

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second Chamber; its need, how it shou
be elected, with functions.

THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

At present the House of Lords is, constitutionally, in a position of suspense. By the Parliament Act of 1911 its right of absolute veto of the people's will, expressed in a Bill passed by the House of Commons, has been destroyed. But the entirely unrepresentative and accidentally selected assembly of 600 odd Peers of Parliament remains unreformed. It still possesses great powers of obstruction and delay. Its influence in emasculating all progressive measures with which its members disagree is still very great, and is all the more objectionable in that it is largely exercised through the Cabinet in secret, without the check of public opinion. Moreover, various party leaders, and the House of Commons as a whole, are more or less pledged, if only by the preamble to the Parliament Act, to an early reform of the Second Chamber. The question cannot, therefore, be ignored. The Committee of Peers and members of the House of Commons, which, in the autumn of 1917, has taken in hand the reconstruction of the Second Chamber, is strangely constituted. Lord Bryce, who patriotically consented to be chairman—after the Speaker, Mr. Asquith, and Lord Lansdowne has successively found it impossible to undertake the task—met with great difficulties in getting his Committee together. It has no constitutional or other authority. It is very far from being a convincing or even an impressive assembly. The genuine Liberals are far outnumbered by their opponents, and the unrepresentative complexion of the list is emphasised by there being only a single representative of the Labour Party. The Committee, which is as "unconstitutional" as was the Speaker's Conference which suggested it, can claim even less support from public opinion. It can justify its existence only in one way: by discovering a solution commanding general assent.

It may be doubted whether the reconstruction of the Second Chamber has yet been sufficiently considered by public opinion for any plan to which representative members of the House o

Lords are likely to agree to gain sufficient public support to enable it to be carried into law. But the present position of the House of Lords is too anomalous to permit of the question being indefinitely shelved; and the appointment of Lord Bryce's Committee has at any rate set the ball rolling. The reconstruction of the Second Chamber will be one of the issues on which candidates at each successive General Election must be required to declare themselves. The subject is, therefore, one on which not only members of Parliament, but also ordinary citizens, and particularly the Labour Party, must make up their minds.

Do we need, in the United Kingdom, any Second Chamber at all; and, if we do, what exactly do we need it for? Clear thinking about these questions is at present hindered by three subconscious prepossessions, one of them inspired by a haunting sense of history, another by indistinct visions of political geography, and the third by a vague fear of Democracy, basing itself on a bygone political science.

WHAT IS THE HOUSE OF LORDS?

The House of Lords, so far as history and the forms of the British Constitution are concerned, is not a Second Chamber at all. It is one of the few survivals in Europe of the once common separate Estates of the Realm. Of such "Estates" there used to be, in some countries, not two only, but three, four, or even five—the Nobles, the Clergy, the Municipalities, the Peasants, and the tenants on the Royal Demesne being entitled to be separately summoned to give the opinion of their respective orders upon the King's business. What happened was that, in the course of centuries, in this as in other countries, the majority of the separate orders were merged in a single assembly of "the Commons," which ceased to be an Estate of the Realm, and came to stand, in fact, though not always in form, for the whole community. Where any ancient Estate continued to sit separately, as in this country the Peers and Bishops did in the House of Lords, they did so (if we are to regard the substance of the Constitution), not as distinct Estates of the Realm, but—so far, at any rate, as the nineteenth century was concerned—as a Second Chamber. Since 1832, at least, the House of Lords has not been regarded by constitutional writers as having, *in fact*, whatever it may have had in form, any other functions than those of a Second Chamber; and it was in respect of its satisfactory exercise of those functions that the House of Lords was, by its friends, alleged to find its justification. The political crime or blunder committed by the Conservative majority of the House of Lords in 1909-10, when it rejected the Budget Bill passed by the House of Commons, lay in the explicit revival of the claim of the Peers and Bishops to act, not as a Second Chamber, but as a separate Estate of the Realm. The House of Lords did not oppose the Budget Bill in the form in which it was presented on the ground that it was so badly drafted as to fail in many of its clauses to express the

opinion of the Legislature, and that it therefore needed drastic revision—though this, as we now see, was abundantly true. Nor did the House of Lords seriously allege that the House of Commons, in passing such a Budget, was not acting with the acquiescence and support of a majority of the electorate—a point on which the Peers and Bishops might have been honestly mistaken. What made the action of the overwhelming majority of the House of Lords equivalent to its political suicide was the suddenly revived claim of their Lordships to act, not as a Second Chamber, but as a separate Estate of the Realm, by setting up, as against the will of the nation expressed by the House of Commons, their own personal opinions that the Budget was, in substance, a bad one; and by acting on those opinions so far as to assert their right to nullify, whenever they chose, the decisions made by the House of Commons, in which the voice of the whole community had come to be sought. The result was decisive. We may take it as definitely settled that, whatever else they may desire, the people of this country will not tolerate the revival of any separate "Estate" of persons or classes who are to be privileged to enforce, against the opinions of the majority of the nation, any views of their own order. Any reconstructed House of Lords must accordingly be quite definitely made only a Second Chamber, with the functions and powers appropriate to such an organ of the National Legislature, and no others.

DO WE WANT AN IMPERIAL SENATE?

The question is, however, confused in the minds of some people by an indistinct impression of the Senate of the United States, and to a lesser degree of the Federal Council representing the Cantons of Switzerland, one or other of which has lately formed a model for other federal communities, notably Australia and South Africa. It is sometimes suggested that the reconstructed House of Lords should take the form of an "Imperial Senate," in which representatives of the various parts of the British Empire, including the United Kingdom, should sit as an Imperial Legislature, incidentally serving as a revising Chamber to all the subordinate Legislatures, including the House of Commons itself. This, to put it bluntly, is a dream, and a bad dream. The British Empire is not, and cannot now be made, a federal Empire with subordinate Legislatures. It is an Alliance of Free States, with a congeries of other dependencies, themselves progressing towards various forms of legislative autonomy. The self-governing Dominions have not the slightest intention of placing themselves, even for what are called "Imperial affairs," under a Senate in which they must for many generations form a minority. Neither Canada nor Australia, neither New Zealand nor South Africa, would for a moment consent to make their own Legislatures subordinate to an Imperial Senate formed out of a British Second Chamber. Nor has British Democracy any desire

to allow the British "Junkers" to call in Canadian and South African plutocracy to their aid. Constitution-making for the "Britannic Alliance" must take another form. Any representative "Council of the Empire" will, for as far ahead as can be foreseen, exercise powers of consultation and suggestion only, not of command or legislation. And any such "Imperial" organ would be quite unfit to serve as a Second Chamber for the British or any other constituent Legislature. These "federal" Senates, whether in Australia or South Africa, Canada or the United States, Switzerland or the German Empire, have nothing to do with our problem of a Second Chamber. We must accordingly dismiss the idea of any colonial representation, or the separate representation of Scotland, Ireland or Wales, in the proposed Second Chamber for the United Kingdom.

"THE HOUSE OF PROPERTY OWNERS."

The third source of confused thinking is the vague fear of Democracy, leading to the desire for some counterpoise to an all-powerful single Chamber. This prepossession, found to greater or less extent in nearly all property owners, is scarcely amenable to argument. It is plainly founded, to a large extent, on an illusion. The apprehended attacks on property must come in the main in the form of taxation in the annual or other money Bill; and it is just these money Bills that no Second Chamber, however constituted—not even the present House of Lords—can ever be allowed to touch. This was finally settled by the Parliament Act of 1911, from which there will certainly be no going back. Thus no Second Chamber can possibly save the property owner from taxation, however drastic. Moreover, property owners, like peers, cannot nowadays claim any position of privilege against the will of the Nation. Any real danger of unjust treatment can be met by the powers of revision and delay which constitute the proper function of a Second Chamber. What is abundantly clear is that, if it is really sought to create a rival power to the House of Commons, the intention must be carefully concealed from the Labour Party and the electorate, under pain of getting the whole scheme summarily rejected! It is too late to "go back on Democracy"; and apprehensive property owners would be well advised to place their trust in "the people," contenting themselves with ensuring that any serious innovation shall obtain a considered judgment, and not merely an impulsive decision, from the electorate.

WHAT KIND OF SECOND CHAMBER DO WE NEED?

We come now to the question of what the nation really needs in place of the House of Lords. One thing is plain. We do not require, and public opinion will not tolerate, any rival to the House

of Commons. Where it agrees with the popular Legislature such a rival is useless; where it disagrees, it is in the highest degree dangerous. This consideration quite negatives the project of an elected Second Chamber, which Mr. Asquith's Cabinet was contemplating before the war, but against which the House of Commons very decisively expressed itself before even the draft was published. The long and calamitous experience of an entirely elected Second Chamber in Victoria is conclusive against its imitation in any other unitary State. It is not the function of the Second Chamber in a unitary State to represent the people; this must be done, as well as it can be done, by the House of Commons. Whatever may be the imperfections of the House of Commons in this respect, they are not mended by setting up another Chamber claiming to be representative. This would be to get back to the mediæval system of rival and competing Estates of the Realm. We are free from the needs of a federal State which have compelled the United States and the Australian Commonwealth to incur the inconvenience and peril of such a legislative dualism. Similar considerations negative equally the fantastic project of a functional or stratified Second Chamber, elected by the whole electorate voting by trades, professions or occupations. All the arguments adduced for this by its advocates are valid—in so far as they have any validity at all—for the election of the House of Commons, that is to say, the Legislature itself; they have no relevance for a body which is not to be a Legislature but merely a Second Chamber.

THE PROPER FUNCTIONS OF A SECOND CHAMBER.

The essential function of a Second Chamber, it may be suggested, and the only one for which such a body is required or can be permanently useful, is that of revision in its largest sense. The Legislature proper may often be passing Bills which ought not to pass into law in the form in which they leave the popular assembly. There will be, in the first place, errors of drafting, and palpable mistakes and omissions. In the second place, there will not infrequently be a lack of consistency, either of legislation or of policy, in relation to other matters which the whole community would wish to see righted. Finally, there is on some measures the contingency of doubt as to whether the decision of the House of Commons would be upheld by public opinion. The House of Commons does not always represent the people. It may be under the dominion of an imperious temporary majority, itself controlled by a "party caucus," and dominated by a particular interest. The particular measure may have been finally carried only by one vote. It may enact an indefinite prolongation of the life of the Legislature. It may have been carried by a moribund House. It may have been rushed through all its stages in a few days, in a wild panic, or conceivably

even by an anti-popular conspiracy, without public opinion becoming aware of what is happening. It may be of a nature to arouse irresistible popular opposition, only that opposition does not instantly manifest itself. British Democracy may well be in full agreement with the most apprehensive of property owners in not desiring to erect even its elected House of Commons into a position of supreme dictatorship. The case for a Second Chamber, *confined to the proper functions of a Second Chamber*, is as convincing to the Democrat as it is to the most timid of Conservatives, provided *only that it is not made an excuse for setting up some power by which any particular class or any particular political party can defeat the people's will.*

WHAT A SECOND CHAMBER OUGHT TO BE.

What is required for a Second Chamber is a position of independence of the Popular Assembly, well-defined functions of its own which it cannot extend, and sufficient power temporarily to "hold up" the Popular Assembly, without temptation or opportunity to compete with it. The Second Chamber needs to be composed of persons of ripe wisdom and judgment, not necessarily orators or popular electioneerers; known to and respected by the public for their personal qualities, but not necessarily the most widely known of notorieties; not representative of any one class or interest, not even of age or of property in general; and widely inclusive of legal and administrative training and experience. It must not be merely an "Order of Merit," an assembly of old men; least of all a sanctuary of the superannuated, a gathering of "Ex's," or persons who have retired from office as Cabinet Ministers, Judges or Colonial Governors. Popular election does not produce such an assembly as is required. Appointment by the King (that is, by the Prime Minister for the time being) has proved a failure in Canada and New Zealand, and is, from its inevitable partisan character, obviously unsuitable; there is no case for selection from the peerage any more than from the beerage; moreover, its members must not oppress us for life, but must be continually being renewed, so as to keep the Second Chamber always in touch with the opinions of the current generation.

It has sometimes been incautiously suggested that the only acceptable Second Chamber in a free State would be one formed by popular election. This requires further examination.

NO "LOADING OF THE DICE" AGAINST DEMOCRACY.

In the first place, it is not at all likely that the present House of Lords will sanction, or that the present Cabinet will propose, a Second Chamber chosen entirely by the popular electorate. There will certainly be claims that some, at least, of the present Peers

should sit as of right, or at any rate (like the existing Scottish and Irish Representative Peers) by the suffrage of their brother Peers. There will be attempts made to secure permanent seats for the holders of certain great offices, such as the Royal Princes, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, perhaps the leaders of Nonconformity, the heads of the so-called "learned professions," and, comically enough, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of the City of London! All these must be decisively negatived by the Labour Party. Whatever their pretext, they really represent underhand attempts to "pack" the Second Chamber with members who, whatever may be their other qualities, do not share either the feelings or the desires of the great mass of the population.

Any permanent reservation of seats in the Second Chamber, either for Peers or Ecclesiastics, the scions of Royalty or great Officers of State, the representatives of particular localities or of particular classes, means a "loading of the dice" against Democracy, which Labour (even if tempted by the offer of a few seats for distinguished Labour Leaders!) must absolutely reject.

NO "FAKED" ELECTION!

More plausible are the proposals that will be put forward—when it is found that public opinion will not tolerate a "faked" Second Chamber, which would (from the standpoint of Democracy) amount only to the resuscitation of a House of Lords under another name—for a Second Chamber "more or less" elected by the people. It may be proposed to form the Second Chamber, wholly or in part, of the Chairmen or other representatives chosen by the County Councils or the principal Municipal Corporations. We may find the Chambers of Commerce or the new Federation of British Industry asked to appoint representatives, the doctors and the lawyers, and even, to impart an appearance of fairness—really throwing a bone to the dog!—the Trades Union Congress graciously allowed to nominate one or two members among the whole crowd of so-called "superior people."

All these projects of indirect election are born of the distrust of Democracy; they are devised with the deliberate intention of hindering the House of Commons from carrying out the people's will. However ingeniously these systems are formulated, so as to hide their main purpose, they always reveal themselves as calculated to produce a Second Chamber made up, almost entirely, of members of one or other of the old political parties; of representatives of the landlord or capitalist class; of employers and "business men"; of more or less wealthy property-owners. The one section that is always deliberately excluded, or else admitted only as a quite infinitesimal minority, are the four-fifths of the whole population who are manual working wage-earners. A

Second Chamber thus constituted—professedly by popular election!—would certainly contain, at most, only a handful of men of the wage-earning class. There would probably not even be any Payment of Members. Such a Second Chamber would suit the Conservative Party down to the ground. It might be nearly as useful to the Liberal Party. The Labour Party, even if it can come to form a majority in the House of Commons, would find itself, with such a Second Chamber, in the same hopeless minority as is the present Liberal Party in the House of Lords. If that position is intolerable to the members of the Liberal Party, with what "face" can they propose to subject the Labour Party to the same impotence? Moreover, from such a Second Chamber one whole sex would find itself either wholly excluded, or at best only represented by a small handful of carefully picked women. Any indirectly elected Second Chamber could not fail to be predominantly an Assembly of the wealthy middle-class, permanently biassed against really effective economic and industrial reforms.

NO ELECTED SECOND CHAMBER!

Matters are not much mended if (as Mr. Asquith and Mr. Runciman, Lord Crewe and Mr. McKenna are believed to have been ready to propose in 1913) the Second Chamber is formed entirely by direct election. Apart from merely federal bodies (like the Senates of the United States and the Australian Commonwealth), such Second Chambers as exist of this kind in unitary States (as in Victoria) have worked very badly. There is nearly always a higher franchise or a higher qualification, whether by property or age, than for the Popular Assembly. Or the same end is secured by making the Second Chamber much smaller than the Popular Assembly, and therefore elected by gigantic constituencies which, in this country, with large populations, could be adequately contested only at great expense, and with the aid of the most widely circulating newspapers which are all controlled by wealthy men. Thus, with our prospective electorate of 16 millions—certainly to be increased presently to at least 20 millions—a popularly elected Second Chamber of 100 members would mean single-member constituencies each averaging half a million population, with electorates each averaging from 150,000 to 200,000 men and women to be circularised and addressed! Complicated systems of Proportional Representation (with grouped constituencies of a million or two electors!) would further increase the necessity—if a majority of the Assembly is to be secured, and not merely the return of an isolated representative of exceptional views—for expensive party organisation. One way or another it is always contrived, in all the plans that are suggested, that the elected Second Chamber shall be predominantly a "House of Wealth." This purpose is openly avowed. It is declared that, if numbers are to rule the Popular Assembly, "property" must be represented—*even out of all proportion to the numbers of property owners*—

in the Second Chamber. Against any such contention every earnest Liberal or Radical, every member of the Labour Party—indeed, every real Democrat—must enter an emphatic protest.

What does not seem commonly realised is that even the best possible elected Second Chamber necessarily and inevitably makes a bad Second Chamber—that is to say, a body so constituted as to perform very badly the essential duties of a Second Chamber. A popularly elected Second Chamber is, in this country, certain to be elected on "party issues," and to be organised on "party lines." The very intention with which such a Second Chamber is created is that it shall frequently, if not invariably, be made up, so far as its majority is concerned, so as to be in opposition to the Popular Assembly. Otherwise there would, in the opinion of those who advocate such a plan, be no profit in it! Whenever the majority of the Second Chamber is of another political party than that to which the Government of the day belongs, the temptation to the party leaders, the party organisers, the party newspapers and the party caucus to discredit the Government measures, to delay and obstruct their becoming law and even to throw them over for a General Election will be irresistible. Needless to say this political partiality would tend always to be exercised to the detriment of innovations; and therefore to the disadvantage of all but the Conservative, or "stand pat" Party. Once more the dice would be loaded, more skilfully than ever, against Democracy.

But there is another reason, of quite a different character, against an elected Second Chamber—a reason which is all the stronger when the proposal is to make the Second Chamber entirely elective, on a franchise as wide as that for the Popular Assembly, and with qualifications and other conditions no more restrictive. Such a Second Chamber—whether chosen by geographical constituencies or by industries or other classes—without being well qualified for the duty of revision of the measures sent up to it, could claim to be as truly representative of the People's Will as the Popular Assembly itself. *This is a fatal defect in a Second Chamber.* To set up a second exponent of the People's Will, in opposition or rivalry to the first, would inevitably be to create opposition, conflict and deadlock. What would be the use of such an Elected Second Chamber if it always agreed with the other House? How could differences of opinion between them on minor points, or unpopular causes, or abstruse issues, ever be decided? How could the quarrels between them be decided, even on great issues, without evil wrangling and long delay, and possibly the drastic remedy of a Double Dissolution, whenever there was a failure to agree? It is of the greatest importance to take care that the Second Chamber should be so constituted as to have no claim to be an exponent of the People's Will, any more than to be a medium for the expression of the will of particular Estates of the Realm or particular social classes. What the nation wants a Second Chamber for is not to pretend to the expression of anybody's will—that is the business of the Popular Assembly—but

for the quite distinct function of acting as a criticising and revising body, coming to the help of the Popular Assembly in order to ensure a correct expression of the People's Will. We want to get an organ of criticism and revision that will not be swayed by party passion or party bias to oppose the measures sent up to it, merely because it does not like their contents; and yet will maintain a position of independence of the Popular Assembly sufficient to enable it temporarily to "hold up" that Assembly whenever it fails to express the People's Will.

THE RIGHT SOLUTION.

Surveying all the experience of the world with Second Chambers —municipal as well as legislative, unitary and federal—it may be suggested that the best expedient, and one which has, in fact, worked with singular smoothness and success, is that adopted by Norway, namely, election of the Second Chamber by the Popular Assembly. We suggest that the best plan of reconstructing the House of Lords as a Second Chamber for the United Kingdom is to enact that, immediately after each General Election, the House of Commons should elect, by the best system of Proportional Representation, a Second Chamber of, say, one hundred members, chosen from among persons (male or female) who are not members of the House of Commons. They should be irremovable during their tenure of office; should be made members of the Privy Council (and thus be styled Right Honourable); and should receive the same payment as Members of Parliament. Such a Second Chamber should be empowered to confer privately by committees with the House of Commons about the details of Bills, and to refer back to the House of Commons for reconsideration (but only if accompanied by a critical and detailed report expounding the revision suggested, and the reasons therefor) any Bill (not being the Annual other Money Bill as now defined) in which, whether or not its objects and purposes commended themselves, it was thought that specific amendments were required, in order either to make the measure more accurately express what the House of Commons desired, or to remedy what seemed to be omissions or inconsistencies within the measure itself, or to bring it into harmony with existing legislation in other departments. Moreover, the Second Chamber should be empowered, irrespective of its own views upon the propriety of the Bill, whenever it considered that a measure was of such a nature, or had been passed by the House of Commons under such circumstances, as to demand further consideration by the public opinion of the nation, either to refer the Bill back to the House of Commons for reconsideration in a subsequent session, explaining the reasons making such delay expedient, or (except in the case of the Annual Money Bill, or other legislation not brooking delay), in an extreme case, to suspend it for reconsideration by the House of Commons for a

period not exceeding two years, or until the first session after the next ensuing General Election. No reference back of either sort should be permitted more than once for the same measure.

It is suggested that a Second Chamber of this sort, with powers strictly defined in the above sense, would exercise satisfactorily all the functions that are proper to a Second Chamber, and it could not practically usurp any others. It would be as free as is possible from the temptation—the greatest to which a Second Chamber is exposed—to act from party spirit in a direction contrary to that of the majority of the House of Commons. It would be always in touch with every section of the House of Commons, and would yet be entirely independent of it. It would have at its command all the talent needed for revision in the largest sense, and none of the corporate ambition that might tempt its members to rivalry of what must, in any case, be and remain the supreme Legislature.

THE CUNNING AMENDMENT THAT WILL RUIN IT!

It is essential to the proper working of such a Second Chamber (in order to obviate the deflecting influence of party bias or party passion) that it should at all times correspond exactly, in the distribution of its members among parties, with the Popular Assembly for the time being. The cunning way to vitiate the proposal—an amendment certain to be proposed in the interests of the Conservative party and the property owners—is to make the term of office of such a Second Chamber longer than that of the House of Commons by which it is chosen; for instance, to say that its members should serve for the duration of two Parliaments, one half retiring at each dissolution. Such an amendment, specious as it is, must be strenuously resisted. However suitable it might be for a popularly elected Second Chamber, in which it was sought to secure an expression of the nation's permanent will, rather than of what might be only a momentary wave of feeling, it is quite out of place with regard to a Second Chamber which has not got to express the nation's will at all, but only to act as a Court of Revision. The cunning of the amendment lies in the fact that it would set up a bulwark against each successive House of Commons in which a relatively "progressive" majority had been returned. This would find itself baulked by the overstanding half of the Second Chamber representing the defeated party majority of the last previous House of Commons. The discredited Conservative or property-owners' majority, against which the nation had risen in revolt, and indignantly it hurled from office and power, would be enabled always to lay its dead hand on the measures that the nation had voted for! It is accordingly of vital importance that the Second Chamber should be wholly appointed by each newly elected House of Commons for a

term of office expiring at each dissolution. Nothing short of this ought to be agreed to by any member of the Labour Party or by any genuine democrat.

CONCLUSIONS.

Thus we come definitely to the following conclusions:—

The House of Lords must go.

The House of Commons must be and remain the Supreme Legislature.

There is good ground for the establishment of a Second Chamber.

But only if this is not made an excuse for enabling particular sections to defeat the People's Will.

An Imperial Senate is impossible, and would anyhow not form a suitable Second Chamber.

The nation will not stand a "House of Property Owners," or any revival of separate Estates of the Realm.

There must be no "faked" Second Chamber loading the dice against Democracy.

Nor do we want a sanctuary for the superannuated, an Assembly of Ex's, a Gilded Sepulchre for the Meritorious Aged.

Any "partially elected" Second Chamber would inevitably turn out to be packed with peers and dignitaries, millionaires and superannuated officials, in which the Conservative Party would have a permanent majority, and in which the Labour Party would find itself as hopelessly out-voted as is the Liberal Party in the House of Lords.

We must beware equally of any Second Chamber formed by indirect election, or nominated by County Councils, the learned professions and great interests—all of them devices for loading the dice against Democracy!

Beware, too, of the bribe to Trade Union leaders—even as many as six of them may be offered seats in a Second Chamber of rich men—how generous!

But the Second Chamber may be quite as deadly to Democracy if it is wholly elected by the people, as Victoria has found to its cost: it is easy, whether by a special franchise or by requiring high qualifications, or even merely by making colossal constituencies, to exclude all but wealthy men or the representatives of wealthy party organisations, as successfully as in the House of Lords.

A popularly elected Second Chamber would, in fact, always be a bad Second Chamber, because it could claim to be as much the representative of the people as the House of Commons, and would inevitably become a rival to it. The function of a Second Chamber is merely to help the House of Commons to express correctly the People's Will; not to baulk it.

By far the best way of forming a Second Chamber in this country would be the Norwegian system—let the House of Commons elect, after each General Election, by Proportional Representation, say 100 men and women outside its own ranks, to remain in office only for the term of that Parliament, to be paid the same as Members of the House of Commons, and to be styled Right Honourable.

Such a Second Chamber might be entrusted with power to refer back to the House of Commons, with a detailed critical report (but once only), any Bill (other than the Annual Money Bill) which the Second Chamber thought badly drafted or inconsistent with other legislation; or any such Bill, irrespective of whether or not it commended itself in substance, which seemed to require further consideration by public opinion.

But beware of the cunning amendment by which the Tory party, or the property-owners, will certainly seek to pervert even this proposal into a bulwark of the existing order. To enable the dead hand of the past to baulk the people's will it is only necessary to make the term of office of the Second Chamber longer than that of the House of Commons that nominates it. Any such cunning dodge to make the Second Chamber differ in party balance from the House of Commons for the time being must be strenuously resisted.

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Central Africa and the League of Nations

By R. C. Hawkin

It should be taken as an axiom that in spite of all revolutionary change which may or may not supervene after this war, no one will ever propose to withdraw international rights which already exist. Now, the Free Trade zone in Central Africa was created by International Law, so there exist many such rights there, and I shall begin by exposing them as a basis for the development of an International State subject to the control of the League of Nations.

The story of the European occupation of Central Africa goes back to the times of Prince Henry the Navigator, a younger son of the usurper, King John I. of Portugal, by his marriage with Phillippa of Lancaster, the sister of our usurping King Henry IV.

Prince Henry was Grand Master of the Order of Christ, and his expeditions laid the foundations of Portuguese predominance and prepared the downfall of Venetian commerce: one of his proclaimed objects was to extend the Holy Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ and to bring to Him all the souls that wish to be saved, while incidentally he desired to secure help in the wars against the Mussulmans, and in consideration of these pious aspirations the Pope, in 1436, conceded to the Prince all the countries which he might discover south of Cape Bojador; furthermore, it was agreed that 20 per cent. of any trade profits should be paid to the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, so that arrangements could be made to convert the negroes.

The Pope as International Executive.

A Papal Bull was, of course, the then recognised method of securing a title to foreign possessions. William the Conqueror ruled England by virtue of a deal with the Pope, who required Norman military aid against the German Kaisers; and England rules Ireland to-day by virtue of such a title, so we are, I suppose, under a similar obligation to teach the natives of Ireland the Christian religion.

Now there are two theories on which all these Bulls rested: One you will find enunciated by Melchizedek in the 14th chapter

of Genesis, when he arbitrated with Abraham for the King of Sodom after the great world war between four Asiatic kings and five Phenician cities for the control of the Suez trade route. The Melchizedek theory was that all property belongs to an International God, and should be held subject to the payment of tithes to an earthly trustee, who would use his influence to settle disputes between rulers. Abraham thereupon paid the tithes and agreed to accept these principles, though his Amorite allies refused to do so.

This theory, however, was not very convenient to the Pope, because it upset the doctrines of conquest on which Imperial Rome was built; so it began to be argued that the Pope had acquired his rights over territory by virtue of a cession made to the Pope by the Emperor Constantine in return for a healing of his body and forgiveness of his sins. Thus the Christian Church came to recognise the theory of conquest, which is the negation of international right.

The Portuguese, however, had to enforce their title to Africa just as we have to do in Ireland, and this would have been a much more difficult matter if it had not been for the extraordinary influence of the Christian Religion over the natives.

John II. of Portugal carried on Prince Henry's work, and in 1516 the King of Congo admitted his subjugation to Portugal. This was entirely because he was willing to do almost anything in order to secure missionaries to teach his people religion, and one native chief became himself a fanatical propagandist. The Geographical Society of Lisbon have preserved records of a vast rebellion which broke out in Congo in consequence of a proclamation favouring monogamy, including a wonderful story of the sudden appearance of a Red Cross knight on a white horse, who caused the rebels to fall into their own ambush, and left a small band of Christians masters of the situation.

The Papal Collapse.

During the sixteenth century the missionary zeal of Portugal began to wane, and, after repeated failures to secure priests from Portugal, the Congolese at last applied to Spain. Philip of Spain excused himself on the ground that he was engaged in conquering England, so the Pope was applied to once more, and he decided that the Congo must in future belong to Spain, who must send the missionaries. Here, then, we again find the only international authority stepping in to decide a question of title in Central Africa. It seems also that the Pope (Sixtus V.) claimed the right to dispossess the Portuguese and to re-grant the overlordship to Spain. He was certainly not the kind of Pope to be afraid of creating a precedent, for he selected a Jew for his chief adviser, excommunicated our Queen Elizabeth, and published his own translation of the Bible. After the Reformation Protestant countries claimed the power to make grants of distant lands to chartered companies,

and during the Thirty Years' War (1616-1646) the Pope found himself unable to maintain his international status.

I am not able to say whether Portugal acquiesced in its loss of Central Africa. It seems as though she did, but probably the Congo sank back to its barbaric condition, oppressed by a neighbouring Emperor at the head of an army of women warriors, who selected their own husbands and left men to act as nurses.

Portugal had done fairly well out of the Slave Trade, but her glory was now passing. The British and Dutch East India Companies were in progress of foundation, and in 1644 the Slave Trade with Brazil was commenced, the Arabs lending a hand, and no international authority could interfere with those sea Powers who made money in this way. The conscience of England was at last aroused by the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century, followed by the democratic doctrines which swept over the world.

An American Theory.

There was then no international organisation for enforcing moral laws common to humanity; but America formulated a doctrine that land in the New World could be claimed by the first white occupier.

When the slaves were freed in America very grave practical questions arose, and in 1822 a Committee in Washington raised a fund and acquired a tract of land in Upper Guinea as a refuge for freed African Negroes. A Republic was constituted called Liberia, and Great Britain acknowledged her independence. Another similar Republic called Maryland was founded by the purchase of lands near Liberia, but Maryland was afterwards, by consent, annexed to Liberia. All this naturally introduced American influence into Africa, and aroused American interest in Africa as providing a possible solution for her black problems.

A New York daily paper had, therefore, no difficulty in raising the wind for Stanley's expedition through Central Africa, and he, of course, flew the United States flag as he went.

Like Prince Henry, he combined business and philanthropy, but the United States Government understood the difference between the two, and was never under any delusion as to the danger of the philanthropic side disappearing, so she soon began to watch Europe very carefully. Her new theory began to appear, which was the basis of land law in America, viz.: that African soil belonged to any European race which chose to claim and occupy it.

King Leopold of Belgium had by means of expeditions in 1882, 1883 and 1884 secured the signatures of various native chiefs to some documents purporting to cede rights to a society called the International Association of the Congo, which had been founded

by King Leopold for the purpose of promoting the civilisation and commerce of Africa and for other humane and benevolent purposes. The Association published a declaration that a number of Free States were being established, and that the administration of the interests of the said Free States was vested in the Association, which would adopt a blue flag with a gold star in the centre. They undertook to levy no customs, to guarantee to all foreigners the right of navigation, commerce and industry, and to do all in their power to prevent the Slave Trade and to suppress slavery.

The World Conference of 1885.

England promptly recognised the International Association, and King Leopold then applied to all the world to do the same. For this purpose he summoned the Berlin Conference of 1885 to consider his proposition. All nations were invited, but the Pope, to his great chagrin, was refused a place at the Conference by Bismarck.

The first question which arose when the Conference assembled was the old problem, viz., by virtue of what right could such a Conference legislate for the world, and it was then agreed that the Acts should be issued in the name of Almighty God. So once more we see the quest for a moral sanction for International Law.

America at once played the principal part, as she claimed that the Congo was discovered by an American citizen flying the Stars and Stripes. America wanted the zone to be as big as possible, and got her way.

Free Trade was guaranteed to all nations; the principle of free navigation laid down by the Congress of Vienna in respect of the Danube was adopted for the Congo and Niger rivers; a declaration relative to the neutrality of the Congo Basin was made; perfect equality of treatment for the subjects of all nations regarding navigation rights was enacted. It was further enacted that this law should be recognised as forming a part of International Law; that any Power who had not signed the Berlin Act might at any time adhere to it; and that any Power which thereafter took possession of, or assumed a protectorate over, any coast land of Africa must notify all the signatories of the Berlin Act, in order to enable them, if need be, to make good any claim of their own. Portugal, therefore, claimed a good deal by virtue of her old title, and these claims were duly recognised.

America Protests.

Now, all this was to the good, but a grave difficulty arose over the neutrality clauses. Everyone was willing to bind himself to respect the neutrality of the Congo Basin, but the question arose as to what should happen if the Powers exercising rights of sovereignty or protectorates were engaged in war. How, then,

was neutrality to be enforced? Who was to do the enforcing? It was proposed that all should agree to enforce neutrality, so that Central Africa should be guaranteed neutral even if war occurred elsewhere. One Power alone stood out against this scheme, and that was America. She was estopped by the Monroe Doctrine from undertaking to use force in Africa, even to enforce peace. It is true she had proclaimed her special interest in Liberia, and had refused to allow France to proclaim a protectorate thereover; but to join the other European Powers in guaranteeing peace in Central Africa was too much for the Senate, who unhesitatingly threw over their own representative at the Conference, and dissented from his view. The clauses were whittled down and modified, but all to no purpose, and the American ratification was refused. Bismarck was furious, and made caustic comments on the inability of a democracy to conduct foreign affairs.

The fact was that the Senate was thoroughly disconcerted over the whole matter, and found itself quite out of harmony with European opinion about God and Africa. The view of the United States was formally placed on record in 1890, when the Senate was ratifying the Brussels Act regarding the Slave Trade. It was to the effect that America disclaimed any intention to indicate any interest whatsover in the possessions or protectorates established or claimed by European Powers in Africa, or any approval of the wisdom, expediency or lawfulness thereof. This resolution was sent round to all the Powers, and certainly requires the closest attention at this moment from those who imagine Central Africa can be used as a counter in the negotiations after the war.

Evidence of the great gulf between the American and European point of view came only a few weeks afterwards, when King Leopold put the International Association of the Congo and Free States into the melting pot, and announced himself as Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo.

International Bureaux.

In 1890 the Brussels Conference met to deal with the Slave Trade and to limit the importation of firearms for the use of slavers and natives, and the features of the Act were the foundation of a number of International Bureaux charged with administering the Act. One was to be at Zanzibar, where the Slave Trade was well understood; this was to collect all information regarding the Slave Trade. Another was a "Liberation Office"; there were to be auxiliary offices, with an international control office, attached to the Foreign Office at Brussels, and laws were made to suppress the trade and punish the offenders.

There have also been International Acts to limit the Liquor Trade in Central Africa, and it must be admitted that to some extent these laws have been effective; but it was not the Congo Free State which carried out these reforms; it was to a great extent

England, armed with the authority acquired from these general Acts. Our ships chased the slavers off the seas, and our shippers assisted in repressing the liquor traffic and the traffic in firearms. America appealed to the Acts when chiding Belgium for ill-treating the Congo natives, but there is at present no strong executive to see that the Acts are properly enforced.

Imperialism ousts Internationalism.

We note, therefore, the rise of a new theory of World Government, by which territory was granted by a World Conference, subject to certain International Laws, limiting the rights of the States so created and imposing conditions on the new governing authorities in this great area, as well as on part of the territory originally granted by the Pope. Unfortunately, however, there arose soon after the mad scramble for African territory which followed the discovery of gold in South Africa, and England, France, Belgium, and Germany all conceived ideas for acquiring African Empires. The British notion of a Cape-to-Cairo Empire was hampered by the effects of the Berlin Act, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes found his pet project held up by King Leopold, who had agreed to give France the right of pre-emption over the Congo Free State, and had made a will leaving all the property rights and privileges inherent in his Congo Sovereignty to Belgium. England and France had recently had trouble over Fashoda, and their relations were not good. Now Rhodes wanted in particular to run a telegraph wire along the Cape-to-Cairo route as the first step towards his goal; but the Kaiser was opposed to the whole project, and refused a request addressed to him by our Foreign Office for permission to cross German East Africa. In 1896 the Kaiser sent his famous telegram to Kruger, and to the ordinary diplomatist Rhodes' decision to try and square the Kaiser would doubtless have appeared to be of the wild cat order.

Inspiration came when in 1898 he visited Egypt to make certain proposals to Lord Cromer with regard to his Cape-to-Cairo scheme. The latter did not approve of Mr. Rhodes' ideas of finance, for he himself was engaged in trying to prevent speculators from exploiting Egypt; but, during a visit to the Assouan Dam on the Nile, Mr. Rhodes heard about the project for irrigating the rich plains of Bagdad by damming the Tigris and Euphrates, and he also heard of the Kaiser's celebrated visit to Syria and Jerusalem and his aspirations for a German Empire in Mesopotamia.

This idea was good enough for Rhodes, and he went straight off to Berlin, which city he reached on March 10, 1899. Next morning he sallied out to see the Kaiser at Potsdam and the flunkeys were surprised to see a travelling Englishman walk up to the Palace and offer his card, explaining in English that he wanted to see the Kaiser. They were probably still more surprised to find that the rules of precise German etiquette were all to be waived, and Cecil Rhodes was ushered into the august presence.

The Kaiser's deal with Rhodes.

Now there is only one record in this country as to what took place, and that was an account written by Mr. Rhodes himself and handed to the then Prince of Wales (Edward VII.), who asked Mr. Rhodes for a record; but various persons heard at various times various scraps of this most irregular diplomacy.

We know that the Kaiser referred to his telegram to President Kruger, and Rhodes explained that it deflected the British resentment felt against him to the Kaiser himself, because England resented the telegram. We know that the Kaiser brought out an atlas and at first resolutely refused to allow the Cape-to-Cairo wire to cross German East Africa. We know that at last it came to something like a row, during which Rhodes suddenly accused the Kaiser of wanting Mesopotamia, and that the Kaiser retorted: "What if I do?"

It was that reply that gave Rhodes his supreme diplomatic victory. He had won, for it was the admission by a responsible Sovereign that Germany was coveting territory owned by Turkey. Rhodes saw his advantage and changed his tone. Now he could talk plain English, and he dared to offer the Kaiser a free hand in Mesopotamia in return for a free hand in Africa.

The Kaiser was delighted; here was a man who offered him the chance of realising his glittering Oriental dream and swore that he could deliver the goods. The Kaiser took the bait.

I don't believe there was anything in writing, but each undertook to back the other. Three days later they met again at dinner, and the following day the Telegraph agreement was duly signed. The Kaiser told the British Ambassador that he only wished Mr. Rhodes could be his Prime Minister, as he personally was in favour of the Cape-to-Cairo wire, but that the Reichstag was not Imperial enough. Rhodes came back to England and delivered a great speech eulogising the Kaiser, and he added a codicil to his will by which five yearly scholarships of £250 per annum were established at Oxford for students of German birth, the nomination to be with the Kaiser; moreover, he announced his object to be that an understanding should grow up between America, England and Germany which would render war impossible, "because educational relations make the strongest tie." Rhodes then returned to South Africa and the Boer War began.

All this explains the reference in Prince Lichnowsky's recent revelations to what he calls "the programme of the great Rhodes."

It was a secret treaty made between two men, who merely trusted each other, and the following were the consequences. The Kaiser, on his side, first of all persuaded Queen Wilhelmina of Holland to urge President Kruger to give way to Rhodes' demand for franchise reforms in the Transvaal; he then urged Kruger to accept mediation by America. When Kruger had refused the

Kaiser's advice and war broke out, he proclaimed German neutrality and refused all invitations to join France and Russia against England. He refused to see Kruger when the old President reached Europe, and one of the last letters Mr. Rhodes ever received was from the Kaiser congratulating him on the fact that his telegraph wire had reached Ujiji in Central Africa. It must be admitted that Rhodes did well out of the business.

Meanwhile the Kaiser had called in Mr. Gwinner, the President of the Deutsche Bank, to draft a proposal for the Anatolian Railway Concession in Asia Minor.

A few weeks after the South African War broke out the Kaiser arrived in London with Prince Bulow, and during his visit, on November 27, 1899, the Bagdad Concession was authorised by the Sultan of Turkey; it was signed on the day before the Kaiser left England. The Reichstag doubled the size of the German Navy. but there was no protest from England. Turkey decided to re-arm her fleet, and called for tenders. A British firm tendered £80,000 less than a German tender, but, to everyone's surprise, it was announced that the tenders would be open a second time. The result was the same, but the German tender was accepted. Tenders were asked for the construction of the Bagdad Railway. A British firm was in competition with the Deutsche Bank. The latter was demanding from the Sultan twice the guarantee that was necessary to cover the cost of construction, but the Deutsche Bank got it. To pay the interest, the Sultan found himself obliged to pawn the tithes payable by the Armenian farmers, and Germany thus became the tax-gatherer of Mesopotamia. The Deutsche Bank secured the right to exploit the minerals near the railway, to cut the timber of the forests, to establish trading stations and a number of important trade monopolies. No wonder that Karl Liebnecht was punished for persistently interrupting Reichstag speakers with the words: "What about the Deutsche Bank?"

At last Russia took fright and the Balkan War broke out, but it is clear from Prince Lichnowsky's Memorandum that Germany intended to press her claims against Turkey till just before the present war.

We need not stray into the Balkan quagmire, but it will, I think, be clear that March 11, 1899, when Rhodes saw the Kaiser, was an important date in history.

Now the establishment of a telegraph wire from the Cape to Cairo was a very reasonable thing, and we may ask whether there was any more reasonable way of getting it done?

Here was a work of great international importance, which would admittedly have opened out a rich and almost unpopulated country. Here were laws laid down at Berlin and Brussels, made with the object of developing trade and civilisation in Central Africa. These laws enacted Free Trade in the very territory through which the wire was to pass. They introduced the International Conven-

tion of the Universal Postal Union, revised at Paris in 1878, as a law of Central Africa. Germany had with the other signatories solemnly declared that she was animated by the firm intention of putting an end to the Slave Trade, and that the establishment of telegraph lines was one of the most effective means for accomplishing this end. She was pledged by International Treaty to give aid and protection to commercial undertakings in Central Africa, and yet when it came to the point Rhodes was unable to secure from a country which claimed to occupy German East Africa by virtue of a World Title simply a permit to run a telegraph wire through that country except on terms which in effect have laid the whole world under tribute, and more especially the unfortunate Turks.

The Remedy: A New Executive.

Will anyone deny that all this might have been saved if the Conference at Berlin had gone further and established an executive charged with considering only international interests instead of omitting to create any body to enforce these interests? Even the International Pope could excommunicate and put countries under interdicts; but Rhodes had no such way, and it is evident that the European Powers were really taking no notice of their international obligations under International Law.

England was by far the best: it really was keen on suppressing the Slave Trade, the liquor traffic, and on maintaining native rights, as the land laws of Nigeria prove; but France, Belgium, and Germany treated their Central African possessions as held by European feudal tenure, whereas the feudal system has not yet been formally accepted by the world as law in Central Africa.

The Berlin Act laid it down that foreigners without distinction should enjoy in Central Africa with regard to the protection of their persons and effects and with regard to the acquisition and transfer of their movable and real property the same treatment and rights as Nationals; at the same time, all the Powers exercising sovereign rights or influence bound themselves to care for the improvement of the conditions of the moral and material well-being of the natives. When Belgium formally annexed the Congo Free State she was supposed to take on her shoulders all the obligations of the International Association of the Congo, but the International Bureau at Brussels was practically a dead letter office, and the solemn laws promulgated by the world in the name of Almighty God were neglected and forgotten. It almost looks as if the old International God were thoroughly angry with us for having thus acted. Prince Bismarck told the Berlin Congo Conference in 1885 that the evils of war would assume a specially fatal character if the natives of Africa were led to take sides in disputes between civilised Powers; yet I am informed that on August 2, 1914, the Germans in German East Africa telegraphed to their military posts ordering the mobilisation of their native troops. A day or two afterwards England bombarded the German

port of Dar-es-Salaam, and these two acts smashed up the neutrality clauses of the Berlin Act providing that Central Africa should remain neutral in case of a European war.

Spain's Intervention.

Probably neither the German Commander in German East Africa nor our Admiralty knew anything about these laws, but Belgium did, and at once called on the Powers to respect them, and Spain, acting as a neutral signatory of the Berlin Act, took up the question. There were many conversations, but on August 6, 1914, France told Belgium that she wished to get back that part of the Congo which she had to give up during the Agadir incident, and that a success would not be difficult to obtain. On the following day England told Belgium that as German troops had already taken the offensive, England was sending forces to overcome all opposition, at the same time undertaking to prevent any risings of the native population in Belgian Congo.

The Spanish intervention, therefore, failed, and Germany complains that Spain never told her of the Belgian communication, because she would have acted differently had she known of the conversations among the Entente Powers and neutral signatories.

Germany, however, a week later conceived the same idea as Belgium, and approached President Wilson on the subject. The President replied that as the Senate had refused to ratify the Berlin Act, America would not depart from George Washington's doctrine of non-interference with European quarrels.

In the fall of 1915, however, the question came up again, and in the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law told us that the military position in East Africa was largely one of stalemate, and England admitted the very great desirability of neutralising this region if only it were possible.

America and Holland held conversations on the question, but they came to nought; perhaps at that time Germany was pleased with the stalemate out there. This disappeared under General Smuts's influence, and to-day Central Africa is well nigh cleared of Germans. But it will never be the same as before the war—the influence of the tribal chiefs will disappear, the tribes will split up, the white man's influence will be different, and the missionary will have to battle with new ideas which are surging through the black mind.

Some natives will have seen England, some France; some will notice our strong points, some our shortcomings; and we are to-day faced with new problems as to the introduction of firearms and munitions into Central Africa, the growth of liquor abuse, the danger of tribal wars and the reconstruction of the Government in East Africa.

Now all these questions formed the subject of a lecture by Dr. Solf, the German Colonial Secretary, last December, in which he discussed the suggestion that Central Africa shall be internationalised, and told his audience that England would be the strongest opponent of the proposal. Now I submit that in view of the fact that the Labour party and Trades Union Congress have included this proposal in their published Memorandum of War Aims, which Mr. Lloyd George has accepted, there is clear evidence that Dr. Solf is mistaken, but it is not necessary to wait until the war is over to take action in this matter.

The League of Nations should act.

Here is ready to hand all the machinery for summoning a meeting of the League of Nations to consider the present state of Central Africa. Any signatory of the Berlin Act can do so, but perhaps Spain is the most suitable Power to take the lead, as she took action before. What stands in the way is the fact that England has refused her former approach, and so England must let it be known that such a proposal will be reconsidered.

This is what I desire to persuade our Government to do, and if Mr. Lloyd George can be induced to assure Spain that, in view of the "all clear" signal in Central Africa, England will now reconsider Spain's 1914 proposal, then I see no reason why a World Conference on Central Africa should not meet at once.

President Wilson demands an absolutely impartial adjustment of colonial claims, the interests of the peoples concerned having equal weight with the claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. Here would be the chance of translating these words into practical politics!

Mr. Young, the ex-Secretary of the Lisbon Legation, has told us that a policy of internationalism would save Central Africa from German and other Imperialism, and that we can count on Portugal to contribute her part. Portugal has historic claims to be heard. I have read that Belgium maintains the views she expressed at the outbreak of the war. Let King Albert and M. Vandervelde speak for Belgium!

It is not necessary that Germany or Austria should attend. They would be invited, of course, and the Conference should be convened at a city which they could reach. But the Berlin Act did not depend on Germany, and Central Africa will exist without her; but Dr. Solf's scheme for the development of Tropical Africa on international lines is so detailed that I cannot think he will be happy outside such a Conference. He will have the pleasure of arguing with Trotsky on equal terms.

General Smuts has suggested that the time may be ripe for an African Monroe Doctrine, and the Conference would be the very

place for him to promulgate his doctrine. In 1883 Bismarck lodged a protest against the idea of an African Monroe Doctrine, which, he thought, might have the effect of excluding other Europeans from participating in the African pie.

Now no one that I know has ever dreamed of excluding Europeans from Africa any more than the original doctrine kept Europeans out of America; it recognised the existing dependencies of European Powers, but said that the interposition of Europe in America for the purpose of oppressing or controlling the young Republics of the New World would be to manifest an unfriendly spirit towards the United States, and President Cleveland reformulated the doctrine on the ground that he feared the introduction of European militarism into America. Now Africa is vitally concerned to exclude European militarism from Africa, and I believe that no more favourable moment for the clear examination of such a doctrine will exist than at a Conference of signatories of the Berlin and Brussels Acts, to be summoned forthwith. If we wait till the war ends, one side may suffer a knock-out blow, and concentrate all her thoughts on revenge instead of harmony.

Germany has on several occasions offered to abandon her military policy in Central Africa; so there is a clear basis of agreement. The Conference should amend the present Acts by forming an executive charged with carrying the International Laws into effect, and the Belgian Bureau is the germ of this Executive, which can be developed on the lines of the old Danube Commission.

The natives are in practice represented by missionaries just as Irish villagers regard the Priest as representative. There should be a Board of Trustees (as we already have in Natal), including such people as the Pope, the Chief of Cairo University, the President of Liberia, the South African Minister of Native Affairs, and some suitable American acting under a well drafted Trust Deed.

I think it is important that the Pope should be induced to exercise the remnants of his old international authority solely in the interests of the natives, and in return for this he should cease to recognise the doctrine of conquest, which incidentally has resulted in his losing all his territory.

This appears to me the best possible way of protecting native interests. By such means the natives of South Africa have advanced, so that the whites in Cape Colony have granted them a limited franchise, and one day the Trustees will doubtless advise some such experiment in Central Africa.

In its reply to the Inter-Allied Socialists' War Aims, "Vorwärts" tells us that the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* on the Western front is the only peace solution it can support, and pleads that the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine to France

would be a victory, not for Entente Socialism, but for Western Imperialism. Let England demonstrate her rejection of Imperialistic designs by accepting the International solution in Africa as a contrast to Germany's action in Russia.

The neutrals would attend and exercise a moderating influence, and Labour would not remain outside, nor allow the procedure of Brest Litovsk.

But best of all would be that the League of Nations would no longer be merely a theory, it would exist.

This is the proposal for which I venture to ask support.

The Temple,

May, 1918.

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THE TEACHER IN POLITICS

BY

SIDNEY WEBB

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THE TEACHER IN POLITICS.*

By SIDNEY WEBB.

"Prodeegius," we may imagine Dominie Sampson exclaiming if anyone could convey to him the news that one professional teacher was the official head of a nation of a hundred million people; and that another was the King's Minister responsible for the whole educational system of England and Wales. "Prodeegius" would Dominie Sampson have thought not only the extension of education, but also the rise in status and salary, in influence and public esteem, of the teaching profession during the past hundred years. Yet we all feel that there is much justification for the conclusion that it is because we have not sufficiently heeded the teacher, not given sufficient scope to education, not got the best out of the brains with which the nation is endowed, that we have so far made only an equivocal success of our national struggle. When we come to face the difficulties of peace the need will be still more apparent. It is plain that systematic education must play even a larger part in the world during the generation to come than it has during that which is past. And as systematic education is now more and more predominantly a Government function, and the bulk of the teaching profession is enrolled in one or other form of public service, we have necessarily to treat all educational projects as being, in the strict sense of the word, politics, and as politics of the highest national importance.

The Teachers' Entry into Politics.

Now, it is into politics in this sense that the teacher claims to come. The claim cannot be resisted. I venture to predict that during the ensuing decade (during which the public expenditure on education will almost certainly be doubled) the teacher in politics will play an increasing, and presently, so far as concerns the conditions under which education is carried on, it may be even a dominating part. The 300,000 men and women in the United Kingdom who, for the Census of 1911, described themselves as engaged in teaching, nowadays feel themselves to constitute, not only a substantial fraction, with their families, something like two

* An Address prepared for a meeting of teachers.

per cent. of the whole community, but also a distinct profession, conscious of itself as such; with its own peculiar service to render to the State, and its own exceptional needs, about which its members realise that they possess special knowledge. It has, consequently, a claim to exercise a professional judgment, to formulate distinctive opinions upon its own and upon cognate services, and to enjoy its own appropriate share in the corporate government of its own working life.

The Organised World of Teachers.

This is a new social phenomenon. Organisation in the teaching profession was slow to begin and slow to extend. Half a century ago it can hardly be said to have existed. A quarter of a century ago it was still only sectional and fragmentary, struggling for bare recognition. Even now public opinion is unaware of the extent to which the profession as a whole is organised and corporately self-conscious. Confining ourselves only to England and Wales, where there are possibly a quarter of a million teachers of all sorts and grades (and omitting the one-fourth of them who are merely private tutors or governesses, or the music, dance and drawing teachers paid by individual clients, and at work in their own or other people's homes) we discover that of the real "World of Teachers" in educational institutions at least 70 per cent. are already members of one or other professional association. On the one hand there stands out the powerful and now almost ubiquitous National Union of Teachers, with a membership approaching 100,000, claiming to comprise (besides other grades) about 90 per cent. of the elementary school teachers eligible for admission to its ranks. On the other hand, in a more complex organisation, but possibly including in its enrolment an equally large proportion of the aggregate of teachers in secondary schools, we have the Federal Council of Secondary School Associations, uniting the separate Headmasters' Conference, the Incorporated Association of Headmasters, the Headmistresses' Association, the Association of Assistant Mistresses, and—largest of all—the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters, the whole representing a membership of some eight or nine thousand. There is, in addition, a bewildering array of small associations of specialist teachers and separate interests. But more important than all these in its promise for the future of the profession as a profession is perhaps the statutory body known by the inadequate title of the Teachers' Registration Council, in which the whole world of teachers, including all the separate associations referred to, has been given an officially recognised representative organisation, empowered, not merely to construct a Register of Teachers, but also to voice the opinions and exercise the influence of the profession as a whole. If the teachers are behind the lawyers in their achievement of professional self-government, they are, in their possession of a statutory representative Council, in a position to put themselves presently on a level with the doctors and the pharmacists; and, at any rate, in constitu-

tional form, they may claim to be in advance of such other professions as the architects, the various kinds of engineers, and the chemists.*

Why do I recite these facts? It is because what we have to realise is that it may to-day be said that the Teaching Profession in England and Wales has at last become an organic whole, conscious of itself as a profession; that it is now organised, throughout practically all grades and kinds, as constituting a single profession; and that the time has come when it is both willing and able to assume a greatly increased measure of corporate responsibility for the conditions under which its services are rendered to the community. What is claimed by the Teaching Profession, in agreement with other professions in all countries, is that on the one hand, in mitigation of bureaucracy, and on the other in bringing before public opinion the distinctive needs of the profession, professional intervention and professional responsibility are, in themselves, distinctly serviceable and advantageous to the community as a whole; and are, indeed, as we now see, necessary elements in Democratic administration, indispensable to the attainment or maintenance of the highest efficiency of the service which the profession has to render. This, and nothing less than this, is the meaning of the increasing participation of the organised teachers in public affairs. This, and nothing less than this, must be the sphere of the Teacher in Politics.

The Sphere of Professional Organisation.

Now I do not propose to embark on the whole philosophy of Vocational Participation in Public Administration, on which there is much that is interesting to be learnt and taught; nor yet to bore you with erudition as to the origin and the historical development of the claim of those engaged in each occupation to have a voice in the conditions under which it is carried on. More practical it seems to map out the proper sphere of action of a professional association; to make a hasty survey of the ground on which the influence of the Teacher in Politics is likely to be most useful; and to suggest some of the methods by which it may be most beneficially exercised.

The Protection of the Standard of Life.

The sphere of action of a Professional Association falls into two departments.† There is, first of all, the protection of the

* Detailed particulars of the origin, development, and present condition of the associations among teachers of all kinds and grades, with a statement of the problems before them, will be found in the monograph by Mrs. Sidney Webb, "English Teachers and Their Professional Associations," published as Supplements to *The New Statesman* of September 25th and October 2nd, 1915. (Fabian Bookshop, 25 Tothill Street, S.W. 1, price 2s. 2d. post free.)

† A detailed study of the Professional Associations of England and Wales, with a critical examination of their aspirations and achievements, will be found in the two Supplements of *The New Statesman* of April 21st and 28th, 1917. (Fabian Bookshop, 25 Tothill Street, S.W. 1, price 2s. 2d. post free.)

position of the individual member of the profession. We may frankly admit that, among the teachers, exactly as in all other professions, and all varieties of Vocational Organisation, an improvement in the status—usually taking the form of an increase in the remuneration—of the individual members assumes a foremost place. Teachers are human beings even as others are; and there is nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to apologise for, in the claim of their Professional Associations for a more adequate (and periodically rising) salary scale. One result of the general apotheosis of wealth and of the almost universal acceptance of pecuniary profit as the test of worldly success, which dominated the nineteenth century, has been the tendency, in all public bodies, acting in the spirit of the capitalist employer, to cut down salaries and wages to the lowest possible figure. The public is callous; it is glad to have its State and Municipal services done as cheaply as possible; it is not aware of the tyranny or the oppression of which it may be guilty; and the influence of "The Treasury" of the nineteenth century has gone far to make a cheeseparing parsimony the ideal of public administration. The result is a "downward thrust" of the community as a whole, against which the lowly and less well-organised classes of employees struggle in vain; often succumbing to remuneration so low and to conditions of employment so onerous and unfair, as not only to injure their own health and shorten their own lives, but also to make quite impossible any high standard of efficiency in service. Along with this is apt to go an autocratic tyranny, fortunately only sporadic and, we may hope, exceptional, against which the individual is practically defenceless. I need not remind you how severely the teaching profession has suffered in the past from such enormities. The time is not so far gone when the country clergyman treated the elementary school teacher as his menial servant; or when the humble "usher" in the contemporary secondary school was the most downtrodden of wage-slaves. Things are, even now, not by any means what they should be, in the more remote country schools, or among the lowlier grades of assistants. It is emphatically still necessary for the professional associations of teachers of all grades to formulate their own standard salary scales and their own standard conditions of engagement, dismissal, advancement, hours of service, freedom from extraneous tasks, holidays, etc.; to endeavour to get all teachers to adhere to them; to press for the universal adoption of these standard conditions by all employing authorities; and to use all their Parliamentary and local political influence to make them compulsory, as minima, from one end of the kingdom to the other. There is nothing "against Political Economy" in all this. There is nothing against the public interest. There is nothing derogatory to the dignity of a learned profession. We may agree that it is not legitimate for the Teaching Profession, any more than any other section of the community, to extort from the public the utmost reward for its services that its economic strength may enable it to obtain. That is now rightly stigmatised as profiteering; and it is encouraging to find such conduct de-

nounced, to the bewilderment of the average shipowner or trader, as a disgraceful act of treason to the State. But it is, as we now see, not only legitimate, but actually a matter of public duty, for each profession very forcibly to point out to the community how gravely the public interests are suffering from every case in which a member of the profession is prevented from rendering his full service to the community by underpayment or oppression; to insist, in season and out of season, on the greater advantage that would be gained by the community as a whole, if the circumstances under which the services of the profession were rendered were such as to promote of their greater professional efficiency; and to propose, at every suitable opportunity, whatever widening of opportunity, whatever increase of influence, whatever rise in status is believed to be likely to promote the greater efficacy of the profession as an organ of the community. It is therefore not only permissible, it is actually the bounden duty of every profession to see to these things. There is no more honourable, as there is no more useful work for any teachers' representative in Parliament or on Local Governing Bodies, than in persistently upholding the prescribed professional Standard of Life, whether as regards salary, pension, conditions of service, security of tenure, or the resistance to oppression or tyranny. No case ought to be too obscure, no injustice too trivial, no victim too lowly for this persistent defence in the interests of the profession as a whole.

The Development of the Profession.

The other legitimate field for the operation of the Professional Association is in the development of the service of the profession. It is, for instance, distinctly the duty of the teachers, through their professional organisation, to do what they can to promote national education. I need not remind you that each profession is an organ of the community, existing for the purpose of rendering to the community its own peculiar and specialised service. As a profession, it can have no object but to serve, no purpose but to increase its public usefulness. The community does not exist, and is not organised into a State, for the sake of the lawyers, the doctors, or the teachers: all these, and other vocations, exist for the benefit of the community, and therefore to serve the State. Social well-being depends on a duly proportionate allocation of the means and energies at the disposal of the community among all its varied needs and functions; and therefore upon the due apportionment among the several professions of opportunity for this exercise of their respective services, and upon the efficiency with which, taken as a whole, these services are rendered. Now, it is an old observation that the shoemaker thinks there is nothing like leather. The community is not prepared to take teachers, any more than lawyers or doctors, at their own valuation. We can all see how biassed the other professions are in their estimate of the importance of their services to the community. Depend upon it, we are

likely to be just as much biassed about the value of our own! This is why no community can properly grant, or is ever likely to grant, to any profession or vocation, either the right to determine how much of the means and energies of the community can be allowed to be put at the disposal of that particular calling; or what shall be its rights and privileges in comparison with those of other callings; or, in short, anything like complete powers of self-government. But it is now coming to be generally recognised that, whilst no profession can be allowed to decide these things for itself, because it is, by its very nature, incapable of forming a correct opinion of the needs of the community as a whole, yet no proper decision is likely to be arrived at, nor is the fullest advantage for the community likely to be ensured, unless the profession or vocation has a very full and free voice in the matter. We are slowly learning what an elaborate and complicated piece of social organisation is Democracy. A hundred years ago the best possible governmental machinery seemed (as to Bentham and James Mill) to be exclusively lay in its nature; to be, indeed, nothing more than an array of directly elected councils of popular representatives, controlling the policy put into execution by an exiguous and practically unspecialised bureaucracy. The ardent Socialists of a generation ago, with all their magnificent ideas as to the functions of a Collectivist State, had scarcely a more adequate vision than Bentham and James Mill of the government they desired; and often, indeed (as with William Morris, and I suspect also, in his hours of ease, Karl Marx) saved themselves the trouble of precise thought about so dull a subject as administrative machinery by toppling over into a Utopian Communism. We see now that even the most logically formed hierarchy of directly elected Councils, and the most perfecty equipped bureaucracy of salaried Civil Servants, will not, in themselves, give us either the general Consciousness of Consent or the universal Sense of Personal Freedom that we look for in Democracy; and, therefore, as we infer, they will not, in themselves, ensure us, in the long run, that aggregate maximum of personal development which alone can be accepted as the utmost civic efficiency. Accordingly, we nowadays look, for the most perfect democracy, to a higher degree of complication than either James Mill or Karl Marx ever contemplated—to a perpetual interaction, in council and in administration, between the representatives of the community of citizens or consumers, on the one hand, and on the other, the representatives of each vocation or profession, organised as producers of commodities or services.* The nation, organised as a united community, will necessarily insist on taking the final decision. But the community, great or small, is not itself endowed with any corporate consciousness, and its organs or instruments, whether popular legislatures or executive bureaucracies, are neither omniscient nor inaccessible to bias. They can decide only on what comes before them. Experience accordingly shows it to be necessary for each

* *Industrial Democracy*, by S. and B. Webb, pp. 818-823.

vocation or profession, like every other separate "interest," to stand up for itself; to bring vigorously to public notice the importance of its own particular function; to explain to a necessariiy uninstructed public opinion or to an official secretariat, what are the conditions of the fullest efficiency for its professional work; to emphasise the claim of the profession to be allowed to render to the community all the service of which it is capable; and, in particular, to demonstrate, as promptly and efficaciously as possible, the new developments and novel applications of its science and art, which the profession will be constantly discovering.

Service of the Entire Community.

On this point I have an observation to make which is applicable to all professions. It is, as I understand, the community as a whole that a profession has to serve, not merely those members of the community who happen to be its most profitable clients. As the brainworking professions successively arose, it was perhaps inevitable that their members, originally remunerated always by fees, should think of themselves primarily as serving those who paid them, and the classes to which these clients belonged. We do not find the lawyers—with honourable exceptions—troubling themselves much about how to make the law more serviceable to the poor who could afford no fees. The architects have sought, I am afraid, rather to improve the architecture of the relatively small proportion of buildings ordered by wealthy patrons, than to insist that the skill of the architect should be brought to bear on the common run of workmen's cottages, or on the mean streets hitherto put up by the speculative builder. Even the doctors, in their professional associations, have not been the most clamorous advocates of the sanitary legislation that would secure the health of the poor, or the most persistent agitators for such an organisation of the medical service as would guarantee to every family in the land, and not merely to those who can pay fees, the best available preventive and clinical attendance, and the most effective institutional treatment. We see now that it is the duty of each profession to take the needs of the whole community for its sphere, the whole kingdom for its province. It must claim as its function the provision of its distinctive service wherever this is required, irrespective of the affluence or status of the persons in need. It must emphatically not regard itself as hired for the service only of those who can pay fees; and it must therefore insist on being accorded, by public authority and where necessary at the public expense, the opportunity and the organisation that will enable this full professional service being rendered wherever it is required. In view of the devoted and valuable services rendered to the poor without fee or reward by so many professionals of all kinds and grades, it would be manifestly unfair to describe the brainworking professions as the servants of the wealthy. But what I have seen of the activities during the past half-century of the professional associations of the lawyers, doctors, and architects in particular—to name no others—leads me to the suggestion that, in their

corporate capacity, these typical professional associations have not been sufficiently alive to what is distincly their obligation to the community as a whole—namely, to insist on their right and duty to be enabled to render their professional services to all who need them, irrespective of wealth or poverty ; and to be accorded the means and the organisation permitting this to be done.

The Danger of Class Fission.

The Teaching Profession is far less subject to this reproach than the lawyers, the doctors or the architects. The Professional Associations of Teachers have been, almost from the first, honourably distinguished by the claims they have made for the extension of education to the very poorest. They have always been foremost in pressing for its improvement, and for its provision irrespective of wealth or status. Teachers have always wished to be permitted to take the whole community as their pupils, and to enrol in their schools all sections and even all ages. This is as it should be with every profession. What the Teaching Profession needs, perhaps, to be on its guard against, is a tendency to class fission, leading, unconsciously, to the assumption that some kinds and grades of education may legitimately be restricted to those families which can afford to pay for them at rates yielding to the favoured professionals who serve this class higher scales of remuneration, and more agreeable conditions of service than are accessible to what tend to be invidiously regarded as humbler grades of the profession. Let us strive to insist that genuinely effective access to the whole field of education shall be the common heritage of every member of the community.

The Demand of the Labour Party.

This is the note struck by the Labour Party, which has, during the past few years, passed more resolutions, more insistently demanding specific educational reforms, than all the other political parties put together. It is, unfortunately, not the educated classes of this country, taking them as a whole, who are the advocates of educational progress. Resolutions demanding new Education Bills have not been favourites at either Conservative or Liberal Conferences. It is the newly reconstituted party of the workers "by hand or by brain"—not the Conservative or the Liberal Party—that nowadays supplies the Minister of Education with the driving force of educational reforms. What the conference of a thousand delegates from the branches of the Labour Party all over the country declared in June, 1918, was as follows :—

> "That the Conference holds that the most important of all the measures of social reconstruction must be a genuine nationalisation of education, which shall get rid of all class distinctions and privileges, and bring effectively within the reach, not only of every boy or girl, but also of every adult citizen, all the training, physical, mental and moral, literary, technical, and artistic of which he is capable, and with due regard to its physical welfare and development, but without any form of military training.

"That the Conference, while appreciating the advances indicated by the proposals of the present Minister of Education, declares that the Labour Party cannot be satisfied with a system which condemns the great bulk of the children to merely elementary schooling, with accommodation and equipment inferior to that of the secondary schools, in classes too large for efficient instruction, under teachers of whom at least one-third are insufficiently trained; which denies to the great majority of the teachers in the kingdom, whether in elementary or in secondary schools (and notably to most of the women), alike any opportunity for all-round culture as well as for training in their art, an adequate wage, reasonable prospects of advancement, and suitable superannuation allowances; and which, notwithstanding what is yet done by way of scholarships for exceptional geniuses, still reserves the endowed secondary schools, and even more the universities, for the most part, to the sons and daughters of a small privileged class, whilst contemplating nothing better than eight weeks a year continuation schooling up to 18 for 90 per cent. of the youth of the nation.

"The Conference accordingly asks for a systematic reorganisation of the whole educational system, from the nursery school to the university, on the basis of (*a*) social equality, (*b*) the provision for each age, for child, youth, and adult, of the best and most varied education of which it is capable, (*c*) the educational institutions, irrespective of social class or wealth, to be planned, equipped, and staffed according to their several functions, up to the same high level for elementary, secondary, or university teaching, with regard solely to the greatest possible educational efficiency, and free maintenance of such a kind as to enable the children to derive the full benefit of the education given, and (*d*) the recognition of the teaching profession, without distinction of grade, as one of the most valuable to the community."*

The Teacher in Politics may, according to his knowledge or his temperament, belong to any political party. But when he presses for further advances in Education, or improved conditions of service for the profession, there can be little doubt on which side of the House of Commons he will find the greatest support.

The Duty of the Teaching Profession.

The resolution of the Labour Party is necessarily couched in general terms. It demands for the students of all ages and classes, and for the teaching profession, the very best that the nation can give. But what is the very best, and how can it, in actual fact, be given? This, as it seems to me, is where the Teacher in Politics should come in. One of the most important duties of the Professional Organisation of Teachers is to instruct those who move for educational reform—whether belonging to the Labour Party or to any other—what exactly it is that they should demand and press for. It is, as I have suggested, not for the Professional Association to decide the policy of the nation, and therefore the Professional Association must not presume to dictate the programme of reform, even with regard to its own service. But it is the standing duty of the Professional Association, as it seems to me, to tender advice—to counsel the legislature and the nation as to what the decision should be, and therefore to counsel those who seek reform as to what should be their programme. I can imagine each Professional Association vigilant about projects and proposals with regard to its own service, from whomsoever emanating; prompt to study

* Labour Party Conference, June 26, 1918.

every problem as it presents itself, so as to be prepared to formulate the conclusions, for the time being, of the profession as a whole; ready, therefore, with its advice and practical assistance to every reformer or political party prepared to take up the subject; and influential in its authoritative public criticism of every programme of reform that is not in accordance with its own conclusions. Can we say that the Organisation of the Teaching Profession yet discharges these duties? Where is the authoritative criticism of the Profession upon the various projects of Educational Reform? Why is it left to the Workers' Educational Association—essentially an organisation of manual working wage-earners—to formulate almost the only programme of reform of the nation's educational system which is at once comprehensive and detailed? Why is the eager Labour Party—to say nothing of the more stolid Liberal and Conservative Parties—left unsupplied with a statement of what the Teaching Profession believes to be required for the improvement of national education? How can we wonder at the blindness and the ignorance of the politicians, or be surprised at the blunders of our Town Councillors, with regard to the needs of all the professions, if the professions themselves do not take the trouble to supply the desired programme?

Unsettled Questions in Education.

Such a conception of the Teacher in Politics points to the need for more systematic and more continuous corporate study of the requirements of the educational service than the Professional Associations of Teachers have commonly yet undertaken. And the task cannot with impunity be neglected. Bills will be introduced, administrative changes will be made, worse still, defects will remain unremedied, and urgently required alterations will not be effected—none the less because the organised Teaching Profession is silent, or speaks only with discordant voices. Generation after generation of little ones passes beyond our reach, imperfectly taught, inadequately equipped, too often actually maimed and scarred by the experience of what should have been to them a positive enlargement of faculty and development of emotional impulses, because our educational system is not what it should be. With the Teaching Profession, which has the knowledge of what is lacking, must rest the blame, until the Professional Associations have cleared themselves by at least informing the nation of the reforms that are required. And the survey needs to be a comprehensive one. I should like to see the Teaching Profession determine, by a series of investigating committees and professional conferences, what is the deliberate judgment of the Profession upon all the unsettled questions of educational organisation. What, for instance, is required in the way of Nursery Schools for the millions of children "below School Age"? What is needed to make the Infant Departments more efficient? What can be done to redeem the Elementary School from its present almost invariable ugliness; to make it a place of really educational sense-impressions in form and colour,

cleanliness and beauty; to make it positively attractive to the pupils? Are we satisfied with the condition of the school-room atmosphere—not to say also the condition of the pupils' minds—at the end of the day's work, and if not, what ought to be insisted upon in order to make children's sojourn in the school-room—they spend there quite a large proportion of their waking lives—actually healthful to them; and not, as is at present too often the case, an adverse influence on their physical well-being, to be counteracted by open-air games and exercises? What is the real function of the Open-Air School? What changes are required in the school hours, the lesson intervals, and the term holidays to make the work most efficient; what in the curriculum; what in the school equipment and materials? What more is needed in the way of books, maps, pictures, specimens? Which is the best arrangement of subjects and classes, and how can the teaching of each best be organised? Is the distribution of functions (to say nothing of salaries!) between the Headmaster and the class or form or subject teachers exactly what it should be; and what is to be said for a periodical rotation of duties among the entire teaching staff, coupled perhaps with equality of salary scales? How should the school life, from entry into the Nursery School right up to departure from the University or the Technical College, be divided among a hierarchy of different institutions; at what ages should the transfer from one to another commonly take place, and what alternative roads for the student should be provided? What is to be done for the 5 or 10 per cent. of the non-adult population which is, in one or other way, sub-normal? What, on the other hand, should be our course with regard to the like percentage which is distinctly super-normal? Do we at present get as much as we should for the nation out of our Secondary Schools? And if not, what ought to be done to secure them a much larger recruitment, a longer average period of attendance, and more effective articulation with the Elementary School below and the Technical College or the University above?

Do We Teach the Right Subjects in the Right Way?

Are we quite sure that the curriculum of our Secondary Schools and Universities comprises all that with which the nation's brain-workers need to be provided; and whether the slowly changing distribution of time—say, among the Latin and Greek classics, mathematics, the physical and biological sciences, geography and anthropology, and the languages, literatures and histories of the nations of the modern world respectively—is to-day, by some happy chance, precisely that required in the preparation for life of the citizen of the third decade of the twentieth century anno domini? What is required for the best professional or technical training of the doctor, the dentist, the pharmacist, the midwife, the nurse, the lawyer, the teacher, the historian, the scientific researcher, the social worker, the statesman and Civil Servant, the architect, the surveyor, the engineer, the journalist, the accountant, and the manager; and how far do our existing institutions supply it?

These are but examples of the issues which present themselves to the educational administrators, local or national. Are we, as a profession, sufficiently alive to the new discoveries and fresh developments that are being made outside our own country, and sufficiently prompt in considering the lessons to be derived from them? Would it be too revolutionary an idea for the Professional Associations, not merely to appoint committees, but also to establish Travelling Scholarships, which would enable selected members of the profession to take a year off in order to survey what is being done in particular questions in other parts of the world, and present to the Profession a detailed, critical report of what they have seen? I do not think that either the Teachers' Registration Council or the Federation of Secondary Schools Associations or the National Union of Teachers is at present doing as much as might be expected to assist the Local Education Authorities, the Minister of Education, and the House of Commons to come to the best decision and to take the appropriate action in the matters with which they have necessarily to deal.

The Professional Association as Scientific Society.

I have suggested that the Professional Association ought to be, on one side, something in the nature of a Trade Union, protecting the Standard of Life of its members, and on the other side, something in the nature of a Political Association, promoting changes in the public organisation of the State—strictly confining itself, in both these aspects, to the service which it is the function of the Profession to render to the Community. Ought the Professional Association to be also that in which it in many cases began, namely, a Scientific Society or "Subject Association," aiming at the continuous improvement and extension of the science and art with which the Profession has to deal? We have, on the one hand, such examples as the Institution of Civil Engineers, which combines in one and the same organisation the protection of the interests of its members, the promotion of such changes in public organisation as are conducive to the development of the Profession, and the advancement of the science and art of engineering. On the other hand, we see in the medical profession the Royal Society of Medicine pursuing its special science and art, apart from the British Medical Association, which looks after its members' interests, and promotes or resists Governmental changes.

On the whole, I do not suggest that the Professional Associations of Teachers should, in their corporate capacity, aim at the promotion of Pedagogy, or investigate the possibility of improved methods of teaching languages or arithmetic. I think that experience shows that science is best pursued entirely for its own sake, in a spirit of detachment from the interests of persons or professions. A Professional Association cannot escape a bias in favour of its own profession, in favour of the technique to which its members have become accustomed, in favour of the result which the

Profession has been trained to achieve. This bias is no drawback to its Trade Union aspect—the Community, which develops astonishing powers of resistance, needs to have such sectional claims forcibly pressed upon it! It is no drawback to what I have called its political aspect—so great is the inertia that nothing is accomplished without a certain amount of exaggeration in the zeal of its promoters! But such a bias is a distinct drawback to a Scientific Society, which ought to be quite free to pursue lines of investigation that look like leading to entirely revolutionary discoveries, which would be destructive of existing technique, and subversive of customary objects or results. Moreover, it is not only one Profession that is interested in a science or an art, and not even a group of Professions alone. Other professionals, and even lay amateurs, need to be admitted to a Scientific Society, of which they often constitute the most useful members. Thus, the advancement of pedagogy, or of the art of teaching, is, or ought to be, of interest not only to school teachers, but also to psychologists, prison administrators and prison reformers, nurses, medical men, and the directors of large establishments of all kinds; and some of these could throw very useful light upon teaching problems. My conclusion is that the Teachers' Associations are well advised to leave the work of the Scientific Society to such "subject associations"—mainly composed of teachers, but open to all who are interested—as the English Association, the Classical Association, the Mathematical Association, the Modern Languages Association, the Geographical Association, and the Historical Association, with which there should be associated an independent Pedagogical Society.

How Can the Teachers Influence Politics?

In what way, it will be asked, is the influence of the Teacher in Politics to be exercised? There is, in the first place, the direct participation, in council and in administration, of the Teachers' Representative, whether as an elected member of ihe County or Borough Council, or of the House of Commons, or as a co-opted member of the Education or of the Library and Museums Committee. During the eighteen years that I sat on the London County Council there was always on the Council, as an elected member, an officer of the London Teachers' Association; and I am sure that all the Councillors came to appreciate the high value, to the Council itself as much as to the teaching profession, of Mr. Gautrey's services. When the Council took up Technical Education and appointed its Technical Education Board, it invited the Headmasters' Association, the Headmistresses' Association, and the National Union of Teachers to nominate, as full voting members, their own representatives to this Board, to which large executive powers were entrusted; and the influence of these members proved of the utmost value. There will, no doubt, be an increasing number of such teachers' representatives on all educational bodies, whether elected or co-opted. But it is not by this method that I expect to see the influence of the Professional Associations of Teachers most effectively exercised.

Statutory Advisory Committees.

What I propose, for the improvement of education, and the increasing participation in its government of the teachers themselves, is a very great development of Professional Advisory Committees, to be attached to all Education Authorities, national and local. The Teachers' Registration Council should evolve into a Standing Advisory Committee to the Ministry of Education. Every Local Education Authority should be statutorily required to appoint a Local Advisory Committee, genuinely representative of all grades and kinds of teachers in the locality, to be nominated, as far as possible, by the local branches of the Professional Associations. These Advisory Committees—which ought to exist for other professions also, especially the medical—should be given no executive powers. Their function would be to advise and warn, to initiate and criticise, but not to decide. But they should have a statutory right to be consulted on all important changes which affected the profession or its service. They should be authorised to appoint Sub-Committees and to conduct investigations (a small sum being allowed them for expenses); and to report in whatever terms they chose, either confidentially or publicly. And they should not be prevented or restrained or hampered by any censorship, in reporting publicly to the ratepayers or to Parliament, whenever this was deemed necessary, however severely they felt called upon to criticise the Ministry of Education or the Local Education Authority, upon anything done or undone within the educational sphere. I believe that such a series of Professional Advisory Committees, constantly conveying to the official Authorities the responsible judgment of the Profession, would be of the greatest value. It would give a priceless education to the Councillors. It would greatly mitigate the undue authority which the Director of Education or other professional bureaucrat is apt to exercise over a lay commitee. It would inform the Town Council and the House of Commons of the opinion of the main body of the profession, in contrast with the views of particularly prominent individuals. And if the officials—perhaps even the Minister himself—found this expert criticism inconvenient, whether in connection with administration or with legislative proposals, the remedy would be a more explicit argumentative justification of the official proposals, a public battle of wits between the bureaucracy and the professsion, upon which public opinion and the Legislature would decide.

Here, then, is room enough and to spare for the Teacher in Politics, without once approaching the party struggles between "Blue" and "Yellow" which some people, fondly deeming themselves educated, still imagine to be the whole matter.

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NATIONAL FINANCE

AND

A LEVY ON CAPITAL

What the Labour Party Intends

BY

SIDNEY WEBB

A LECTURE—WITH CERTAIN MINOR AMENDMENTS BRINGING IT UP TO DATE—DELIVERED IN THE FABIAN SOCIETY'S COURSE AT KING'S HALL IN MAY 1918; IN A COURSE BY THE LIVERPOOL FABIAN SOCIETY IN NOVEMBER 1918; AND ELSEWHERE.

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NATIONAL FINANCE AND A LEVY ON CAPITAL.

WHATEVER may be our predilections and prejudices, the pivotal question of politics, not only in April when the Chancellor of the Exchequer produces the Budget, but throughout the coming years, must inevitably be that of National Finance. There are those to whom the most important issue in politics seems always to be that of our contemporary foreign relations. To others the supreme issue appears to be this or that projected constitutional change. Others, again, are most keen about Social Reform, general or particular. For the next few years, at any rate, these three sets of people will all find themselves limited, and controlled by, and whether they like it or not, to a large extent grouped and classified according to their assumptions and proposals in the sphere of National Finance. It is over the Budget, I venture to predict, that Parliaments for some time to come will find the fundamental party cleavage. The nation finds itself charged with a National Debt which may, as Lord Leverhulme has rightly warned us, notwithstanding the termination of the war, possibly amount in gross figures (including all that the Government will find necessary in Reconstruction) to something like ten thousand million pounds; and committed to a governmental expenditure, including the necessary services of the Local Authorities, of something like a thousand million pounds a year—sums never heretofore even contemplated by the wildest of theorisers. The problem of how to deal with finance of this magnitude—involving, as it must, in the society of to-day, the sharpest issues between class and class—between those who, whether by hand or by brain, live by producing and those who live by merely owning—will presently dominate our politics.

The Labour Party is accordingly not wantonly or wickedly stirring up "class bitterness," or raising the "red spectre," when it discusses the present distribution of wealth, or propounds plans of taxation. It is merely facing an issue which cannot be avoided. But it is facing it publicly and democratically. It is asking the electors to consider the question for themselves, and themselves give a decision, so as not to leave it, year after year, when the Budget Day comes round, to a practically autocratic Cabinet and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

What is it, then, that the Labour Party desires and intends in this realm of National Finance?

No Currency Crazes.

Let it first be noted, for the comfort of those who are apprehensive of all sorts of unsound finance, that the Labour Party is exceptionally free from delusions in money matters. "Religion, love and currency," said Sydney Smith a hundred years ago, "fill all our lunatic asylums." They do not appear in the programme of the Labour Party. There is, at present, scarcely a trace in the British Labour Movement of "wild cat" ideas for solving all our financial difficulties by printing more and more paper money; or by some magic provision of universal bank credit; or by "Labour Notes" on the one hand or "Free Silver" on the other; or by any other Utopian manipulation of the currency. It does not enter into the heads of the adherents of the Labour Party that a simple way out of all our difficulties can be found by a "wiping of the slate." No one in the Labour Party suggests the Repudiation of the National Debt, or its redemption by an unlimited issue of international promissory notes guaranteed by all the Governments of the belligerents. I get projects of this kind sent me from time to time, as doubtless other persons do; but they come, not from members of the Labour Party or from manual working wage-earners, but usually from honest army officers, some simple-minded employers and business men of all sorts —some of them men of wealth—from perplexed country squires, and from lonely members of the Indian Civil Service. To whatever cause it may be attributed, it is a remarkable, and, as I think, a comforting fact, that on all this range of questions the British Labour Movement is, as Lombard Street would say, "as sound as a bell." We shall probably have in this country, as in the United States, a recrudescence of the currency crazes of past generations; but I see no sign that the British Labour movement will be infected by them.*

We must increase Production.

The British Labour Movement, which is, unlike the other political parties, made up almost exclusively of producers, is, indeed, quite keenly alive to the fact that the essential problem is that of production—*production, that is to say, not of profits or fortunes, but of the commodities and services by which the community lives.* We can replace the material wealth destroyed in the war only by new production. And we must therefore raise our national production —production, that is, of useful commodities and services—to its highest possible amount consistent with a humane and civilised life. It is a profound mistake to suppose that the Labour Party is indifferent to production. None of the revelations of the war is more keenly appreciated in the Labour Party than the lamentable failure that we now see that we have heretofore made, as a nation, in this

* Those who seek a commonsense and practical exposition of currency and its problems may consult one of the latest books, *Money, its connection with rising and falling prices*, by Edwin Cannan, Professor of Political Economy in the University of London (P. S. King & Son, 2/6 net); or *Gold, Prices and Wages*, by J. A. Hobson (Methuen, 2/6).

matter. Whether in agriculture or in manufactures, in industry or in commerce, in science or in social organisation, it is plain that we have, as a community, not produced anything like as much—I do not say of profits and wages, but of useful commodities and services—as we could have done, without any lengthening of the working day, or increase of strain, if the nation had really set itself to do its utmost. But I may make two observations which are usually not in the minds of those who talk about this slackness in production.

Private Capitalism.

First, it is against our whole system, not against individuals, that the gravest indictment must be brought. It is our agricultural system, the system under which we have done our importing and exporting, the system prevailing in our factories and mines, our system of wholesale and retail distribution, the system of our transport, our banking, our remittances—in short, our whole national organisation from end to end, that we now see to be, from the standpoint of maximum production of commodities and services, horribly imperfect. But this organisation in all its phases is the outcome of the private ownership of capital, guided by the individual striving for personal riches, and allowed a free run, under the impression that "competition" and the "law of supply and demand" would make the best of all possible worlds! It is this that has become, in all classes, so generally discredited. There is coming to be a very general feeling, not by any means peculiar to the Labour Party, that, *speaking from the standpoint of maximum production*, this whole system has proved to be a failure.

The Prevalence of "Ca' Canny."

My second observation is that one of the evil incidents of the system, intensifying its inherent disadvantages, has been the almost universal prevalence of what is called "Ca' Canny." Looking back on the years before the war, it really seems as if hardly anybody who was not driven by the hardest of taskmasters was habitually pulling his full stroke, or putting his whole energy into his production—again, let me say, production of useful commodities and services, as distinguished from the very different question of the amount of profits or wages that he could extract. We have heard a lot about the "Ca' Canny" of the manual wage-earner. It seems to me that the habit of "Ca' Canny" was even more characteristic and even more habitual among the brain-workers, whether salaried or profiteering, than among the manual workers. The Civil Service was certainly not doing its utmost—was not even officially allowed or encouraged to do its utmost. I do not mean to say that the Civil Servants, "like the fountains in Trafalgar Square," played only from ten to four. I mean that, from top to bottom, they were never even asked to put their brains into the task of *how to increase the efficiency of administration*. Ministers and Members of Parliament, so far as their official duties were concerned, lounged through life, taking long holidays, working only three or four days a week at

their ostensible tasks, spending a vast amount of their energy, not on working at their administrative and legislative problems, but on political camouflage and all that side of political life that other people called social entertaining. They were, for the most part, not bent on making the State Departments as serviceable as possible to the public. And business men were just as guilty. Employers and managers, partners and directors were very seldom putting in a full week's work. Most of them, especially the more prosperous, were habitually taking long "week-ends." They spent, in the course of each year, endless time in golf, in shooting or in their motor cars. It seldom entered their heads to consider whether they were getting out of their intellect and their capacity for the captainship of industry —not profits, but *the maximum output of useful commodities and services.* And, turning to other spheres, I don't see how the lawyers justify, from this standpoint, their absurdly prolonged annual Vacation ; or for that matter, how the Universities can defend the laying idle of the educational plant that has cost many millions sterling for rather more than half the weeks in the year. And, to turn to another large class, consider the incredible aggregate of time spent, practically in social intercourse, by the entire class of tenant farmers in their largely unnecessary attendance on market day. The whole of British society, from top to bottom, was addicted to the habit, not of doing with all its might that which it had to do, but of doing only as much work, and putting only as much energy into its work, as it deliberately, for its own interest and pleasure, chose to do. And this habit of "Ca' Canny" was naturally far more restrictive of national production, and far more fatally effective in keeping down the aggregate output of commodities and services, when practised by the brain workers, than when it was the manual workers who were in fault. It is not so much a question of the nominal length of the working day, as of intellectual integrity and the intensity of effort that is put into the work. I say nothing of the large class of the idle rich, who thought themselves (and, extraordinary as it may seem, still think themselves) exempted from the obligation of wealth production. This was (and is) merely so much dead loss, and it must necessarily raise the question to what extent we can afford to permit the inheritance of wealth by private persons. But the slackness of the organiser, the manager, the director, the administrator, the professional thinker, and the legislator, was even worse than the idleness of the idle rich, because it had a paralysing effect on the whole social machine. These things must cease. The Labour Party is keen on such a national reorganisation and such a reform, personal as well as social, as shall bring definitely to an end what John Stuart Mill called "the great social evil of . . . a non-labouring class" ;* such as shall stimulate to greater efficiency—measured by output of commodities and services—the producers of all kinds ; and such as shall give to our industry and government the organisation securing to the producers of all grades the highest development of body and mind. The Labour Party, far from believing that all

* *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 455 of People's Edition.

may be made right by any mere redivision of that which exists, recognises—apparently, if we may judge from the timidity of their Reconstruction proposals, more vividly than either the Liberal or the Unionist members, or than that of the Coalition Party in which they have nearly all merged themselves—that it is essentially upon such an increase in the nation's aggregate output *of commodities and services* that the nation's financial policy must depend.

The Cost of the War.

After this preamble, let us come to the figures. We cannot yet estimate how much our country will have spent on the War because the bills for the aftermath are not yet presented, but it is already clear that the War will have cost the nation, first to last, at least seven thousand million pounds (£7,000,000,000), which is equal to nearly half the private fortunes, before the War, of all the people in this country who owned land or houses or stocks. But it is quite incorrect to say that we have lost half our investments. The investors, taken as a whole, have lost nothing—very much the contrary, indeed. Their lands and houses and stocks and shares still belong to them, and (although these investments made, by the change in the price level, none of them sell for as much gold as they did in 1914) they can still be exchanged for each other in approximately the same ratio as before; and, what is more important, they yield to their owners as much rent or interest or dividend in money as they did before. In many cases, indeed, they are yielding more income. And they have greatly increased in volume or amount—the best estimate puts it at £5,000,000,000. This is the estimated increase in private fortunes since 1914.* It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that the War will have lessened the sums annually drawn by the owners of land and capital (irrespective of any contemporary service rendered by them) from what is annually produced.

What will have happened on the contrary, will be that the other great mortgage on our labours, known as the National Debt, will have increased more than tenfold. Instead of paying for the War as we went along, to the utmost possible extent, by taking what was needed in taxes, the Governments preferred, to an extent that the economists have criticised as unnecessary, to borrow the money from those who had it to lend, at high rates of interest, which the nation has now year after year to provide, and subject to an obligation of repayment of the capital, which the nation has eventually to honour. Thus, so far as we have financed the War out of loans, we have put off the evil day; but we shall have to pay for

* See the careful estimate of Dr. J. C. Stamp, of the Inland Revenue (author of *British Incomes and Property*), in *Economic Journal*, June, 1918. It may be pointed out that although the selling value of each old security has, since 1914, fallen by about twenty-five per cent. on an average, owing to the rise in the rate of interest, and in some cases has been further depreciated, the aggregate value of the whole volume of securities now quoted on the Stock Exchange has (owing to the creation of so vast an amount of new securities by the British and other Governments, and the exceptional appreciation of others) increased by thousands of millions sterling.

the War twice over, first in interest, and then in repayment. After the War, and after all the necessary expenses of the long period of demobilisation have been paid, together with the measures of Reconstruction that are being found to be imperative, the gross amount of the National Debt will probably be £10,000,000,000; and even allowing for recoupments, and for repayments from our Dominions and our Allies, it is difficult to estimate the annual net charge for interest and the necessary sinking fund at less than £400,000,000. This huge sum will have to be paid by the Government in our name to the investing classes, and it certainly constitutes an addition to their incomes, which goes far to explain their aggregate increase in capital wealth. And it is not evenly divided. In spite of Supertax and Excess Profits Duty, the rich, taken as a whole, have become richer, even if the poor have not become poorer. Those watchful silent officials at Somerset House, through whose hands now pass the detailed income accounts of the 30,000 families enjoying incomes exceeding £2,500 a year, know that, whilst the individuals to some extent shift, the class, as a whole, becomes steadily both more numerous and, in the aggregate, more wealthy. The official records show, without doubt, that this small class of 150,000 persons (including children), maintained on the 30,000 super-taxed incomes—drawing in 1918 probably £300,000,000 sterling, or about one-tenth of all our national production—has been, on the whole, greatly enriched by the War.

It may be said that the termination of the War, and the possible repayment of part of our expenditure by our Allies and our Dominions, a possible (but, in my own opinion, not very probable) recovery from the German Government of something by way of reparation or indemnity, and at any rate the sale of our own surplus stores (said to be worth as much as £1,000,000,000) will prevent our National Debt and the annual debt charge from reaching anything like so great a sum as Lord Leverhulme talked about. On the other hand, we have to add the very considerable expenditure in the way of capital outlay that the Government will have to incur under the head of Reconstruction. We must not leave out of account the fact that if the Government succeeds in doing what it has repeatedly promised to do, namely, put right the shortage of houses, and therefore within the first three or four years of Peace manages to build a million healthy and commodious cottages in the United Kingdom; if we should think fit, as the basis of national reorganisation, and as the Government has already in principle decided, to expropriate all the shareholders and stockholders of our railway and canal companies;* if, as the Labour Party urges, we should do the same with our coal and iron mines;† if, in order to get the cheapest possible power, light, and heat, the Government sticks to its decision to nationalise the generation of electricity; if we bring equally

* See *A Public Service of Railway and Canal Transport* (Fabian Research Department, price 1s.), reprinted from *How to Pay for the War*.

† See *The Nationalisation of the Coal Supply* (Fabian Research Department, price 1s.), reprinted from *How to Pay for the War*.

into public management and control the banks and the life assurance companies,* in each case paying in compensation the full Stock Exchange value; even if we thought it necessary, for the sake of reforming our farming, to resume possession of all the nation's agricultural land, buying out the British rural landlords as the Irish are being bought out, *all this would make a nominal addition to the National Debt of less than £3,000,000,000 sterling*, or not nearly half the amount piled up by the War. Any such addition to the gross debt would, of course, be merely nominal, as these services would at least pay their way as they now do. The very extensive, but somewhat indefinite, assets left in our hands, both in accumulated stocks and stores of all sorts, and in debts due to us from our Dominions and our Allies, must clearly be devoted to the expenses of demobilisation. Lord Leverhulme's figure of £10,000,000,000 for the gross National Debt is therefore one that we can take as a standard.

In addition to the interest and sinking fund on the National Debt, we have to provide for the ordinary expenses of Government. In the Budget for 1914-15 the various departments and services of the National Government (including the Grants-in-Aid) were to cost, in round figures, nearly 175 million pounds. We know that this will be increased after the War, owing partly to the increased cost of everything, partly to the heavy burden of War pensions, partly to the greater provision that must necessarily be made for health, education, housing, insurance, etc., and partly to the need for maintaining, at least for some time to come, an army and navy larger than in 1914. I venture to say that, on these heads alone, four hundred millions a year will not pay the normal bills of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Thus, in all probability the gross total of the expenditure of the National Government, including the debt charge of 400 millions, will be 800 million pounds a year, together with at least 200 millions spent by the Local Authorities of the United Kingdom—making, in all, 1,000 millions, or four times as much as in 1913-14. Can the nation endure such a load (in addition to the levies of rent, interest and profits by the landlords and capitalists) without the poor being crushed into destitution? This is the problem before us—not put by the Labour Party or wantonly raised by the Socialists, but imposed on all parties by the facts of the case.

How to get the Revenue.

Now the Labour Party approaches this problem with no other desire than that of discovering the solution most calculated to promote the well-being and prosperity of the community as a whole. As a party it accepts, as its guide, the highest and most authoritative science and wisdom on the subject wherever it can be found. It has no panacea of its own discovery. Why it is specially concerned—more concerned, apparently, judging from the speeches, than the Coalition party—is that it remembers that, after every previous war,

* See *A State Insurance Depaartment* (Fabian Research Department, price 1s.), reprinted from *How to Pay for the War*.

notably in 1815, as is now universally admitted and deplored, the private interests of the landlord and capitalist classes have been so powerful as to cause the adoption of financial measures which have neither been warranted by economic science, nor yet determined by any consideration of the well-being of the community as a whole. There are, so the economists tell the Labour Party, three considerations to be borne in mind in deciding how the unprecedented taxation shall be levied, which are of paramount importance. The first is that there is no calamity to a nation so great, and of such lasting injury to the general well-being, as any general lowering of the Standard of Life of the vast majority of folk who at present live on weekly wages. The second is that no burden is so onerous to a nation as anything that lessens its annual productivity, *not indeed of profits and wages, but of commodities and services*; and that it is therefore vital to do nothing to diminish either the powers of production or (without necessarily depending on any particular system or motive of the past) the springs of action that set the powers to work. And the third consideration is that the way to make the national burden press least heavily upon the community is to cause it to bear upon us, not equally, at so much per head, not even proportionately at so much per pound sterling of income or fortune, but, as far as may be reasonably practicable, without flying in the face of other indispensable considerations, according to the principle of *equality of sacrifice*. I will add a fourth consideration of no less importance. It is vital to our character that nothing should be done that would outrage, not justice, as to which there is no abstract definition of validity, but the sense of justice to the community. This, I hold, is as essential as the other three. I venture to believe that, whatever else he might urge, no instructed person will deny the force or the scientific validity of these four considerations. It is upon these considerations that the financial policy of the Labour Party will be based.

What do these considerations point to? I do not pretend to formulate the Budget for what I predict will be a series of different Chancellors of the Exchequer of the next few years. But we see at once that the old controversies about Free Trade and Protection have practically no relevance to this financial problem. Not even the most infatuated supporter of a protective tariff has ever imagined that it would yield more than ten or twenty or forty millions a year to the Exchequer. What is this when we need to raise a thousand millions? The same considerations dispose of those amiable people who bother us with projects for taxes on cats, or on titles, or on the pretentious names given to suburban villas, or on all the host of other new taxes that are suggested each year to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. These imposts, all put together, would not yield enough to meet the deficit of a single week in the year. There is no way out but deliberately to submit to heavy taxation *upon persons*—that is, upon ourselves, collectively—which is exactly what none of us like! There is no getting away from the fact that all taxes fall upon people's wealth—that is to say, they leave people with less to spend as they choose than if there had been no tax. We must not be deluded, therefore, by any idea of taxing "land," or "luxuries," "dia-

monds," or "imports," or "foreign-made articles." It is never a thing that we tax, but always a person, whom the Government thereby makes poorer in money than he would otherwise have been.

What the Government can earn.

There is, however, one proposal on which the Labour Party will insist, in order to enable this taxation to be as small and as little onerous as possible, and that is, on the Government making the best of the national estate. We want a rich and prosperous Exchequer, not a starved and bankrupt one. We want the Government, whilst paying to every person employed proper wages, to push the productiveness and to develop the serviceableness of every part of the public domain, so that it may yield the utmost possible profit to the community as a whole, even if this means that fewer opportunities for private profit are left to capitalist speculators. To take one instance among many, we want the Post Office to develop its profitable business in all directions, so as to employ for the public advantage its magnificent national organisation, instead of timidly stopping short, at this point or that, because the bankers, or the railway companies, or the carriers, or the remittance houses, or the insurance companies, prefer not to be competed with.* This is virtually to plunder the national Exchequer for the benefit of private profitmakers. We want the new national electricity plant—the score of super-power stations that are to give us electric heat, light and power for next to nothing—to go ahead for the public benefit, without regard for the feelings of the Standard Oil Company or of the gas shareholders or of the coalowners. What the Labour Party asks for is the abandonment of the tacit convention of the nineteenth century capitalists that all the opportunities for profitmaking should be left as their private monopoly. We must have a free hand for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, consistently with the proper treatment of the persons employed and of the public consumers, to gain as large a revenue as he can from the public enterprises, even if this means that there are fewer opportunites for the piling up of private fortunes.

The "non-tax" revenue of the State after the war will necessarily be of vast dimensions. What with a Post Office doubled or trebled in the range and extent of its useful services; with a united public service of railway, canal, road and also harbour transport—the harbour is only a peculiarly specialised bit of a line of communication, and should be dealt with as such—the whole organised with the single aim of national efficiency; what with the national service of electricity generation, and of the coal supply, which plainly cannot be allowed to be monopolised against its largest consumers; what with the extensive public enterprise in life assurance (for the sake of giving security to the policy-holders), and banking (to avert the consequences of the rapidly approaching monopoly) it is plain the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be able to look, for the interest of a quarter or a third of the National Debt of £10,000,000,000—being at least that portion represented by the compensation paid to bring

* See *The Development of the Post Office* (Fabian Research Department, price 1s.; reprinted from *How to Pay for the War.*)

these services under public control—to the non-tax receipts that they will yield to him as the successor to the former shareholders. All the rest of his eight hundred millions a year the Chancellor of the Exchequer must get by taxes. We want the Local Authorities in the same way to develop to the utmost their own magnificent public services of gas and waterworks, of tramways and omnibuses, of ferries and docks, of markets and milk depots, of houses for the people and places for their recreation aud entertainment.* They ought to yield them a considerable revenue. All the rest of their 200 millions (apart from Grants-in-Aid) they must get in rates. It is clear that we shall all have to pay a great deal more than we shall like. How can we make the burden most endurable, bearing in mind the four fundamental considerations that I have mentioned?

Who gets the National Income?

Let us first recall how our aggregate national product is shared. The national income—that is to say, the aggregate annual output of commodities and services—may perhaps be roughly estimated, at present prices, at three thousand million pounds. This, however, is at present very unequally distributed among the eleven million families of the United Kingdom. We have chosen so to arrange our society (largely by the purely artificial institution of private ownership of the means of production, and the equally artificial device of abandoning the management and control of our services to the guidance of private profit-making) that a small class of some 30,000 persons (including, with their families, only about one two-hundred-and-fiftieth part of the community)—the payers of the Supertax—enjoy incomes of between £2,500 and a million pounds a year per family, amounting in the aggregate to about three hundred millions (£300,000,000). A second great class, comprising nearly three million persons (including, with their families, between one-fourth and one-fifth of the community), enjoy incomes of between £130 and £2,500 per family per annum, averaging perhaps £500 per family a year, and amounting, in the aggregate, possibly to as much as fifteen hundred millions (£1,500,000,000). The great mass of the people, comprising more than two-thirds of the whole community, find themselves getting from a few shillings to a few pounds per week, the aggregate income from all sources of the humbler thirty-two millions of the population probably not reaching (including all incomes from investments, pensions, etc.) twelve hundred and fifty millious (£1,250,000,000); allowing thus, *on an average*, even at the new high level of earnings and prices, scarcely more than 15s. per week *per head of population*, men, women, and children, for all the needs of life, happiness, and citizenship. Of course, something like half the families have less than 15s. per head per week, and many much less. There are still many thousands, notwithstanding the rise of prices, "round about a pound a week."

Now it is the very emphatic deliverance of Political Economy that it is of vital importance to the permanent welfare of the com-

* See *What about the Rates? or, Municipal Finance and Municipal Autonomy* (Fabian Tract No. 172, price 1d.).

munity not to diminish the standard of life of the great mass of wage-earners. To take by taxation from scanty livelihoods averaging only 15s. per week per head, with the present excessive cost of living, must be, as far as possible, avoided. But, depend upon it, this will be attempted. Under every specious pretext—the desirability of making every elector feel that he is bearing his share, the equity of penalising working class luxuries, the convenience of concealing the levy by indirect taxation, the pretence that the foreigner can be made to pay Customs duties, the delusion that a Protective Tariff will make wages higher and employment steady—a very strenuous effort will be made to throw a large part of the burden on the poor. This will be for years to come the crucial issue of our home politics. There will be proposals for continuing the present excessive taxation on tea, coffee, sugar, cocoa, matches, and lamp oil instead of promptly abolishing it. There will be attempts to maintain the present high prices of commodities, so that the Government can in one or other way get revenue from them. There will be proposals for levying new taxes on all sorts of imports on the plea of protecting our trade against the foreigner—protection which, if it is necessary in the national interest, ought to be secured at the expense of those who can afford to bear taxation, not (in higher prices) at the cost of the poor.

The Wage-earner's Share of Taxation.

But shall the great mass of the manual working wage-earners be wholly exempt from taxation? It might be answered that they are anyhow by no means exempt; that they contribute enormously, in proportion to their means, by the extraordinary abstraction from the produce of the vast tribute of rent and interest in which they, as wage-earners, have no share; and that, in any systematic reorganisation of society, on a basis of equitable distribution of the product of our combined effort, there would be, instead of a tax-paper, a bonus or dividend to come to the wage-earner over and above his wages, as there occasionally is to this day to the burgher of a German commune. But we need not take up that position. The Labour Party does not assert, and has never asserted, that the wage-earning class should be wholly exempted from taxation. What we demand in the way of exemption (and that not at all exclusively for the sake of the exempted, but, according to the accepted orthodox teaching of the economists, in the interest of the community as a whole) is that there should be no encroachment by taxation on the necessary subsistence of the poorest family—no diminution, by any decision of the Government, of what is required to allow to the whole of the wage-earners, their full development of body, mind and character. This, so the Labour Party suggests, can be secured by confining any deliberate taxation of all the people below the Income Tax level to imposts on what are definitely luxuries, not necessary for this development; and specially to those luxuries of which there is good reason for preventing the consumption in excess, and even also for restricting the consumption in moderation. Thus the Labour Party makes no protest against the Government obtaining

the largest possible revenue from alcoholic drink and tobacco. It would not, as a party, if the State needed the revenue, resent the taxation of admission to race meetings, or any practicable tax on betting and gambling; and it would be disposed to consider favourably any plan by which any working class luxuries, which yield little or nothing in subsistence or refinement, could be made the vehicle of any necessary taxation. What we say is suicidal is any inroad on the Standard of Subsistence, aud any hindrance to an advance of the average working class family in security, culture, and fulness of life. As a matter of fact, any such economically injurious taxation is unnecessary to make up the quota of taxation of the wage-earning class to any sum that could be justified by an honest apportionment, according to the principle of equality of sacrifice. It is, as experience indicates, quite easy to get, merely out of taxation of luxuries enjoyed largely by the wage-earning class, more than a hundred million pounds a year. This is one-twelfth of their aggregate income. If the whole revenue had to be raised by direct taxation, and if there were any genuine graduation on the principle of equality of sacrifice, no one would propose to get more than some such quota—equal, as it would be, to an Income Tax of something like one and eightpence in the pound—from the class below the Income Tax level. The Labour Party is accordingly fortified in its demand that any deliberate taxation of the class below the Income Tax level, carried out by the vehicle of Indirect Taxes, ought to be absolutely confined to luxuries not entering into the essential Standard of Life and unnecessary for the advance of the wage-earning family in security, culture, and fulness of life.

Apart from the development of revenue from the national estate and the taxation of the more questionable of the luxuries of the whole people, including the wage-earners, there are certain special sources of wealth that should be looked after by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as the mere assertion of a national claim. That the Direct Taxation of Land Values should be applied, at least to the extent of effectually diverting to the Exchequer of the unearned increment of urban land values, is an old proposal, not of the Labour Party in particular, but of many of the political economists for three-quarters of a century. Even Mr. Gladstone, reactionary financier as he was, got so far as to talk about it. We have, at present, only such tentative and trivial applications of the principle as the Increment Duty on Land Values and the Mineral Royalties Duty. Mr. Bonar Law has applied the same principle to capital gains on the sale of ships, and now to profits on the sale of businesses and stocks of controlled establishments. Other countries have gone much further. There seems no reason why every realised accession of capital value should not be shared with the Government, which was long since declared to be—though our Chancellors of the Exchequer seem habitually to forget it—the sleeping partner in every undertaking, and the only righteous heir to every increment due to the progress of the nation in population and wealth.

With all these contributions, we are nevertheless left with an

enormous deficit to be made good. The Labour Party suggests that this must necessarily be met by Direct Taxation; and that what we have to do is unflinchingly to apply the principle of equality of sacrifice, not, indeed, as between individual cases, which would make taxation arbitrary, and therefore inevitably outraging our sense of justice, but, as far as practicable, between different grades and kinds of ability to pay."

Now, on this matter there is always a great scare, which the wealthy classes and the financiers for their own sakes foster, among the great army of the thrifty and industrious folk of narrow means. Just as the lord of broad acres is entrenched behind the peasant proprietor, and the millionaire owner of urban land values behind the man who is buying his house through a building society, so the man of ten or fifty thousand a year cowers behind the bulwark of the poor widow, the "lean annuitant," and the people who have laboriously accumulated a few hundreds in Government stock by way of provision for their old age. Speaking of this class as a whole, whether people earning by hand or brain incomes between £130 and £1,000 a year, or humble annuitants, or men and women painfully purchasing their houses by instalments, or depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank, or holders of little lots of house property, it is not too much to say that, in this matter, their financial interests are really the same as those who are merely wage-earners. At present both are suffering in common. The political helplessness of the middle class has long made them the special prey of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In all sorts of ways, some of which they feel but do not identify, they are at present taxed quite out of proportion with any principle of equality of sacrifice. Of course, they will again be mobilised against the Labour Party. They will be deliberately scared by false accusations that the Labour Party is going to repudiate the National Debt, confiscate all houses and land, forfeit everybody's shares in joint stock companies, seize all the savings bank deposits, destroy the Co-operative Societies, and, finally, as the crowning horror, conscript all the wealth of the country! I don't suggest that the Liberal or the Unionist candidates, who are all honourable men, will themselves say these things. But these things will be said, in the interests of these candidates, and for the protection of the rich—indeed, they are already being said.

No Confiscation.

Now, I wish to declare, very emphatically, that these allegations are untrue. The Labour Party has no project of taxation that will make things worse for the large class who are painfully saving to secure themselves a little independence. It has no sort of hostility to these small fortunes. On the contrary, what the Labour Party is out for is that every man and women should have, for his or her own, not only the assured possession of a home, with all its paraphernalia, but also an equally secure provision for old age, in no stinted measure, and freedom to hand on this little family hoard, whether represented by house and garden, furniture and paraphernalia, insurance policy or invested savings, to family or other legatees.

To say that Socialism would destroy these little fortunes is simply untrue. It would make them more secure. The social danger of inheritance, which it will be necessary to avert by steeply graduated Death Duties, begins very much higher up in the financial scale than anything we are here contemplating.

Thus, what the Labour Party proposes in Direct Taxation, far from piling new burdens on this large class of thrifty folk, would actually redress some of the fiscal grievances from which they now suffer. How unfairly burdensome, for instance, are the heavy stamp duties levied on the man who buys a house or a little plot of land. How unwise it is to make the widow and orphans, who are left on the death of the breadwinner with no more than a thousand pounds or so, pay any Death Duties at all. With regard to the Income Tax, too, the Labour Party asks for nothing less than a revolution in the method of assessment, so that the burden is adjusted to the number of persons to be maintained. Moreover, the Labour Party will insist that every woman, married or unmarried, is treated for Income Tax as an independent human being, exactly as if she were a man. The Labour Party accepts the principle of differentiating in rate between earned and unearned income, and would carry it further.*

What the Labour Party expects, then, is a much greater use than at present of the Income Tax and Supertax with their existing unfairnesses remedied and a more equitable graduation introduced. If these taxes were assessed on a family basis, and the amount chargeable in each case fixed in an inverse ratio to the number of persons to be maintained; if the net sum chargeable were taxed from, say, 1d. in the £ at the lowest level up to 10s. in the £ on incomes exceeding £100,000 a year; and if the present differentation in rates between "earned" and "unearned" incomes were extended *there seems no reason why the so-called rate of Income Tax, which only the holders of incomes above the highest Abatement level would pay, should ever fall below a nominal 10s. in the £.* Subject to the same conditions of graduation and differentiation, even this rate may not be sufficient to meet the whole charge of the National Debt.

The Capital Levy.

Here we come to the suggestion that has caused a quite unnecessary amount of alarm, namely, that of a tax assessed in proportion to each man's fortunes or riches—called indiscriminately a Capital Tax or Capital Levy, and the Conscription of Wealth. I need hardly say that this is not specially an invention of the Labour Party. It is the expedient to which those who are facing the alarming financial situation ahead of us—bankers, economists, serious politicians—have for some time been considering. It is being proposed by financiers and economsts in all countries. It has not been absent, as Mr. Bonar Law has revealed, from the considerations of the British Exchequer. When the sum to be annually levied is very large—suppose, for instance, that it came to equal fifteen shillings in the pound of the

* See *A Revolution in the Income Tax* (Fabian Research Department, price 1s.; reprinted from *How to Pay for the War*).

whole assessable income—the question inevitably arises whether it would not be easier and equitable, and more in consonance with the principle of equality of sacrifice, to apportion the assessment among the contributions partly upon the capital value of their several fortunes instead of wholly upon their incomes. There is every gradation—to take only the classes paying the full rate of Income Tax—between the business man or doctor earning £2,500 a year, and as yet without any appreciable accumulated wealth, and the owner of £50,000 in Government securities who is doing no productive work and earning nothing. At present it is literally true that both are made to contribute equally to Income Tax and Supertax.

There is an extraordinary delusion among the middle class—a delusion fostered by the wealthy as one of their means of defence against being made to contribute equitably to the taxes—that the project of a Tax on Capital is put forward in the interests of the wage-earners, in order to spare the mass of the people from paying any taxes at all. But, as a matter of fact, it is not as a substitute for the taxation of the wage-earners that the Capital Tax is proposed. It is proposed as a substitute for a crushingly heavy Income Tax on the whole body of professional and business men. The alternative for the doctor or teacher or minister of religion to consider; for the farmer or shopkeeper or manufacturer or merchant to ponder over; for the man or women living on an annuity or on the proceeds of scanty savings to reflect upon, is whether it is better to go on for all time paying an Income Tax at the nominal rate of fifteen shillings in the pound without a Capital Tax; or to have a properly graduated Capital Tax once for all, in order to get the Income Tax down to something like the pre-war rate.

One thing is certain. The high Income Tax and Supertax is what the millionaires, and generally all the wealthy families, very much prefer to a Capital Tax! And the reason is plain. If the Government must raise a very large sum by Direct Taxation it is very much more profitable to the owners of great estates and huge investments, if this large sum is levied entirely in proportion to people's *incomes*, than if any part of it is levied in proportion to people's *fortunes*. On the other hand, those people who have incomes without fortunes (or whose capital wealth is small in comparison with their incomes), stand to gain by getting part of the sum levied, not in proportion to incomes, but in proportion to capital wealth. Thus, practically all those who are earning incomes—the professional classes, the authors, the men actually engaged in business, and the great salaried class—would (unless they were already wealthy) benefit by the substitution of a Capital Tax for a great part of the crushing Income Tax that will otherwise be indispensable.

It will be realised that the imposition, once for all, of a Capital Tax, as an alternative to greatly increasing the Income Tax, is in strict accordance with the principle of equality of sacrifice. The man with £100,000 invested capital can more easily spare £50,000 once for all than the man earning £5,000 a year—dependent on his continuance in life and health, and contingent on all the chances of

business—can spare an annual Income Tax of £2,500, or even £2,000 a year. Of course, the Capital Levy would be steeply graduated; probably charging nothing on small fortunes up to a total of £5,000, and exempting that amount from assessment entirely in any case; probably 5 per cent. on the next £1,000, that is on fortunes between £5,000 and £6,000; 10 per cent. on the next £2,000, that is on fortunes between £6,000 and £8,000, and so on; and only rising to 50 per cent. or upwards on the estates of the millionaires. Of course, too, all fortunes would be assessed at their present net value, after deducting all debts, mortgages, jointures and other charges.

Is it not the most sensible course to take? When a man is in debt, and subject to onerous annual charges for interest, it is nearly always economical for him to clear off his debts, even at the sacrifice of part of his property. It was not I but Mr. Bonar Law who suggested that it would be to the interest of the property owners of this country as well as that of the community as a whole, that at any rate a large proportion of the National Debt should be repaid, once for all, soon after the war, rather than drag on for a whole generation, necessitating the payment, at the cost, year after year, of a collossal Income Tax, of much more than the actual expense of the war—that is to say, first the interest and then the repayment disguised in a Sinking Fund. In so far as the property owners have to pay this Income Tax, it would be more profitable for them to discharge the capital liability at once, and thus greatly reduce their own burden. This is the financial case for a drastic reduction of the National Debt, by means of a Capital Levy, perhaps down to a total no greater than is represented by the tangible or productive assets of the Government.

It has often been rashly asserted, by those who have given the matter no study, that the practical difficulties of a Capital Levy are insuperable. Such critics might remember that a universal Capital Levy was actually made by the German Government in 1914 and 1917. Or they might reflect that exactly the sort of Capital Levy that is now proposed is actually made in our own country every year in the shape of the Probate and Estate Duties, which yield over thirty millions annually. It is true that not all the property in the kingdom is simultaneously assessed in this way; in fact, only one-thirtieth of the wealth passes by death each year. A Capital Levy might be made without a new tax, if every person were, by statute, on some prescribed day, deemed for this purpose to be dead, and at the same time to be his own heir! Such a Capital Levy might probably involve thirty times as much trouble, and thirty times as numerous a staff, as the existing Death Duties necessitate. This cannot be supposed to be prohibitive. In reality, by prescribing that all securities should be taken at the Stock Exchange quotation, and that different classes of other property should be automatically taken to be worth so many years purchase of the income—according to the ascertained ratio of the last ten years' practice for Probate—with personal effects, pictures, jewellery, and so on, arbitrarily assessed in the light of the fire insurance policy, mitigated by such evidence as to cost as the owner chose to produce, the valua-

tion could be reduced to a little more than a matter of rendering an account. Once more, let it be said that the man who declares a Capital Levy to be impracticable, may any day find himself an executor, and he will then see the the incredible actually existing, and the impossible going through the hollow mockery of taking place!*

Sometimes it is urged that a Capital Levy would involve ruinous loss through the simultaneous necessity of realising land, houses, and securities in a depreciated market. There would be, it ought to be needless to say, absolutely no such realisation. During the War, it is true, the Government has needed cash, not wealth. But after the War, for this purpose of getting rid of the burden of the National Debt, the Government wants wealth, not particularly cash. It would therefore naturally be quite willing to take payment by instalments, even spreading the charge over ten years. It could offer, in the alternative, to take over all Stock Exchange securities (including the shares of companies quoted only on the Scottish and provincial markets) at the current valuation. They would be just as useful to the Government as to their present owners, and would be just as productive. It would equally accept, up to the amount of the levy, mortgages on lands and houses, ships and private businesses, if the contributory preferred not to pay in cash. It would not need to ask the taxpayers for a penny more in cash than they themselves preferred to pay. All these forms of wealth would be equally welcome to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt. The interest received on these securities and mortgages would year by year discharge the interest payable on an equivalent amount of War Loan. Gradually these securities would be unloaded, first, under the privilege of pre-emption during a certain time that might be accorded to the mortgagors; secondly, by exchanges with holders of War Loan, who could be tempted by a slight bonus voluntarily to surrender their Government stock in return for these other securities; and, thirdly, by gradual sale on a market for securities that would be continually expanding, to the extent of the simultaneous repayment of Government Debt with the proceeds of such sales.†

* It would be reasonable to make the Capital Tax a substitute for the *first* payment of Death Duties that falls due after its levy. It would thus take the form, to this extent, of an anticipation of the Death Duties to which all property is already liable on the death of the present owners. But the Death Duties (which yield about thirty millions a year) average only ten per cent. of the fortunes on which they are levied. The Capital Tax might be, on an average, in excess of that percentage.

It has been suggested that an alternative to a Capital Levy might be found in increasing the Death Duties four or fivefold, in the expectation that, with the greatly increased aggregate of private fortunes, of presently obtainining an income of £200,000,000 a year from this source. It is suggested that any such expectation is delusive, as Death Duties of such magnitude would be evaded by the rapidly increasing tendency to make transfers during life from parents to children. Such transfers would be of no avail against a Capital Levy, which would naturally be based on fortunes as they stood at a date prior to its introduction.

† For a careful examination of the whole financial position, and of the proposed Capital Tax, see *A Levy on Capital*, by F. W. Pethick Lawrence (Allen & Unwin, 1s. 6d.); see also *A Levy on Capital for the Discharge of Debt*, by F. Y. Edgeworth, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford (Clarendon Press, 1s. net), and the articles in the *Economic Journal* for June and September, 1918.

And now I have given you all I know, in broad outlines, of the financial proposals of the Labour Party. There is nothing in them, so far as I can judge, that is in the nature of economic heresy, or the special invention of "wild Bolsheviks" in the Labour Party. They are, in fact, taken from the most orthodox political economists; they are distinguished from the financial proposals of the other political parties only by their candour and frankness, and by their resolute facing of the facts of the situation. They are based on the four fundamental considerations that I have named, which no instructed person can ignore or deny. There must be no lowering of the Standard of Life, and therefore no encroachment upon (and no undermining of) the necessary full and adequate subsistence of the people. Their must be no impairment of production, rather a determined reorganisation of our industrial system, so as to secure an actual increase of production of useful commodities and services, and therefore no weakening of the springs of action necessary to set the powers of production to work. The huge burden that we have to bear must be adjusted according to the principle of equality of sacrifice. And nothing must be done that outrages the sense of justice of the community.

"No cake for anyone until all have bread."

What we must do is to develop to the utmost the revenue from the national estate, irrespective of the cupidity of the private profit maker.† We must levy taxation on those below the Income Tax exemption level only through the very large amount that the members of this class divert to luxuries of no social value. We must courageously intercept, for the benefit of the Exchequer, not only the growth of urban land values, but also every form of unearned increment. And we must rely, for our main source of revenue, on the Direct Taxation of Income and Property.

Fundamentally, the position is this. The nation must forego its fat. If we are to retain our health and strength, and keep up both our race and our production, we must imperatively—to use a liquidator's phrase—"marshal our assets," on the principle of "First things first," allowing the allocation of our possessions, in order to meet the most pressing requirements of the community, to whatever extent is necessary, *in the order of their urgency*. In the words of Ruskin, there is no wealth but life; and the nation must in all departments put its life above riches. In the hard and strenuous times before us there must be "*no cake for anyone until all have bread.*"

† *How to Pay for the War* (Fabian Research Department, 6s. net).

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URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILS:

Their Constitution, Powers and Duties.

BY

C. M. LLOYD, M.A.

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URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILS:

Their Constitution, Powers and Duties.

THE URBAN DISTRICT, as a unit of local administration, was established by the Local Government Act, 1894, superseding the old Urban Sanitary District. There are now nearly 800 of these Urban Districts in England and Wales, varying widely in population, area and wealth. Thus, at one end of the scale, we have Willesden and Rhondda, with populations of over 150,000; at the other end Grasmere or Wheatley, with round about 1,000, and the remarkable atom of Kirklington-cum-Upsland with 246. Willesden has a rateable value of over £1,000,000, Grasmere of less than £10,000. On the other hand, Grasmere has an area of 7,333 acres, Willesden of only 4,382. The huge District of Rhondda covers 23,885 acres, or more than 37 square miles. The census of 1921 showed no less than 153 Urban Districts with populations of under 3,000, and 219 others with under 6,000, and it is clear that a very large proportion of the whole are really more rural in character than urban. It may be observed, however, that these small Urban Districts came into being for historical reasons; new small districts are not now constituted.

An Urban District may apply to the Privy Council for a " charter of incorporation "—that is to say, to become a Municipal Borough.*

* The question often arises, in an Urban District with a population of 30,000 or 40,000, whether it should not seek to become a Municipal Borough. This involves an application to the Privy Council for a Royal Charter, which is only granted after considerable enquiry and delay, and is quite likely to be refused if the opposition from other authorities (especially the County Council) is strong. A Municipal Borough has practically the same powers as an Urban District; but (if over 20,000 in population) it may be permitted to establish a police force of its own, instead of contributing to the County Force. A larger Borough may also be allowed its own Bench of Justices, its own Quarter Sessions, and its own Coroner. Its power of making bye-laws also is somewhat enlarged. Otherwise the only difference is that (*a*) the Chairman becomes a Mayor; (*b*) the Clerk is styled Town Clerk; (*c*) the Council appoints Aldermen, either from its own body or from outside; (*d*) the Borough may escape from the audit of the Ministry of Health's District Auditor, and have its own Auditors, elective or appointed by the Mayor. A Borough exceeding 75,000 in population may apply to be made a County Borough, and thus become free of control by, or of contribution to, the County Council, and able to exercise within its area (and pay for) all the powers of a County Council as well as those of a Municipal Borough. Short of becoming a County Borough, the chief tangible advantage of an Urban District getting a charter of incorporation is said to be that of being able to raise loans on the Stock Exchange at a slightly lower rate of interest than is usually paid by an Urban District. But it may, of course, be argued that there will be a rise in status and dignity which may be of importance from a civic point of view.

A number of districts have obtained their charters during the last twenty-five years, among the most recent being Acton, Aldershot, Ilford, Leyton, and Twickenham. An Urban District with a population over 25,000 may petition the Home Secretary for a Stipendiary Magistrate.

Parishes or Rural Districts may be made into Urban Districts and the boundaries of Urban Districts may be altered by the County Council, under sec. 57 of the Local Government Act, 1888.

Constitution of Urban District Council.

The Urban District Council is in every case a corporate body with perpetual succession (*i.e.*, its life continues unbroken, irrespective of the individual members who compose it) and a common seal. Councillors must be residents in the District who are either (1) Local Government electors on the register, or (2) if not entitled to be registered as electors, owners of land or house property in the District, or have been residents in the Council's area for twelve months prior to nomination. There is no property qualification required. The following are disqualified for election or service as Councillors :—(1) Persons under 21. (2) Aliens. (3) Persons who have received Poor Law relief within twelve months before election. (4) Persons sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour without the option of a fine within five years before election, or since election. (5) Persons found guilty of corrupt practices and other offences against election law. (6) Bankrupts. (7) Holders of any paid office under the Council. (8) Persons concerned in bargains or contracts with the Council (with certain exceptions). Voting is by ballot under rules made by the Ministry of Health.

The franchise is wide; for the persons entitled to be placed on the roll of Local Government electors comprise (1) every British subject, man or woman, over the age of 21, who is an occupier, as owner or tenant, of any land or premises (or as a lodger, provided he or she has taken rooms unfurnished) in the District on January 15th next before the election, and who has been such an occupier of any land or premises, either in the District, or in the County of which the District is a part, for the six months prior to that date, and (2) every woman over 30, who is the wife of a man entitled to be registered in respect of premises in which they both reside.

A Councillor sits for three years, and is re-eligible at the end of his term. As a rule, the whole Council does not come in and go out together; one-third of the members retires each year, early in April, so that one-third are always " first-year," one-third " second year," and one-third " third year " men (or women). It may, however, be arranged by Special Order of the County Council (in response to a resolution of the Urban District Council, passed by two-thirds of those voting) that the whole body shall retire *en bloc* every third year, and this is done in some Districts. The Chairman of the

Council is elected by the Councillors, and he becomes, by virtue of his office, a Justice of the Peace. He need not be a Councillor himself, but may be chosen from outside. And the Councillors have power, if they wish, to choose a woman as Chairman, and in that case she will become a J.P., now that the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919, has been passed. The Council may also appoint, and it generally does appoint, a Vice-Chairman, who must be a member of the Council. A District Council has no Aldermen and no *ex-officio* or nominated members. Councillors are unpaid.

Powers of Urban District Councils.

The powers and duties of the Urban District Council are very wide. They may be most conveniently grouped under the following heads :

(1) *Health,* including drainage and sewerage, scavenging and removal of refuse, treatment of infectious diseases, provision of hospitals, clinics, nursing, mortuaries, cemeteries, the inspection of slaughter-houses, bakeries, etc., and of articles of food exposed or prepared for sale, and the prevention of various nuisances.

(2) *Housing.*—Subject to certain powers exercised by the Ministry of Health, the Urban District Council is the authority for carrying out the provisions of the Housing and Town Planning Acts, which include not only the provision of new houses, but the clearing of slums and the ensuring that all dwellings in its area are fit for habitation, and the preparation of Town Planning schemes.

(3) *Education.*—Urban District Councils are, as mentioned below, the Authorities under the Public Libraries Acts, and they may spend what they please on libraries. They also have power to make provision for Higher Education. But they may not spend more than a penny rate for the purpose, and all but the largest Districts, therefore, are practically bound to work in co-operation with the County Council in this matter. As regards elementary education, the smaller Urban Districts (*i.e.,* those with a population less than 20,000 at the 1901 Census) have no real power at all; their functions are practically confined to the appointment of two Managers to each " provided " and one to each " non-provided " school.

But in the case of the larger Districts (where, to be exact, the population of the District was over 20,000 in 1901), the Council has much greater powers. It then becomes the Local Education Authority for providing elementary education, medical inspection and treatment, etc., under the Education Act, 1921, and it may also, if it chooses, expend up to a penny rate on education other than elementary. It is, however, permissible for an Urban District Council to relinquish these powers to the County Council,, and one or two Urban District Councils have done so. There are now in England and Wales between forty and fifty Urban District Councils which are Local Education Authorities.

These three departments of health, housing and education are, of course, of first-rate importance, but they are too big to discuss in detail here.

(4) *Highways.*—The Urban District Council is charged with the management of all streets and highways within the District. It repairs, paves, cleanses and lights the roads, and may name, rename, or re-number streets, or make new ones, plant and fence roadside trees, lay out grass margins to roads, prescribe " building lines," and put up clocks or statues in public places. Certain roads, however, known as " main roads," are in an anomalous position. Normally they are repairable and maintainable by the County Council. But the Urban Authorities were allowed in 1888, when the County Councils were created, to elect whether they would retain the control of any " main roads " hitherto under their jurisdiction. Furthermore, the County Council may require the Urban District Council to carry out the County's duty of maintaining and repairing any main road. In either case the Urban District receives an annual contribution from the County towards the cost, the amount being fixed by agreement between the two bodies, or, if they cannot agree, by the central authority, the Ministry of Transport. Many main roads, therefore, belong to the Urban District Councils, though the expense of maintaining them is only borne in part by the District ratepayers. Finally, the Ministry of Transport Act, 1919, allows the Ministry of Transport to make grants to an Urban District for the construction, improvement or maintenance of roads.

(5) *Parks, Recreation Grounds, Commons, etc.*—Under sec. 164 of the Public Health Act, 1875, any Urban Authority may make or lease or buy " public walks or pleasure grounds " and may make by-laws for their regulation. It has a practically free hand in the provision of parks, recreation grounds, playing fields, and the like, and it is worth noting that the County Councils usually contribute about one-third of the cost in the case of large parks. Under the Commons Acts of 1876 and 1899, it may regulate and manage commons. Apart from its concern with the common from the point of view of recreation or amenity, the Urban District Council may also, with the consent of the County Council, aid persons in maintaining rights of common, even to the extent of taking legal proceedings, when the Council consider that the extinction of such rights would be prejudicial to the inhabitants of the District. It is the duty of the Urban District Council, too, under section 26 of the Local Government Act, 1894, to protect rights of way and to prevent encroachments on roadside wastes.

(6) *Allotments.*—Every Urban District Council has the duty of providing a sufficient supply of allotments for the inhabitants of any class (not now, as formerly, only for the working class), and for this purpose it may purchase or hire land. If the demand cannot be

satisfied otherwise, the Council may, with the sanction of the Board of Agriculture, acquire the land compulsorily, and it may adapt, fence or drain it and equip it with suitable buildings for the allotment-holders. The Council must (unless exempted by the Minister of Agriculture) set up an Allotments Committee in any Urban District where the population exceeds 10,000, and even though it is less than 10,000 where the total number of allotments provided by the Council is more than 400. An allotment is a plot of land not exceeding five acres; but, in practice, of course, allotments are seldom, if ever, anything like that size, and it is not the duty of a Council to provide any allotment of more than one acre. A house may be built on any allotment of not less than one acre. The provision of small holdings, which may be larger (they may, in fact, be anything exceeding one acre up to a limit of fifty acres)—is the business of the County, not of the District Council. But an Urban District Council may make representations to the Small Holdings Commissioners as to demand for, or desirability of, small holdings in the District. And a County Council may come to an agreement for delegating to an Urban District Council any of its powers in respect of acquiring, adapting or managing small holdings.

(7) *Public Utility Services.*—The Urban District Council may have its own gas or electricity undertaking, its own water supply, its own trams, though of these gas alone is ordinarily within the reach of the smaller districts. For services such as these Parliamentary or departmental sanction must be obtained. There are, however, two important matters in which the Urban District Council can act at its own will. These are the institution of (*a*) Libraries and Museums, and (*b*) of Baths and Washhouses. Any Urban District Council may, by a special resolution, adopt the Public Libraries Acts, and over 200 have done so. The Council may also adopt the Museums and Gymnasiums Act, 1891, for the provision of gymnasiums. It is worth noting that Authorities (*e.g.*, neighbouring Councils) may combine for the purpose of providing libraries.

The Public Libraries Act, 1919, has made several very important changes in the law. It has abolished the restriction which formerly compelled a Local Authority to keep its expenditure on libraries within the proceeds of a penny rate. It gives the County Council power to adopt the Public Libraries Acts for the whole or any part of a county, exclusive of any part which is an existing Library area. (In that case, a U.D.C., which has not already adopted the Acts, will no longer have power to do so: the County Council will become the Library Authority.) It provides, furthermore, that a U.D.C. may relinquish its powers to the County Council, and if the U.D.C. is the Local Education Authority under the Education Act, 1921, it may delegate its library powers to the Local Education Authority (except the raising of a rate or borrowing of money).

The Baths and Washhouses Acts are also adoptive—*i.e.*, any Urban District Council may resolve to provide public baths and washhouses. There is no restriction laid down by the law as to the amount that may be spent on this service out of the rates. A great many Urban Districts have their own public baths, and there is no reason why all but the smallest should not have them.

Public markets and slaughterhouses may also be established by the Council, and, where the District is a waterside one, public quays and wharves. In seaside Districts the Council may, and in some cases does, construct and own sea-walls, esplanades, piers, harbours, and sea-water supply works. And some Councils have "dust destructors," or installations for the disposal of refuse of various sorts, which enable them to convert waste into new raw material, often at a considerable financial profit.

(8) *Miscellaneous.*—The Urban District Council has besides a number of different powers or duties, which cannot be classified conveniently under any of the foregoing heads. These are as follows:

(i) *Advertisements.*—In Urban Districts with a population of 10,000 or upwards the Council may make by-laws for the regulation of advertisements in public places, on hoardings, etc.

(ii) *Diseases of Animals.*—The County Council may, if it chooses, delegate its powers under the Diseases of Animals Acts to the Urban District Council. The Urban District Council will then become the authority for dealing with swine fever, foot and mouth disease, cattle plague, anthrax, rabies, and various other diseases, with large powers of inspection, regulation, seizure and slaughtering.

(iii) *Electricity.*—An Urban District may provide financial assistance to any Joint Electricity Authority in whose area it is included, if the population of the District is over 50,000—or whatever its population may be, if the U.D.C. are authorised suppliers of electricity or receive a supply from the Joint Electricity Authority.

(iv) *Employment of Children.*—The Education Act, 1921, Part VIII., provides that (*a*) no child under 12 years of age may be employed at all; (*b*) no child under 14 may be employed in street trading, or in any factory, workshop, mine or quarry; (*c*) no child between 12 and 14 may be employed on school days before the close of school hours, or on Sundays for more than two hours, or on any day before 6 a.m. or after 8 p.m. But Urban District Councils which are Local Education Authorities (under Part III.) may make by-laws modifying provision (*c*) and extending (*b*). They may permit under certain conditions the employment of children over 12 before school hours, and the employment of children by their parents, but such employment before 9 a.m. must be limited to one hour, and no child so employed before 9 a.m. must be employed for more than one hour in the afternoon. The Local Education Authority has the

general power to prohibit or restrict any employment of a child which they are satisfied is prejudicial to his health. And by-laws may be made declaring street-trading illegal by any young person under the age of 16.

(v) *Factories and Workshops.*—In workshops, including retail bakehouses, the law in regard to cleanliness, limewashing, ventilation, prevention of nuisances and overcrowding, etc., is enforced by the Council of the Urban District. A register of workshops in the District is kept by the Council. Factories are inspected by the Home Office; but the Home Office may, if it considers it necessary, demand the assistance of the Urban District Council.

(vi) *Fire.*—The Urban District Council has, under the Town Police Clauses Act, 1847, and the Public Health Act, 1875, full powers of protection against fire, including the provision of engines, apparatus, stations, and the payment of firemen.

(vii) *Health Insurance.*—In Urban Districts with a population over 20,000, the Council is entitled to representation on the District Insurance Committee, which functions under the County Insurance Committee. The Urban District Council, as such, has, of course, no substantial power on the Committee, which is an entirely independent body. And the Council's representatives will be in a minority as against the representatives of insured persons, deposit contributors and doctors.

(viii) *Licensing, Registration, etc.*—The Urban District Council is the authority for licensing knackers' yards, game dealers, pawnbrokers, hackney carriages, horses or donkeys let out for hire, and pleasure boats. It registers and inspects canal boats, and old metal and marine stores. It licenses and regulates the keeping and selling of petroleum within the District. It makes by-laws for the regulation of the sanitary condition of tents, vans, and other " temporary dwellings." It may be licensed by the Postmaster-General to provide a system of public telephone communication, though with a national system in existence, it would, of course, not be likely to get such a licence. And finally it may, if it thinks fit, apply to the Home Office to abolish any fair in the District, or to alter the day for holding it.

(ix) *Pensions.*—In Urban Districts with a population of 20,000 or more, the Council appoints the Local Pensions Committee under the Old Age Pensions Acts. The members of the Local Pensions Committee hold office for three years (or less, if so decided by the Urban District Council). They need not necessarily be members of the Council. An Urban District Council may also have representatives on the Local War Pensions Committee under the War Pensions Act, 1921.

(x) *Shops.*—In Urban Districts with a population of 20,000 or more, the Council is the authority for enforcing the Shops Act, 1912.

It appoints inspectors to see that hours of work are not exceeded for young persons, and that seats are provided for the assistants. The Council may also make and enforce orders fixing the "Early Closing Day," and, subject to the sanction of the Home Office, fix times of closing for any class of shops in its District.

(xi) *Small Dwellings Acquisition Act,* 1899.—This Act, which, except in name, has nothing to do with the "housing question," was meant to facilitate the acquisition of ownership of small dwellings (formerly not exceeding £400 in value, but now, as amended by subsequent Housing Acts, £1,200) by the persons occupying them. For this purpose the Urban District Council is empowered to lend money to the occupier up to 90 per cent. of the market value of the house. In Districts with a population of less than 10,000, the sanction of the County Council is required, or of the Ministry of Health if the County Council refuses. The money lent must in any case be repaid within 60 years at most. A few Districts have made considerable use of this Act.

(xii) *Unemployment.*—The Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, requires the setting up of Distress Committees for the relief of unemployment in Urban Districts with a population of 50,000. The Distress Committee consists partly of Urban District Councillors, partly of Poor Law Guardians, and partly of "persons experienced in the relief of distress." About a dozen Urban Districts have Distress Committees—which enjoy a nominal existence, but are at present of no practical importance. When they did function some years ago, they depended almost entirely for the provision of their relief works on grants from the Exchequer, since the rates could not be used for the payment of wages on these works.

Urban District Finance.

The Urban District raises its revenue in two main ways. First, it has the General District Fund, which is derived from (1) rent or profits of property owned by the Council—*e.g.,* land, houses, markets, water and gas undertakings, cemeteries, baths and washhouses—or the proceeds from the sale of waste from the scavenging department, or from the letting of public halls; (2) penalties, such as fines for breaches of the Public Health Acts; (3) grants from the County Council, or from the central Exchequer paid through the County Council, for certain services. Such are the contributions towards the maintenance of roads, for salaries of officials, or for education. Secondly, there are the rates. The Rating and Valuation Act, 1925, has made important changes in the law. The old system, with the parish as the rating unit and the Overseers of the Poor as the makers of the rates, is abolished. The rating authorities are now everywhere, except in London, the Councils of the Urban and Rural Districts and County Boroughs; and other authorities,

such as County Councils or Boards of Guardians, must " precept " on the rating authority—*i.e.*, direct it to raise the amount required for their purposes from its area. The General Rate, made, levied and collected by the Urban District Council, will not only cover the Council's own expenditure, but will include the poor rate, etc. It is assessed on the value of all hereditaments within the District, and is normally levied on the occupiers of the property. But the Council may, if it chooses, rate owners direct. In that case the owner will be allowed a discount, varying in amount according to whether he agrees to pay the rates whether the property is occupied or empty, or only while it is occupied, or simply as collector from the occupier. Valuation, it should be noted, is not entirely in the hands of the Urban District Council. The county is divided into assessment areas, and the Assessment Committee in each of these consists of members appointed partly by the Guardians, partly by the County Council, and partly by the District Councils.

Apart from the General District Fund and the General Rate, the Council has other financial powers. It may contract loans for various public functions (*e.g.*, the building of houses), with the approval of the central authority, the Ministry of Health (or the Board of Education, if the loans are for educational purposes or under the Libraries Acts, or the Ministry of Transport, if they are for roads, ferries, piers, tramways, etc.). These loans are repayable by instalments, and are a charge upon the rates. Further, it may incur expenditure for the benefit of particular inhabitants. For example, it may put Mr. Smith's house-drains in order, or pave a *private* street, for which Messrs. Smith, Brown, Jones and Robinson, are responsible. In these cases the Council will send the bills in to Messrs. Smith, Brown, Jones and Robinson, and recover its expenses in the same way as if it were an ordinary contractor. But if the outlay has been heavy and only a few inhabitants have been benefited, the Council may declare the expenditure to be " Private Improvement Expenses." The repayment may then be spread over a number of years, not exceeding thirty, and the money will be collected by a " Private Improvement Rate," levied on the particular persons benefited. The accounts of the Urban District Councils must be made up to March 31st in each year, to be audited by a District Auditor appointed by the Ministry of Health.

Joint Services with other Local Authorities.

The Public Health Act, 1875, and the Local Government Act, 1894, allow certain services to be carried on by combinations of Local Authorities, and a number of Urban District Councils nominate members of Joint Boards or Joint Committees which administer works of sewerage, water supply, burial grounds, or hospitals. There are in existence 32 Joint Sewerage Boards and 29 Joint Water Boards, apart from a number of Joint Sewerage and Water Com-

mittees. 60 Urban District Councils are represented on the Joint Sewerage Boards and 95 on the Joint Water Boards. There are about 240 Joint Burial Boards and Committees, to about half of which Urban District Councils send members. Thus the Rhymney Valley Joint Sewerage Board is formed of representatives from six Urban District Councils, and the Abertillery Water Board of representatives from four Urban District Councils, while the Penistone Joint Burial Committee comprises representatives from two Urban District Councils and from three Parish Councils.

There are 91 Joint Hospital Boards set up under the Public Health Act, 1875, and just over 200 Urban District Councils are represented thereon. In addition there are a number of voluntary Hospital Committees set up under section 131 of the Public Health Act, 1875, and section 57 of the Local Government Act, 1894.

Officers.

A great part of the functions of a Local Authority is, of course, exercised through various officers. The principal officers in the employ of an Urban District Council are (1) Clerk, (2) Treasurer, (3) Medical Officer of Health, (4) Sanitary Inspector, (5) Surveyor, (6) Collector. There may also, in a large District, be a School Medical Officer, Nurses, Midwives, Health Visitors, Superintendents of Baths, Gas and Electricity, Tramways, even a Veterinary Surgeon, and various others. All Urban District officials, except the Medical Officer of Health and the Sanitary Inspector, are removable by the Council at its pleasure, which means that, in practice, they are generally subject to one month's notice of termination of their employment. As a rule, the Medical Officer of Health and the Sanitary Inspector have their appointments sanctioned by the central authority, the Ministry of Health. Half of their salaries is then paid by the County Council, and their dismissal requires the approval of the Ministry. And the Surveyor is now in a similar position, since the Ministry of Transport Act, 1919, provides that the Ministry may defray half the salary and establishment charges of the engineer or surveyor to a Local Authority responsible for the maintenance of roads (provided that his appointment and dismissal, and the amount of the establishment charges, are subject to the Minister's approval).

The duties of the principal officers are briefly as follows :

(1) The Clerk is the chief permanent official and secretary of the Council. He generally attends all meetings of the Council and Committees. He is responsible for the taking and circulation of the Minutes, and for the checking of the accounts before they go before the Committees. He has charge of the records and books and documents of the Council. He deals with correspondence, either as instructed by the Council, or in the course of his routine. His

advice on all matters concerning the District, the powers of the Council and so on, is available at Council or Committee meetings. He is generally, and should always be when possible, a solicitor, and, if he has also had some financial training and commercial experience, it will be a great advantage.

(2) A Treasurer must be appointed by every Urban District Council, however small its finances may be. He is responsible for all monies paid out, and is usually, in practice, the manager of the local bank which keeps the Council's account. But it is only the Treasurer personally and not the bank that the law recognises.

(3) Every Urban Authority must appoint a qualified medical man, or woman, as Medical Officer of Health, under sec. 189 of the Public Health Act, 1875, or must arrange that the County Council shall appoint one, the Urban District then paying a portion of the salary. The M.O.H. may be a " part-timer," and in the smaller Districts he generally is. But in the large Districts the work requires his whole time, and in some cases that of assistants as well. If any middling sized District is hesitating between a whole-time and a part-time Medical Officer, it is fairly safe to say that it should decide in favour of whole-time. For the Medical Officer is, from the point of view of the public health—public health in the widest possible sense of the term—the most important person in the District. It is a pretty general practice to combine the posts of Medical Officer of Health and School Medical Officer. Such an arrangement is strongly favoured by the central authorities, and it is obviously the right one.

(4) The Public Health Act, 1875, sec. 189, also requires that every Urban Authority shall appoint an Inspector of Nuisances. (His title was altered to " Sanitary Inspector " by the Public Health (Officers) Act, 1921.) He has large powers as a sanitary officer, including the supervision of slaughter houses, cowsheds, dairies, workshops and factories, the disposal of refuse, the procuring of samples of food for public analysis, the serving of notices for the abatement of nuisances when the Council has decided to take action. He reports to the M.O.H., and in many matters he will work under him. And in all cases the Council should see that there is the utmost possible co-operation between these two officials.

(5) The Surveyor is the head of an important department, and keeps, or should keep, all plans, maps and records of public work and repairs. He advises the Council on plans for buildings and streets, inspects and passes drains and sewers, supervises the various operations undertaken by the Council, as well as the maintenance of the highways. In a large District the Surveyor will be a man with high professional qualifications; in the smaller ones his office may be combined with that of the Sanitary Inspector.

(6) The Collector's task is the straightforward one of demanding and collecting the rates. In some small Urban Districts the offices of Clerk and Collector are combined. But disapproval of this practice has been expressed by the central authority, on the ground that it is undesirable for the Clerk or other officer, employed upon or having access to the accounts, to be engaged also as Collector in receiving money on behalf of the Council. The larger Districts often have two or more Collectors; Willesden has as many as seven.

Committees.

The Urban District Council is required by law to meet at least once a month. It does not, of course, carry out all its work as one body. It divides itself into several Committees, each of which is responsible for a certain department, and only comes finally to the full Council for the approval and ratification of its decisions. The number of these Committees will naturally vary according to the amount and importance of the work and the services provided in the District. The most important Councils may have a dozen or more separate Committees. In the smallest the whole Council will sit as a Committee, and even in quite large ones the whole of the Councillors commonly form the General Purposes Committee. Certain statutory Committees (*i.e.*, Committees which the Council is bound by law to appoint) function, as has been mentioned above, quite independently of the Council—*e.g.*, the Local Pensions Committee. It should be noted also that the Libraries Committee may, if the Council chooses, consist of persons who are not members of the Council; and Councils may well find occasion to strengthen their Libraries Committees by the appointment of some outsiders whose assistance will be valuable. A point, which is often overlooked, is the importance of having the fullest possible co-operation between different Committees, so that the work of their departments may be properly correlated. It is obvious, for instance, that the Education Committee ought to be in touch with both the Parks Committee and the Libraries Committee. A second point, which is overlooked by all too many individual Councillors, is the importance of close attention to, and training themselves for, Committee work. Bernard Shaw once said very truly that " it is possible for a Councillor to be stupendously ignorant and shamefully lazy, and yet to be not only popular with his fellow Councillors, but—provided he is a tolerably entertaining speaker—with the ratepayers also. He passes for a very busy public man, when he is really only a sociable one, by attending all his Committees and doing nothing on them." Much of the work appears to be of a dull routine kind or a mass of tiresome details. But the dull routine and the tiresome details are the basis of an efficient public service. A member of a Highways Committee who thinks that a kind heart, or an acquaintance with Karl Marx, or a determination to " save the rates," is a good substitute

for a knowledge of paving stones or the habits of contractors, had very much better not be there at all. The Committeeman who will " make good " on the Committee and in the Council is he who will aim at knowing as much as the Clerk or the officials themselves of the procedure, the details of the work, and the functioning and possibilities of the department.

The duty of a good Councillor.

The efficiency of an Urban District Council, then, will depend largely on the character of its members. If the Councillors are keen and competent (which in a great many cases they are not) they will see, in the first place, that their officials are keen and competent. They will, in the second place, be constantly looking for improvements in all the work of the Council. This seems a trite thing to say, but it is important, because it opens up the whole question of finance. A large number of keen Councillors are merely keen to economise the rates. If they were competent as well as keen, they would know that spending rather than stinting may often be the truest economy. Thousands of municipal ships up and down the country are spoiled for a ha'porth of tar. A long list of examples could be given, not only from Public Health or Housing or Education Committee's reports, but from those of Highways and Parks and others. And one of the most fruitful causes of bad work is bad labour conditions—faulty organisation or underpayment of the employees of the Council or contractors. The larger Districts have now pretty generally accepted " Fair Contracts " clauses; some, but not all, have a decent minimum wage for their own workmen. But many of the smaller Councils are bad employers, many even of the larger ones are by no means as good as they ought to be. And this criticism refers, it should be remembered, to the underpaying not only of manual workers, but of clerks and even of higher officials, such as Medical Officers, Nurses, Librarians. Every Councillor ought to regard it as among the first of his duties to know the pay and the conditions of work of any servant of the Council, and to get them improved if they are not satisfactory.

But the keen and competent Councillor will not be satisfied merely with the efficient working of the existing services provided by the Council. He will ask whether there are not any new services that it might, or ought to, undertake. Reference has already been made to a number of communal enterprises of various sorts carried out by Urban District Councils.

It is possible that before long there may be added the supply of milk (not that limited supply, which, even now, the Council, as Health Authority, may provide in special cases, but the general supply of all consumers in the District), and the supply of coal. Socialists have long advocated municipal milk and municipal coal; the universal experience of profiteering during and since the War

has done much towards converting the general public. It may even come to pass that we shall presently see the advantage of municipal pawnshops, such as exist in France and Italy and other continental countries. They would be a considerable advantage, at any rate, to large numbers of the " local government electors " by whom the pawnshop, under the present arrangement of society, is as regularly patronised as the picture-palace. At present, however, there is no statutory power given to public authorities to embark on these enterprises.

But, as regards the larger public utility services, it is clear that the majority of Urban Districts are too limited in size or resources to undertake them. Nevertheless, there are few Districts in which there are not certain things, valuable, even if small, to be done for the public welfare. Outside the spheres of public health, housing and education, with which we are not concerned here, we may instance two matters, in which the majority of District Councils are content to do little or nothing. These are the provision of libraries, and the provision of recreation or amusement. There are, no doubt, many Districts where it is alleged that there is no demand for a library. But that will generally be found to mean that the Council grudges the expenditure, and few intelligent people will believe this ingenuous excuse for parsimony. If however, there are places where the difficulty of raising funds, either by voluntary means or by a rate, is really a serious one, the County Council ought to be pressed, should pressure be necessary, to take up the powers conferred on it by the Public Libraries Act, 1919. As for recreation, much is waiting to be done in the little towns and large villages. There are hundreds of District Councils which could, for instance, make swimming baths in the open air or otherwise, improve their parks or playing fields, provide bands or concerts. Some of these things will not produce a revenue; some of them may even be a trifling " burden on the rates." But the wise Councillor will not be afraid of them on that account, since he knows that municipal enterprise and commercial enterprise are not and ought not to be the same thing.

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Rates and Rating. By Crew, Cresswell and Hunning. Pitman. 1926. 10s. 6d.

Guide to the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925. By C. H. Leach. Local Government Publishing Company. 1926. 3s.

The Rating and Valuation Act, 1925. By MacMorran and Scholefield. Butterworth. 1926. 25s.

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THEIR CONSTITUTION, POWERS AND DUTIES.

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BY

C. R. ATTLEE, M.A.

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tropolitan Borough Councils.

CONSTITUTION, POWERS AND DUTIES.

etropolitan Borough Councils, 28 in number, were con-
er the London Government Act 1899 to take the place
tic collection of Boards of Works and Vestries, which
120 square miles of London, that had grown up round
of London and Westminster. Of varying size, ranging from
, with under 50,000, to Islington and Wandsworth, with
300,000, they are of very different character. Some contain
per cent. of wage earners, others are almost entirely middle class. Some are natural units of government, others like Lambeth are amalgamations of a number of communities with little common interest to unite them. Some have a rateable value of only £5 or £6 a head while Westminster has over £40. Westminster is a City and Kensington a Royal Borough, while the City of London with its old constitution, long traditions, great wealth, and practical independence, stands apart from the London County Council on the one hand, and the Metropolitan Boroughs on the other.

The Metropolitan Borough differs from the municipal borough in the provinces in its powers and duties, which are more restricted, the London County Council, the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the Metropolitan Water Board, and the Port of London Authority performing some of the functions which in provincial boroughs of a similar size and population would fall to the Borough Council.

CONSTITUTION.

A Borough Council consists of a Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors. The Mayor is chosen by the Council, not necessarily from its members. He holds office for a year from November 9th, but may be re-elected any number of times. It naturally usually happens that the Mayor is selected from the predominant political party in the Council. In some cases, an honorarium, generally about £200, is paid by the Council towards the expenses of the office. Aldermen form one-sixth of the Council. They are selected by the Council, sometimes from its own members of long service or failing health, to whom the hard work of an election is an undue strain; sometimes from the unsuccessful candidates who secured the highest number of votes; sometimes from other persons of distinction or persons holding long records of social service locally. With regard to the two last methods, something

may be said for each. On the one hand the selection of the most nearly successful of the rejected candidates is claimed as the more democratic expedient, as realising most nearly the ascertained wishes of the electorate. On the other hand, it is maintained by many, that all the best people will never be secured by the method of election, as the qualities that are valuable in administration are not necessarily those that are popular with an electorate, and, further, such persons may fail even to secure nomination, since their qualities make no strong appeal to the local political organisations, which naturally prefer a popular candidate and one who is committed heart and soul to their programme. Aldermen retain their seats for six years, one half retiring triennially but remaining eligible for re-election. Councillors may be either men or women, and must be local government electors or resident in the borough for twelve months, or be owners of property in the borough. They are elected on November 1st every three years by the local government electors. The qualifications to be on the electoral roll are :—

(*a*) A man who is on the last day of the qualifying period (six months), occupying as owner or tenant any land or premises and has so occupied it or them during the whole of the qualifying period. He must be 21 years of age.

(*b*) A woman as for a man and where she is the wife of a man so qualified. In the latter case she must be 30 years old.

The number of councillors varies with the size of the borough from 30 to 60.

The whole number retires every three years.

PROCEDURE.

The Council, like most other local authorities, transacts the greater part of its business through committees which meet fortnightly or monthly or when specially summoned. A committee is composed of from 10 to 24 members as a rule, and is presided over by a chairman, who is usually a member of the dominant party on the Council. Committees as a rule are composed in such a way as to reflect the composition of the Council as far as possible. They fix their own place and hour of meeting. Members of the Council may attend the meetings of any committee, but may only take part in the business by leave of the committee. The Mayor is *ex-officio* a member of all committees. Officials of the Council attend the various committees, but may be asked to withdraw at any time.

The only statutory committee is the Finance Committee, which has been given a very important position under Section 83 of the London Government Act, whereby no proposal to spend money can be considered by the Council except on an estimate submitted by this committee. The result of this provision is that all resolutions of a financial nature must pass the Finance Committee, and the most

important items of the agenda are those embodied in the recommendations of this committee. The proceedings of the various committees are circulated to the members, and at the council the Chairman of each Committee is responsible for moving any resolutions from his committee and explaining them.

The meetings of the council but not those of committees are open to the public and the Press.

OFFICERS OF THE COUNCIL.

The chief officers of the council are the town clerk (always a lawyer), the borough treasurer, the surveyor, the medical officer of health (who is a qualified medical man and also generally holds the Diploma of Public Health), a number of sanitary inspectors, the borough librarian, and the heads of any public utility undertaking, such as electricity supply. Under the heads of departments work the rate collectors, assistant engineers, clerks, and other black-coated workers, and the council's workmen.

BOROUGH COUNCIL FINANCE.

The council derives the money required to carry out its administration from the following sources :—

(1) Income from property or trading enterprises.

(2) Grants from the Imperial Exchequer.

(3) Rates.

(1) Will be considered later under the head of permissive legislation.

(2) **Grants in Aid.**—As far as the actual work of the boroughs is concerned but little assistance is obtained from grants in aid beyond certain small payments under the Public Health Acts, including the salary of the Medical Officer of Health, and some contributions from the Ministry of Transport to roads, but indirectly the borough finance is relieved by the more extensive grants made to the larger London authorities without which their rates would be much higher.

(3) Rates are the principal source of income and are collected in a different method from that in provincial boroughs. Whereas in the provinces the money is obtained by precepts addressed to the overseers of the poor who make the rate, in London except where the unions concerned are not wholly contained in one borough, the borough council is the overseer and the boards of guardians obtain their money by precepts on the borough council.

The rating and valuation committee prepare valuations for the assessment of rates and the assessment committee fixes the assessment and hears appeals from the ratepayers against their decisions, and there is a further appeal, if desired, to the Justices in Quarter Sessions.

The chief work of the assessment committee occurs at the quinquennial assessment, and it is necessary to find members who can give up a lot of time in the day to this work. The same persons cannot be members of both the valuation and assessment committees, but it is useful to attend meetings of both in order to appreciate properly both branches of the work. The borough councils, besides the amounts required for their own work, collect the rates for all the other London authorities.

Rates vary greatly in the different boroughs, partly owing to differences in rateable value, partly to forward or retrograde policy, and partly owing to special local burdens. These inequalities are met to a very limited extent by the equalisation of rates fund made up from a rate of 6d. in the £ on the assessable value of London to which all boroughs contribute but from which they draw in proportion to population. A similar device is that of the Common Poor Fund whereby some equalisation of Poor Law expenses is obtained. In each of these cases in effect the rich boroughs pay and the poor boroughs receive.

ADMINISTRATION.

The functions of a Metropolitan Borough Council fall into two main divisions.

(1) The local administration of various acts or the determination of their local application through the council's representatives on other bodies.

(2) The initiation of measures for increasing the welfare of the community by the adoption of certain permissive legislation and the passing of local bye-laws in certain defined spheres of action, subject to ratification by the Home Office or the Ministry of Health.

Housing and Public Health.—The borough council is responsible, concurrently with the London County Council, for the initiation and pursuance of a housing policy. The borough council is the administrative authority for the execution of other provisions of the Housing Acts, the Infectious Diseases Notification and Prevention Acts, the Food and Drugs Acts, the Notification of Births Act, the Maternity and Child Welfare Act, and the sanitary provisions of the Factory and Workshops Acts. Their duties in these matters are performed through the sanitary inspectors who patrol the district on the look-out for breaches of the law. Offenders are usually warned in the first place, and given a chance of complying with the law. Prosecutions are initiated in glaring cases of wilful ignorance or transgression of the law or recalcitrance in remedying the illegalities pointed out by the inspectors. The borough council must provide or contract for the removal and disposal of refuse. This is either carted to barges, emptied into the river, used to make up marshy ground, or destroyed in an incinerator. Land made up in this manner should not be used for

building purposes. Some authorities classify their refuse and make a profit by selling the salvage. The drawback to this plan is the unsavoury and unhealthy raking over of the foul refuse by the workpeople at the destructor. In some districts it is found possible to utilise the heat of the incinerator for warming the water for the bathing and cleansing stations. Sometimes the sludge can be made into paving slabs. Refuse should be collected at least twice weekly. A daily collection is the ideal. Sanitary iron bins with air tight lids should be and are now used by the best authorities. Some authorities arrange for the separation of the refuse by the householder by the provision of three or more receptacles, one for dust, one for tins, and one for food refuse. If the sorting has to be done at the destructor, mechanical contrivances should be provided as far as possible and special clothing and baths at the destructor supplied for workmen. The preventive side of this work is also carried on by the publication of leaflets and the promotion of lectures, etc., on hygiene. The subjects of Housing and Public Health are dealt with in detail in other Tracts.

Highways.—The Borough Council is charged with the duty of maintaining the highways. This includes the provision and supervision of local drainage (the sewers of the main drainage system are managed by the London County Council), and the lighting, cleansing and paving of the streets. The occupier is responsible for cleansing the footway in front of his house. Some authorities have done much to brighten the streets by planting trees and cultivating flowering shrubs and hardy flowers in forecourts too small for use as public gardens, but there is still much room for improvement in the dinginess of the average London back street.

By the Private Street Works Act 1892 the Council may recover from the owners the expense of making private streets, and may decide to undertake this work wherever it is not satisfied with the condition of the street. The council may receive grants from the London County Council for widening main roads.

Tramway undertakings are under an obligation to keep in repair the surface of the road between and on either side of the track.

The borough council is also liable for the maintenance of footpaths, whether or not by the side of a road. Bridges are entrusted to the London County Council. Under the Development and Road Improvements Act of 1909 and 1910 for improving road facilities, grants are payable in relief of the large expense incurred by some authorities in the upkeep of roads over which there is very heavy traffic by extra-local vehicles, and for subsidising experiments in new materials. The expenditure on roads in the Metropolitan boroughs which contain the docks and markets, is of course altogether disproportionate to the benefit which they receive directly from the traffic which wears them out. Trams pay a contribution to the rates of the boroughs through which their lines are laid, but motor buses,

whose action is more devastating to the surface and who are free to choose and vary their routes and wear out one after another, at present make no direct local contribution except in respect of garages or other buildings in a borough. With the increasing number and weight of motor vehicles many serious difficulties of increasing urgency present themselves—the congestion of traffic during rush hours aggravated by lack of organisation for unloading vehicles from street to warehouse, the difficulty of securing a material which will withstand at once the sucking and grinding action of passenger and goods traffic. No doubt the new department of the Ministry of Transport will set to work on the relief of the congestion by laying out new routes and discovering new road material

REPRESENTATION ON OTHER BODIES.

Education in London devolves entirely on the London County Council, but the boroughs have the right to appoint one-third of the Managers of Provided Schools (those erected by the London County Council) and one-sixth of those of Non-provided (those erected and partially financed by a religious body in order to give sectarian religious instruction). The duties and rights of Managers are more apparent than real and are constantly being curtailed, but they provide an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the working and results of the elementary school system and limited facilities for gradual and slow penetration to the official mind and for the occasional initiation of minor improvements. It cannot be said, however, that the attitude of the London County Council to the suggestions of Managers offers much encouragement to an energetic person to devote himself to this work.

Distress Committees.—Under the Unemployed Workmen's Act, 1905, borough councils must appoint local distress committees which are to include co-opted persons, experienced in social work. The distress committee provides unskilled work for unemployed men and women and selects the applicants for it. Work is usually given to married people with large dependent families, for a few weeks at most, sometimes for a few days. It is difficult to devise work which does not still further depress the labour market by anticipating what would have been done on ordinary commercial lines at the fitting time, and owing to the inexperience of those assisted, such work proves more costly than when performed in the ordinary routine. Opinion is now favouring the provision of maintenance with training as successfully carried out in Queen Mary's Fund Workrooms during the period of distress at the beginning of the war. Those not in a position to profit by technical instruction can be taught the craft of a "handyman," or make things for themselves or other poor persons, who, as by reason of their poverty, they would not have the purchasing power to obtain them for themselves, will not disturb the stability of the labour market. Training can also be given in the elements of hygiene and the domestic

arts. The local distress committees are subordinate to the Central Unemployed Body for London on which they are represented.

The council is also represented on two committees which have been recently established as the result of the War—the Local Food Committee and the Local Profiteering Committee. Both of these are composed partly of members of the council, partly of representatives of special interests, women, labour and discharged soldiers. The duty of the former is concerned mainly with considering prices and supply of food in the area and in giving permission to retailers to open shops. The latter is an attempt to check the exploitation of the consumer by the local retailers and restitution of improper charges can be ordered. Representations can also be made as to profiteering by wholesalers and producers.

Metropolitan Water Board.—This body, set up by the Metropolis Water Act, 1902, provides for the water supply of London and a large area of the environment (previously in the hands of a number of private companies). It has 68 members, 14 appointed by the London County Council, 2 from the City Corporation, 14 from outlying boroughs and urban district councils, 5 from other adjacent county councils and 29 from the metropolitan borough councils (Westminster sends 2). The Chairman and Vice-Chairman are co-opted and paid by the Board.

Old Age Pensions.—The borough councils take part in the administration of old age pensions through their representatives on the local pensions committees.

Police.—The police in London occupy an anomalous position over which the Londoner is apt to feel himself somewhat aggrieved. In the provinces the police are appointed and controlled by the standing joint committees of justices of the peace and county council members in the case of the county constabulary, and the watch committee (about one-third of members of the council and the mayor) in the case of borough police. One-half of the cost is defrayed by the Home Office, which inspects the efficiency of the force. In London, however, the police force is directly under the management of the Home Office and the local authorities have no control whatever over it, although they furnish half the cost of its maintenance.

London Traffic Advisory Committee.—As a result of representations by the Metropolitan Boroughs Standing Joint Committee, the Transport Minister has agreed to the appointment on the London Traffic Advisory Committee of a representative of the borough councils.

ADOPTIVE ACTS.

Open Spaces, etc.—Apart from the Royal Parks and those belonging to the City Corporation, the London County Council is the general authority for the maintenance of London's parks. By the Open Spaces Act, 1906, the local authorities may take over open spaces and burial

grounds (including those disused) from trustees or corporations. Local authorities may also acquire and maintain open spaces and burial grounds and make bye-laws for their management. Many parts of London are very inadequately supplied with open spaces. Here, as usual, the bugbear of the rates blocks the path. The initial cost of laying out the space is considerable, though, in some cases, the cost could be diminished by having the work done through the unemployed under the distress committee. The maintenance, besides the cost of planting, would in most districts, have to include the payment of at least one and probably two park-keepers. Mention should be made of the use of the town hall, baths or other public buildings of the council for recreational purposes. It has been the custom in some boroughs to allow certain individuals to book up the halls, etc., for a number of dates, thus restricting the opportunities of other citizens for using them for recreational, political or educational meetings, while the hirer of the hall doubtless makes his profit. Councillors should be on the watch against this. There is no reason why the Council should not make its halls real civic centres and give free concerts, etc., there. In the same way, bands could be provided in the parks and open-air dances and organised games for the children arranged.

Libraries.—By the Public Libraries Acts, 1902–1919, the borough council can provide and maintain a library or libraries with reference and lending departments. Formerly owing to the restriction of expenditure to the product of a penny rate, now removed by the 1919 Act, councils were much restricted in their action and were often indebted to private philanthropists for the provision of libraries. The annual expenditure in the poorer boroughs was insufficient to admit of paying proper salaries and keeping the library in an efficient condition. With the removal of this obstacle considerable development should be possible.

Wherever possible, the " open access system " should be adopted. Where this obtains, borrowers may walk through to the shelves and examine and choose books at their leisure. In some cases, structural alterations to counters and passages would be costly, and opposition is sometimes raised on the ground of the difficulties of supervision and the chance of a dishonest reader decamping with several books. However, districts which have the system do not appear to find their losses appreciably increased. The names and addresses of borrowers are, of course, registered, and it should be possible to trace systematic theft. The system should encourage the growth of serious study and wide research—habits at present unfamiliar to the English temperament. Many councils have a special juvenile section, in which children still at school are allowed to have boxes of books kept during term at the school under the supervision of the teachers and lent by them to the children. It is thought that this system encourages the children to become library readers when they leave school. It is usual to keep a Suggestion Book, in which readers may ask for special books to

be purchased. This arrangement does not appear to be so widely known to the public as might be expected. Library committees nearly always purchase a book asked for in this way unless its appeal would be to a very diminutive portion of ratepayers or its cost prohibitive, and in this way many students of navigation, engineering and other technical subjects may be helped to read books which it would be quite beyond their means to buy.

It is unfortunate that there is not more co-operation between borough councils in the provision of libraries. If boroughs would agree to specialize on certain subjects and allow the residents of other boroughs to use their libraries, a much wider selection of books would be provided.

Museums.—Where a part of the library can be used as a museum local patriotism, unfortunately, as a rule, so lacking in London as compared with the Midlands and the North, may be much stimulated. Many districts in London have sunk to their present mean aspect from a noble and stately origin, and past and civic pride may be again implanted by the remembrance of their former high estate. The museum would include any relics, coins preserved or excavated, old pictures and prints of old buildings or celebrities, the first railway trains used in the district, models of early sailing ships, etc.

Allotments.—Under the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1914, a Borough Council may provide allotments (the provision of Small Holdings—one acre to fifty acres—is in the hands of the County Council). An allotment must not exceed five acres, but is usually, of course, very much smaller—generally about ten poles. Any six registered Parliamentary electors or ratepayers may bring the matter to the notice of the Council, who must enquire into the extent of the demand. A considerable impetus was given by the war to the allotment movement, but now that the danger of actual starvation is past, it is to be feared that many Councils are seeking to revoke their grants of land or refuse further applicants. There are, of course, many districts where it is very difficult to find land for this purpose. The Vacant Lots Cultivation Society has done a great deal to make vacant building land temporarily available for agriculture. Experience has shown that crops will grow on the most unlikely-looking spots in London, and there is scope for valuable work in this direction.

Baths and Washhouses.—By the Baths and Washhouses Acts 1846, 1878, 1882, and 1899, any ten electors may petition the Council to provide the foregoing. The buildings usually include swimming baths, private hot and cold baths, including soap, towels, etc.,—usually termed slipper baths—and washhouses for family laundry work. The general supervision of the machinery, etc., is in the hands of the borough engineer; under him are the superintendent and matron, usually a joint appointment held by a man and wife. The superintendent is generally an engineer or naval stoker, or someone experienced in such matters. He and the matron are responsible for the routine efficiency

and order of the baths, control the staff and arrange for the visits of other swimming clubs, galas, etc. It has lately been recognised that swimming baths may be a source of infection for diphtheria, typhoid and other diseases, and some authorities use a disinfectant in the water. The charge for swimming and private baths is usually from 2d. to 1s., according to the facilities and amenities provided. The charge at the washhouse section is usually 1½d. per hour. This generally includes continuous hot water, a trough sink for washing, mangle and wringer, hot air drying cupboard—one for the use of each person—which dries the clothes in about twenty minutes, and hot irons to complete the process. The washhouse is unquestionably an immense boon to those who have to live in a house with one kitchen-living-room almost totally devoid of facilities for laundry work, which makes the room hot and unhealthy and often causes bronchitis and chills to the children of the family. A difficulty is sometimes experienced in preventing the professional laundress from plying her trade by means of this subsidy from the ratepayers, and some authorities, in order to check this practice, limit the number of hours that may be worked by any one washer to what is supposed to suffice only for family washing.

Some authorities now provide facilities for mixed bathing at the swimming baths. This is generally much appreciated, opportunities for healthy athletics in London being all too few.

Baths and washhouses are now finding themselves in a difficult position owing to the high price and shortage of coal. Londoners do not usually appreciate a swimming bath under 70 deg., and the cost of raising a large volume of cold water to this temperature and maintaining a continuous flow of hot water in the washhouses is considerable. Some authorities are meeting it by opening only for a limited number of days per week.

MUNICIPAL TRADING.

This term is applied to the provision by a local authority of any service which shows a profit and loss account—as distinct from such services as public health or street paving, which, although necessary and beneficial, cannot be expressed in such terms. The advantages claimed are: the provision of a better and cheaper service, while profits go to the relief of the rates instead of to private employers and shareholders. The chief service provided in this way by the Metropolitan Borough Councils is electric power, lighting and heating, at a cost much below that of private companies. Another service provided in two or three cases is that of a municipal market. Since the outbreak of profiteering during the war many authorities have encouraged the promotion and semi-formalising of street markets, for which they charge a small rent per stall and afford protection and guarantee continuity of tenure.

Some authorities now give a bonus to all officials and workmen in the electricity undertaking. It is claimed that this gives them

an "interest" in the success of the scheme and prevents slacking, carelessness with tools and machinery, and so forth. On the other hand it is manifestly unfair to employees in other departments—*e.g.*, public health, roads—which show no profit, and is thought to lead to quarrelling and jealousy among the workmen, every one watching his neighbour to see that he does his bit and pressing for his discharge if he seems likely to lower the standard of the fastest and cleverest workers. Labour representatives usually oppose this innovation.

THE BOROUGH COUNCIL AS AN EMPLOYER.

Labour and Socialist representatives have always been quick to see the value of the borough council as an agent in levelling up wages and conditions of labour. In many districts the borough council is about the largest employer of labour, and thus has the pick of the working population, and other employers must offer as good, or better, terms if they are to secure good workpeople. The wages of practically all the skilled or semi-skilled grades of workers are now fixed by conciliation agreements, and the only cases that are likely to prove difficult are those of employees who have no recognised occupational rate and are not organised in one union such as bath and lavatory attendants, dustmen, etc. It is very desirable that councils should get together and fix definite rates rather than that each should follow its own sweet will. Owing to London Government having been in reactionary hands so long there has grown up among municipal workers a habit of playing one authority off against the other, very understandable but very inconvenient for Labour Councillors. While it is, of course, necessary to give good conditions of labour, the rates paid should not, in general, exceed those paid to similar workers by the best firms in private undertakings. Most authorities, too, now have a "Fair Wages Clause" inserted in their contracts, by which all work executed for them must conform to Trade Union conditions, or, failing a Trade Union, to those customarily in force under good employers in the district. This is a powerful lever in improving conditions and in diffusing knowledge of the wages and hours obtainable. A word of warning must here be given on the position of the middle-grade and higher officials of the Council. Most Labour and Socialist representatives are ready to strain every nerve to obtain advances in wages for workmen, but are apt to think that officials should be paid the lowest sum for which anyone to fill the post can be obtained. Whatever the ethics of the case and the ideal desirability of a simpler and cheaper life for such officials, it must be insisted that it is impossible to have municipal work satisfactorily and successfully performed unless salaries are paid approximating to those obtaining in the private business world. Nor will the work of the Council run smoothly if its officials do it under a sense of injury and lack of appreciation. It is even more important that councils where labour is in control should secure the services of the very best

men as officials since extended municipal enterprise, which they have advocated on the platform for so many years, is now on its trial, and if it fails, through lack of directive ability, may be discredited and get no similar chance of development, since high rates must be justified by high efficiency—for many years to come.

A rule has sometimes been made by local authorities that all their employees must live in the borough. The reasons given for this proviso are that those primarily interested in the borough as residents and ratepayers should have the first claim to employment there, and that a district deteriorates financially and socially if its more prosperous inhabitants in good regular work move away to be replaced by a poorer class of resident. It is doubtful how far this is a wise provision. It tends to check the natural flow of population, presses hardly in individual cases and, where the employee can afford it, can be easily evaded by renting one room in the borough but actually residing elsewhere. It is, of course, necessary that certain employees—*e.g.*, in the electricity undertakings—should live in the borough near to the work to attend to breakdowns, as a condition of their employment.

Many councils have a scheme of pensions and superannuations. There is much to be said for and against this plan. It is undoubtedly pleasant to think that the workman may look forward to old age without undue apprehension and may feel secure from the storms of the ordinary labour market. But a pension scheme aggravates the tendency to engage only young workers in the prime of life (in order to keep it actuarially sound), and thus adds to the already serious difficulty of the middle-aged man or woman in obtaining work if he has lost a permanent job through any misfortune. Further, it may lead to the retention of a comparatively slack or incompetent workman, because no one likes to be hard-hearted enough to deprive him of his expectation. And it may prevent a workman, discontented and believing himself capable of greater things, from leaving because "he doesn't want to give up something he has paid for."

Problems facing a Borough Councillor.—Probably all Labour representatives have observed the efforts made to promote the supply of electricity centrally by a company instead of through the machinery of the borough councils. It is claimed that a cheaper and more efficient service could be provided, and that this, as in the case of the provision of water by the Metropolitan Water Board, furnishes an instance of different authorities combining through representation to supply a service over a whole area which they jointly control. It may be doubted whether in the case of this or of the electricity proposals a case of the wisdom of each at the disposal of all would be illustrated, but pressure on these lines is threatening in the immediate future, and Labour representatives must study the question and take a definite stand on one side or the other. The present quality and price of gas supply a warning against trusting such services to a private company, even with the safeguards provided by special legislation.

Analogous to this is the conflict of opinion between the Local Government Devolution Party and the Centralisers. One may remember in this connection the recent proposal of the London County Council to take over all the public health powers of the borough councils, leaving them only those now exercised by the Poor Law Guardians. The Centralisers will point to certain backward local bodies, to the greater risk of bribery, corruption and intimidation in "parish politics" where secrets leak out more easily and interested parties know each other more intimately and can more readily exert influence; to the duplication of officials and administration. The devolutionist will point to the scandals and long overdue reforms to be found even in great central authorities, to the congestion of their business, which is almost a byword, and may claim that on the large scale on which their operations are conducted large frauds also are possible. On his behalf, too, it may be urged that the humbler sphere of the borough council provides a testing station for isolating and proving experiments which would not be attempted by a body with a larger area and greater responsibilities; that the control by the County Council, Ministry of Health and Home Office should suffice to keep their feet fairly well in the path of duty, and that the greater local knowledge and local interest available in a small district may be an advantage as well as a disadvantage.

THE BOROUGH COUNCIL AS A TRAINING GROUND.

The borough council is by no means to be despised as a training ground for the social reformer or the aspirant to Parliamentary honours. Perhaps had every legislator had the experience of following his laws home to roost, seeing the difficulties of enforcing them, the hardships involved to the conscientious, the loopholes through which the hardened lawbreaker will successfully slip, he would think at least twice before voting for the next new law. Local administration at least teaches the inability of an act of Parliament to make human nature good—unless it has been very skilfully framed! On the other hand, his respect for the adaptability of the human brain would be greatly strengthened by seeing the success which attends the efforts, guided, of course, by their officials, and schemes of grocers, small manufacturers, labourers and those whom he would generally regard as "uneducated and ignorant" people. He would also gain the very human satisfaction of "getting things done" and "seeing them work," which is possible in a small area and the absence of which is the most depressing element in "national" work. Anyone with the time and interest for local problems will find his ambitions fulfilled in the work of a borough councillor. Sometimes in the past, no doubt from being only in an ineffective minority, Labour men have been inclined to interest themselves rather in securing better wages and conditions for workers than in mastering the larger problems with which they are faced. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of a councillor's

taking a real interest in the work that he controls—not only in the committee room and council chamber, but in the generating station, the disinfecting station, the work department. If he has a personal knowledge of the working out of the proposals he puts forward, he will be far more likely to carry his committee with him than if he had advanced them merely academically, and if he can convince officials that he has a genuine interest in their work for its own sake, and that he is not using his position simply as a vantage ground in the game of local politics, he will find that they will make it easy for him to acquire that personal knowledge. It is true that before any important alteration to the council's property can be carried out, the committee is taken to view the property—in a comfortable way in motor cars—but though this is important it is not nearly so valuable as a visit paid in the course of a normal working day.

A word should be added on the importance of a councillor attending committee meetings with regularity and being determined not to leave a meeting until the subject in which he is interested has been dealt with satisfactorily. Many a proposal has been carried in committee or council because its advocates were prepared to forfeit their suppers and its opponents were not.

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BOROUGH COUNCILS

Their Constitution, Powers and Duties

BY

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BOROUGH COUNCILS

Their Constitution, Powers and Duties.

THE Borough is one of the most ancient of all English units of Local Government and one of the most important. It is an urban community which has received a Charter of Incorporation from the Crown and is governed under the Municipal Corporations Acts, 1835-1882. It is not the purpose of this pamphlet to deal with the history of Town Government in this country or to trace the rise and decline of civic administration prior to 1832, but rather to deal with the borough as part of the machinery of local government at the present time. It is well, however, to recall that some boroughs are of very ancient origin and may have rights and privileges derived from charters and private acts of Parliament, owning property acquired many years ago, while others are the creation of yesterday, new communities that owing to their size and importance have obtained incorporation but derive their powers solely from statute.

From the fact of their origin it is not surprising that there is a great diversity of area and population among boroughs. Birmingham has a population of over 830,000, and Manchester an area of 20,000 acres, while Winchelsea has but 700 inhabitants, and Blandford only 145 acres. Boroughs, also, have differences of status among themselves, some of practical importance, others of sentimental interest; thus some are Cities in virtue of being seats of bishops or possessing a grant from the Crown, others are allowed to style their chief magistrate Lord Mayor instead of Mayor, others have a more important distinction in the possession of separate Courts of Quarter Sessions and a paid judge, but the most important difference from the point of view of the student of local government and the practical administrator is that between County Boroughs and non-County Boroughs. The County Borough, which is in all but three cases a town of over 50,000 inhabitants, stands, for all purposes, outside the administrative county of which geographically it forms a part and has practically all the powers of a county council in addition to those of the most powerful municipal borough, while the non-county borough like the urban district divides its authority in its area with the county council. The county borough is the completest authority in English local government, and when the Boards of Guardians are abolished will be the sole authority in

its area. At the present time there are 329 boroughs outside London in England and Wales, of which 82 are county boroughs. There is a certain amount of promotion among urban governing authorities, urban districts applying to the Privy Council may be incorporated and municipal boroughs and urban districts of more than 75,000 inhabitants may apply for county powers.

The Metropolitan Boroughs in London and the City Corporation are discussed in a separate Tract.

CONSTITUTION OF BOROUGH COUNCILS.

With the exception of the City of London and one or two unreformed boroughs, every borough owes its constitution to the Municipal Corporations Acts and is governed by a municipal corporation which enjoys perpetual succession and a common seal and consists of a Lord Mayor or Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors, the number of members varying according to the size of the borough. Councillors must be either (*a*) local government electors ; (*b*) persons possessing property in the borough of a certain value ; or (*c*) persons who have been resident in the borough for the whole of the 12 months previous to the election. There is no property qualification, and the councillors are elected by ballot on the first of November each year for three years, one-third of their number retiring each year.

The qualifications to be enrolled as a local government elector are :—(*a*) If a man, the occupation on the last day of the qualifying period (six months) as owner or tenant of any land or premises in the borough and their occupation for the whole of the qualifying period. He must be 21 years of age. (*b*) If a woman, the same qualification as for a man—or being the wife of a man so qualified. Aldermen are elected by the councillors from among their own number or from persons qualified to be councillors, and their number is one-third of the councillors. One-half of their number retire every three years.

The Mayor or Lord Mayor is elected by the councillors from the councillors or those qualified to be such. He may receive a salary, but aldermen and councillors are unpaid. The Mayor is a Justice of the Peace for his year of office and one year afterwards. A woman may hold the office of Mayor.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF BOROUGH COUNCILS.

The powers and duties of a borough council are derived partly from its position as the representative body charged with the good governance of the town, partly from its being also an urban sanitary authority and in the case of a county borough a county authority, and partly from its being charged or empowered by the legislature to carry out certain duties by public or private Acts of Parliament. These powers vary with the size of the borough, those with 10,000

population and those with 20,000 population having additional powers, while county boroughs have most of all. It will be most convenient to consider these differences when dealing with the various services performed by the councils which may be most easily grouped under the following heads.

(1) **As Municipal Authority.**—It administers corporate property: this is in many cases very considerable. Bristol derives £25,000 and Nottingham £30,000 from rents, while in the small but ancient town of Bodmin the income was enough to preclude the necessity of raising a borough rate until the present century, Other examples are Doncaster, Chester and Brighton that own race-courses, Colchester that owns oyster fisheries, and Bath and Harrogate that own baths. Labour councillors should look well to see that municipal property is being used to the best advantage, as cases have been known where the City fathers or grandfathers have leased corporate property to their friends for long terms of years at low rentals. The council also makes by-laws for the good governance of the town.

In addition to specific duties the borough council is the representative body of the town, and it is its duty to give expression to the wishes of the inhabitants and protect their interests. Thus it is the duty of the council to keep a careful watch on public and private bills introduced into Parliament, and where necessary obtain a *locus standi* and offer opposition to bills injurious to the borough. Under threat of opposition useful concessions can be obtained from railway companies and other bodies. If a railway company or the Postmaster-General fails to provide adequate services for the town it is the business of the council to make representations in the proper quarter.

The council should also be careful to do all it can to increase the amenities of the town. If a town hall or other public building is to be erected, it should be worthy of a city, not a mere ugly block.

(2) **Local Justice.**—The Mayor presides over the Borough Bench, and in boroughs that have a separate Commission of the Peace the J.P.'s are appointed by the Lord Chancellor on the advice of the Council, elsewhere by the advice of the Lord-Lieutenant of the County. Certain boroughs have obtained the appointment of a stipendiary magistrate, who is a paid justice appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Home Secretary. (There are 18 stipendiaries outside London.) The Crown may grant a separate Court of Quarter Sessions for a borough when the Recorder, who is a barrister appointed by the Lord Chancellor, sits as judge and is paid from the borough fund. There are 121 Recorders. There are also certain ancient courts in boroughs, such as the Salford Court of Hundred and the Guild Hall Court, Norwich. The council of a quarter sessions borough with a population of 10,000 or over, which

is either a county borough or received its grant of quarter sessions before 1888, must appoint a fit person to be coroner. A few ancient towns are counties of cities or counties of towns, and have power to appoint a sheriff, who must be elected annually by the council on November 9th.

(3) **Public Health.**—This, with Housing and Education, will be dealt with in detail in other Tracts. It is enough to say here that the council is the authority for drainage, sewerage, scavenging and removal of refuse, treatment of infectious diseases, provision of hospitals, clinics, nursing, mortuaries, cemeteries, the inspection of slaughter-houses, bakeries, food and drugs, and the prevention of nuisances. County boroughs will also administer the Midwives Act and should make provision for maternity and child welfare under the Act of 1918.

Under the National Health Insurance Acts, 1911-1918, the council of a county borough appoints one-fifth of the Insurance Committee. A district committee is also set up for the area of each borough with over 10,000 population.

(4) **Lunacy and Mental Deficiency.**—The county borough is the authority for carrying out the Lunacy Acts, 1890-1911. It is its duty to provide an asylum or asylums for the accommodation of pauper lunatics, and it may also make provision for lunatics who are not paupers. A Visiting or Asylums Committee is appointed by the council which manages the institutions and visits the inmates. The expenses are met from the borough fund as far as they are not covered by contributions from the Exchequer and the Boards of Guardians. Under the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913, the county borough council appoints a committee for the care of the mentally defective, composed partly of members of the council and partly of guardians and other persons with special knowledge ; some women must be appointed. As a general rule the Visiting or Asylums Committee, with the addition of at least two women, acts as the committee, or forms that part of it appointed by the council. The duties of the local authority include the ascertaining of what persons are defective, the provision of suitable supervision and suitable accommodation, and the provision of burial. The expenses are met from the borough funds or from the rates.

(5) **Housing and Town Planning.**—County boroughs are responsible for carrying out the Housing and Town Planning Acts in their entirety ; and other boroughs, subject to certain powers vested in the county councils, are similarly responsible for these duties, which include the provision of houses, the clearing of congested areas, the ensuring that all houses are placed and kept in a proper state of repair, and the preparation of town planning schemes.

(6) **Education.**—The county borough is the authority for Higher and Elementary Education, and boroughs with a population

of over 10,000 are authorities for elementary education in their areas. Other boroughs are minor education authorities appointing managers for elementary schools, etc., but with little effective control. The borough council, where it is the local authority, appoints an education committee, the majority of members of which must be councillors, but there is power to co-opt on the nomination of other bodies and the inclusion of women is necessary. For higher education, including technical, all borough councils are authorities, although they can surrender their powers to or act jointly with the county councils.

(7) **Highways.**—Borough councils are responsible for the paving, lighting and cleansing of the roads in their area and for the general regulation, street numbering, tree planting, etc. Certain main roads although repairable and maintainable by the county are as a rule maintained and repaired by the borough councils receiving a contribution from the county councils. The latter may also make grants for the widening and improvement of local roads. The Ministry of Transport under the Act of 1919 may make grants to a borough council for the construction or improvement of roads.

The question of the distribution of the burden for the upkeep of main roads is a matter of some dispute at the present time, the burden falling heavily on places through which there is heavy traffic, and the possibility is being considered of some division of roads on a system analogous to that obtaining in France, whereby some roads would be maintained by the State, some by the larger and some by the smaller local authorities. County boroughs and boroughs over 10,000 population may make regulations as to the use of roads by heavy traffic, and councillors should not forget that they have power to make users pay for exceptional traffic. Borough councils also regulate by bye-law the display of advertisements under the Advertisements Regulation Acts, 1907 and 1925, and licence hoardings and projections, etc., over the roadway. The council also maintains bridges and may contribute to the cost of construction by private persons.

(8) **Parks, Recreation Grounds, Commons, etc.**—Borough councils have power to purchase or lease land for the provision of parks, recreation grounds and open spaces, and to make by-laws for their use; they may also provide boats for hire on lakes. Many boroughs, under private acts of Parliament, provide bands of music and others may do so, subject to certain conditions, under the Public Health Acts, 1907 and 1925. The council may regulate commons and assist in maintaining rights of common and rights of way. In most towns there are neglected gardens in squares that have "gone down" which an alert council can obtain for use as open spaces or childrens recreation grounds. The council can erect swings and gymnastic apparatus in these grounds.

(9) **Allotments and Small Holdings.**—Borough councils have power to acquire allotments, and if six ratepayers represent

that they are required, must hold an inquiry, and if the representations are correct the council must purchase or hire sufficient land for the purpose. The land can, if necessary, be acquired compulsorily, and it may lie within or without the boundaries of the borough. A county borough may also provide small holdings. A small holding is a plot of land between 1 and 50 acres or larger if of small value. The council may purchase or lease land for the purpose of letting as small holdings, or may sell the land to the tenant or assist a small holder in purchasing from a private individual. The council may appoint a small holdings committee. In the first three years of the 1908 Act county boroughs had acquired 1,655 acres.

(10) **Libraries.**—Every borough council has power to provide and maintain either alone or in conjunction with neighbouring authorities public libraries, but the restriction of expenditure to the product of a penny rate has previously prevented the adoption of the Act by small boroughs. This has now been removed by the Libraries Act of 1919. The new Act also gives power to the county council to act in boroughs where the Libraries Act has not been adopted, and where this is done the borough will lose its powers. Museums may also be established and maintained. There is power to co-opt outside members on the libraries committee.

(11) **Public Utility Services.**—A borough council may have its own gas or electricity undertaking, its own water supply, and may run a tramway service. Municipal slaughterhouses may be provided and public markets, provided that ancient market rights are not interfered with. These are the most usual services provided, but councils may and do carry on other undertakings to meet their special requirements. Thus watering-places frequently have piers, sea-walls, harbours and bathing places. Bradford has a municipal conditioning house for textile fabrics which pays its way. Manchester City Council was largely responsible for the Ship Canal and is a large shareholder, while Bournemouth has an hotel,

Baths and washhouses, which may be considered as part of the public health work rather than as a trading venture, are provided by most boroughs and are almost invariably run at a loss, the prices being fixed to attract users rather than to cover expenses. The baths are frequently utilised as public halls in the winter, and there is no reason apart from finance why they should not be utilised as civic centres for social life with free dances, etc., instead of being let to individuals.

(12) **Protective and Regulative Powers—**

(A) *Police.*—County boroughs and some municipal boroughs with over 10,000 population maintain their own police forces, but no new force can be set up in boroughs where the population is

under 20,000. The force is controlled by the Watch Committee, consisting of not more than one-third of the members of the council and the Mayor. In other boroughs the police are under the Standing Joint Committee of the county council and justices. One-half of the cost of the pay and clothing of the police is contributed from the Exchequer on a certificate of efficiency.

(B) *Protection from Fire.*—The borough council may establish and maintain a fire brigade and the necessary appliances under the Town and Police Clauses Act, 1847, and provide for a supply of water, fire plugs, etc., under the Public Health Act, 1875, and where there is a local police force, may employ the constables as part of the fire brigade.

(C) *Employment of Children.*—The combined effect of the Employment of Children Acts, 1903 and 1920, and the Education Act, 1918, is that (1) No child under 12 years may be employed at all; (2) No child under 14 may be employed in street trading or in any industrial undertaking; (3) No child between 12-14 years of age may be employed on school days before the close of school hours or on Sunday for more than two hours, or on any day before 6 a.m. or after 8 p.m. But borough councils that are education authorities under Part 3 of the Act may make by-laws modifying provision (3) and extending (2). They may permit under certain conditions the employment of children over 12 before school hours and the employment of children by their parents, but such employment before 9 a.m. must be limited to one hour, and no child so employed before 9 a.m. must be employed for more than one hour in the afternoon. The local education authority have the power to prohibit or restrict any employment of a child which they are satisfied is prejudicial to his health, and by-laws may be made declaring street trading illegal by any young person under the age of 16.

(D) *Factories and Workshops.*—In workshops, including retail bakehouses, the law in regard to cleanliness, limewashing, ventilation, prevention of nuisances and overcrowding, etc., is enforced by the borough council. A register of workshops is kept by the council. Factories are inspected by the Home Office, but the Home Office may, if it considers it necessary, demand the assistance of the borough council.

(E) *Weights and Measures.*—County boroughs and boroughs with over 10,000 population are the authorities for putting into force the law relating to weights and measures. Standards of weights and measures must be provided and verified from time to time. The council appoints inspectors to verify and stamp weights and measures brought to them and to inspect those in use in the borough. It can also make by-laws regulating the sale of coal retail under the Weights and Measures Act, 1889.

(F) *Gas Meters.*—The testing and stamping of gas meters is carried out by county boroughs and municipal boroughs where the Sale of Gas Act, 1859, has been adopted, but where the council itself supplies gas, the matter is dealt with by the justices.

(G) *Shops.*—In county boroughs and boroughs with over 10,000 population the council is the authority for enforcing the Shops Act, 1912. It appoints inspectors to see that hours of work for young persons are not exceeded and that seats are provided for assistants. The council may also make orders for early closing day and fix times of closing for classes of shops.

(H) *Diseases of Animals.*—County boroughs and boroughs with more than 10,000 population are the authorities for dealing with contagious diseases of animals and to prevent the introduction of destructive insects. The council elect an executive committee and appoint a veterinary inspector. The diseases dealt with are cattle plague, pleuro-pneumonia, foot and mouth disease, sheep pox, sheep scab, and swine fever, anthrax, rabies and other diseases. The council may also establish a place for the slaughtering of foreign cattle.

(I) *Licensing and Registration.*—The borough council is the authority for licensing knacker's yards, game dealers, pawnbrokers, hackney carriages, horses or donkeys let out for hire, and pleasure boats. It registers and inspects canal boats and old metal dealers and marine stores. It licenses and regulates the storage and selling of petroleum. It makes by-laws for the regulation and for the sanitary condition of tents, vans and other "temporary dwellings." It may be licensed by the Postmaster-General to provide a system of public telephones. And it may apply to the Home Office to abolish any fair in the borough or to alter the day for holding it. The county borough is the authority under the Explosives Act, 1875, and licenses the manufacturer and storage of fireworks and explosives. County boroughs also license emigration agents, race-courses, premises for the public performance of stage plays. Music and dancing licences are granted by the magistrates, except in county boroughs within 20 miles of the cities of London and Westminster, when they are granted by the Borough Council. Under the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act, 1906, a county borough may appoint an agricultural analyst and official samplers.

(J) *Food Control.*—The borough council appoints the Food Control Committee from within or without its own body, one member at least must be a woman and one a representative of labour. The duties of this committee includes granting permission to open retail shops.

(13) **Inebriates' Reformatories.**—A borough council may provide or contribute towards the provision of an inebriates reform-

atory and may establish or license a retreat under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 and 1881.

(14) **Pensions.**—In county boroughs and boroughs with over 20,000 population the council appoints the local pensions committee. The term of office is three years or less if the council so decide. The council is also represented on the Soldiers and Sailors Pensions Committee.

(15) **Charities.**—The Ministry of Health may confer on a borough council the powers of a parish council, enabling them to administer non-ecclesiastical charities, and a county borough may pay the costs of an inquiry by the Charity Commissioners into the public charities of the district. This is worth considering by labour councillors, as there are often old charities with funds that might be put to far greater use than they are at present.

(16) **Fisheries.**—County boroughs and boroughs with a population of over 20,000 may apply to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries for the creation of a fishery district under the control of the council and those engaged in the industry.

(17) **Unemployment.**—In county boroughs and boroughs with over 10,000 population the Distress Committee under the Unemployed Workmen's Act, 1905, consists partly of members of the council, partly of guardians and other persons experienced in the relief of distress. Their duty is to make themselves acquainted with the conditions of labour in their area. They may provide temporary employment and assist persons to emigrate.

FINANCE OF BOROUGH COUNCILS.

The expenses of a borough council are defrayed from three main sources :—

(A) Income from municipal property and from public utility undertakings such as gas, electricity, and tramways.

(B) Rates levied upon owners and occupiers of property within the borough.

(C) Contributions from the central government in the form of grants.

The Borough Council is the rating authority and levies a single consolidated rate called "the General Rate" to meet its own expenses and those of any precepting authority. The rate is levied at an equal amount in the pound on the rateable value of each hereditament in the area. Some boroughs levy special rates on particular parts of the area under private Acts of Parliament.

Rates are levied primarily on the occupiers of property but by resolutions the Council may order owners of property of low valuation the rents of which are paid at more frequent intervals than quarterly to be rated instead of the occupiers. An allowance of ten

per cent is allowed to these owners. Agreements may also be made with owners of such property whereby under certain conditions allowances up to fifteen per cent may be made. Agricultural land is at present rated at only one quarter of its value and certain classes of machinery is now outside rating. Projected legislation will extend the area of exemption and relaxation from rating.

VALUATION AND ASSESSMENT.

The assessment areas are county boroughs and other areas constituted by schemes submitted to the Minister of Health by county councils. Assessment committees in county boroughs are appointed by the Council, but must consist as to one quarter of representations of Boards of guardians in the area and as to one fifth of persons who are not members of the Council or the Board of Guardians. Non-county boroughs appoint representatives on assessment committees for the areas of which they form part.

The Rating Authority makes up the valuation list every five years. The draft list is then submitted to the Assessment Committee for revision. Objection may be made to the valuation before the Assessment Committee and a further appeal lies to Quarter Sessions.

The rates are the chief source of income of a borough council, and the amount levied in the £ varies very much between different boroughs according to their wealth and needs.

A penny rate in Southport will produce about £2,237, in Rotherham, £1,128, though the population of the former is only 6,000 more than the latter, and a penny rate in Hedon will only produce £14, in Liverpool £21,030.

Grants-in-aid from the Central Government are made under various Acts and are distributed on principles that frequently conflict. Sometimes on rateable value when the rich boroughs profit most, sometimes on poverty. Sometimes unconditionally, sometimes as in the case of the Police Grant, on a certificate of efficiency of work done. Some of the grants-in-aid are paid from the local taxation account into which the product of certain taxes are paid and certain fixed sums under the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, and the Tithe Rent Charge Rates Act, 1899. But of more importance are the numerous grants made directly in aid of certain services such as education, public health, etc. These are constantly growing, and over two-thirds of the money received from the central in relief of local government now consists of direct grants.

It has been mentioned above that many boroughs have considerable corporate property, and to the amount received in this way must be added the profits on trading undertakings. The amount derived from this source will depend on the policy of the council, which may either keep the price charged for services, such as light and transit, low and take no surplus, or make their charges

higher and relieve the ratepayers from the profits thus accruing, or use the surplus for further municipal activities.

LOANS.

For the purposes of carrying out works of a permanent nature and for financing undertakings such as tramways, water works, etc., a borough council may borrow on the security of the corporate property, funds or rates, with the consent of the Ministry of Health. The conditions of repayment are laid down in the various enactments empowering councils to carry out such works, and the amount that can be raised on the security of the rates under the Public Health Acts is limited to two years' assessable value. The limit of time for repayment is generally 60 years, though a longer period is allowed under the Housing and Town Planning Act. The Public Works Loan Commissioners lend money to local authorities on the security of the rates, but a council may also with the sanction of the Ministry of Health or in some cases under private Acts create stock.

AUDIT.

Borough accounts are audited by the Borough Auditors, two of whom must be burgesses and qualified to be but not being members of the council who are elected by the burgesses on the 1st of March each year, and the Mayor's auditor who is a member of the council nominated by the Mayor. Some boroughs are audited by the district auditor who also audits the accounts for the Education and various other Acts under which grants are paid for all boroughs. Legal decisions and executive action in recent years have greatly extended the power of the district auditor. Under the Audit (Local Authorities) Act, 1927, persons who have been surcharged by the district auditor for an amount exceeding £500 are disqualified for five years from being a member of a local authority. Appeal may be made to the minister or to the High Court from the decision of the Auditor. Amounts due may be recovered as a civil debt.

BOROUGH COUNCIL WORK.

A borough council does its work through committees. Of these some, such as the Education Committee are statutory, that is to say, the council must appoint them, others are set up for convenience in dealing with the business, and their number will depend on the extent of the council's activities. In committee the details of the work are thrashed out and the officials of the council are in attendance to give information. The council's by-laws lay down what subjects should be dealt with by each committee. Each committee makes its recommendations and those involving expenditure are submitted to the finance committee; the whole of the transactions of the committees with their recommendations are then

sent out in the form of minutes and are discussed at the council meeting.

The personnel of the committees should reflect as far as possible the strength of the different parties on the council. Not all councils are divided on party lines, but in most of the more important boroughs the need for a policy and the necessities of election work have resulted in the formation of parties on much the same lines as in the national legislature, though there is a greater number of independent members.

The hardest and most valuable work of the borough councillor is done in committee, and the man who thinks that he can make a show by speeches in full meeting reported in the press without thoroughly mastering the work in committee will find himself disillusioned. While it is desirable to keep in close touch with all the council's activities, the work is so great that the ordinary councillor is well advised to devote himself to one or two branches of the work.

THE COUNCIL'S OFFICERS.

The Town Clerk is the chief executive officer of the council and is very often a barrister or solicitor. It is his duty to warn the council if their proposals are *ultra vires*. He is primarily responsible for seeing that the decisions of the council are put into effect.

The Borough Treasurer is head of the Finance Department.

The Medical Officer of Health is the Chief Official for carrying out work under the Public Health Acts and is, of course, a medical man. He and the Sanitary Inspector are appointed and removed subject to the approval of the Ministry of Health who pays half the salary. The Borough Surveyor or Engineer is the executive officer for works, housing and highways, while the heads of the various trading undertakings are generally subordinate to him. Other important officials are the Director of Education, the Borough Librarian and the Chief Constable. The Recorder and Stipendiary Magistrate are paid judges in certain towns.

Beneath the officials comes the salaried staff, and then there are the numerous weekly wage earners employed in various departments. Councils may not make Trade Union Membership a condition of employment. Labour councillors may be trusted to see that good conditions are given to the council's workmen and that trade union rates of wages are paid by the council and its contractors, but they are not always so ready to recognise the claims of the black-coated officials and there is even sometimes a tendency to use the council school as a means of advance to equality of remuneration for all. This is a very shortsighted policy, for it must be remembered that the council is not the only employer in the market and that failure to give the usual occupational rates will prevent the council obtaining and retaining the services or a really

efficient staff. It is worth while paying a high salary to get a really good Medical Officer of Health or Engineer.

In addition, where possible the council should employ direct labour, for especially in an isolated town there will be a tendency for rings of contractors to be formed. If the borough is small it may well join with a neighbouring authority for the provision of various services, thus obtaining the advantages of the economy of production on a large scale.

CONCLUSION.

Generally it may be stated that the borough is a natural and useful governing body provided that it is big enough to have a separate life from the county, but there are very many small boroughs that are not nearly large enough for economical and efficient administration and their position will have to be considered in any scheme for reform of areas.

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GUILD SOCIALISM

BY

G. D. H. COLE, M.A.

A Lecture, revised by the Author, delivered in the Fabian Society's Course at King's Hall, London, in November, 1919.

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GUILD SOCIALISM.

A GREAT change has come over the Socialist Movement in the course of the last few years. When the propaganda of Guild Socialism first began, especially so far as the Socialist Societies were concerned, we were working against the grain. The Socialist Movement had settled down into a certain body of doctrine, it had learned to regard Socialism as an expression of consumers' organisation, it could not see beyond the conception of democracy as an organisation of consumers. When we tried to introduce the rival conception of an organisation of producers, people used to tell us that we were not Socialists at all. Even in those days it was much easier to appeal to a Trade Unionist than to the average Socialist on Guild lines, because as far back as 1910-11 there was beginning that remarkable awakening in the Trade Union Movement which has produced such an enormous change in its social outlook. Gradually, the atmosphere in Socialism as in the Trade Union Movement has changed and the path of Guild propaganda become easier. When we insist on the importance of producers' organisation we are no longer working against people's prejudices and preconceptions. The Guild idea, whether accepted as a complete doctrine or not, is now familiar and seldom encounters hostility from a Trade Union or I.L.P. or other Socialist audience. The change in Trade Unionism is much greater than it has yet become in the Socialist movement itself. At any meeting of the rank and file of the Trade Union Movement—of the conscious 10 per cent. or 20 per cent. which attends such meetings—the great majority have got clearly the idea that they want, in some way which they may not be able to define, the control of industry by the workers. Very likely many of them know nothing of Guild Socialism, and few may call themselves Guild Socialists; but still they have in their minds this idea that their immediate aim as Trade Unionist is to win the control or a substantial share in the control of industry. Everybody who desires to understand the present tendencies in the Trade Union Movement, who recognises the enormous strength Trade Unionism has gained, and the great influence it is certain to exercise on the moulding of Society in the very near future, must try to understand what this desire to exercise control over industry means, and to find for that desire legitimate expression in the organisation of the new Society. The great majority of the Trade Unionists want to exercise a real

control over industry, and, that being not a theory but a fact, you have somehow to fit it into your idea of the social situation. It is no good saying that you think this control-of-industry idea does not matter. It matters for this reason, if for no other, that the great mass of the Trade Union Movement has become impregnated with it, that it is the most living force in Trade Unionism to-day.

Re-interpreting Socialism.

I want to make it quite clear that the Guild Socialism of which I am speaking is a form of Socialism—not an alternative to Socialism, not some new doctrine springing up altogether afresh as a challenge to the Socialist movement, but a new interpretation of Socialism, an attempt to make it a more complete and a more balanced doctrine, more completely expressive of democracy, a doctrine that will make democracy really effective economically as well as politically. It is an attempt to reinterpret the Socialist idea. The desire of the Guild Socialist is not to found a new school or a new organisation, but to convert the Socialist Movement as well as the Trade Union movement to its point of view; to incorporate the new body of thought which the Guildsmen have brought into being in the general body of doctrine which belongs to the Socialist Movement; to effect a change in Trade Union thought, not to bring about a break-away. That is the policy the Guild Socialists have always followed. They have not tried to found a new rival organisation, they have always striven, while creating their own small organisation for propaganda purposes, to remain inside and work through existing organisations.

The Control of Industry.

I profoundly believe that the factors that went to make the Guild Socialist Movement in this country are the same factors as have gone to make movements which are very largely parallel in other countries. If you look over not merely Europe but the whole of the industrialised countries of the world to-day, everywhere this idea of the control of industry is one of the governing ideas in present-day Society; everywhere it is this idea that is driving forward industrial workers, and that is animating them in their attempts to change the existing system. You see the idea at work in Germany in the struggle between the Council system and the Government, and in Russia in the experiments in factory organisation. You see it at work in America in such new doctrines as the Railwaymen's proposal of the Plumb plan. All over the world the Trade Union Movement is gradually tending in the direction of making constructive and clear its demand for a real share in industrial control. That demand takes different forms. It shapes itself in different ways in the different countries of the world, but there is the same central idea, the same essential driving power behind it. That is a thoroughly healthy thing. You do

not want exactly the same movement, exactly the same formal doctrine for all these different countries ; you want to get a certain central idea, driving forward the working-class movement over the whole world, but you want that idea to take different expressions, assume different forms, according to the different structure of economic Society in the various countries and the different temperaments of the various peoples of the world. You want the various democracies, the various proletariats, to be organising in such a way that they can effectively co-operate, not organising all the world over in accordance with some hard-and-fast mechanical system which ignores national differences.

Utopias and Realities.

I do not pretend, none of us Guildsmen pretends, that Guild Socialism is the right way for all the peoples of the world to tackle their economic problems. We believe it is the right expression for Socialism to take at this particular time in this particular country, and we believe that it includes ideas that are vital not only for this country but for the whole of the industrialised world ; but that these ideas will have to be worked out and applied in different ways according to different economic civilisations and national temperaments. We are not hard-and-fast dogmatists, believing we have some complete workable watertight system which can be applied to every Society. We are seekers after truth. We believe we have the central idea, and that we have a clear vision of some of the immediate steps that are necessary for the application of that idea ; but we do not believe that Guild Socialism, as we write it down in our books, as we have to describe it in answering questions, will ever exist in exactly the form in which we describe it. We know that Society does not work in that way. We know that, if you should predict a system and bring it into being exactly as you predicted it, it would inevitably be a wrong system, because by the time you had brought it into existence the social situation would have changed in such a way as to make that system unsuitable. But we do believe that it is worth while to try to foresee things as clearly as you can, to predict as clearly as you can the form of the future organisation ; not because you will be able to bring into being the precise form of organisation which you predict, but because your prediction will help you to see a way out of the problems with which you are faced. We believe you cannot take the immediate steps, cannot act effectively in facing the problems you are up against at the moment, merely by treating those problems as they arise. You have to face them with as clear an idea as you can get into your mind of the end at which you are aiming, and your vision of the end helps you in facing immediate problems. That is why we may be open to the charge of being Utopian, not because we believe in our Utopias as actual visions of the future Society, but because we

believe that our Utopias are useful in enabling us to face the problems of to-day.

A Theory of Democracy.

I also want to make it clear that Guild Socialism is not a purely industrial theory. It is—certainly so far as I am concerned—rather an accident that Guild Socialism has taken a mainly industrial form. The reason why we are talking mainly about the organisation of industry is that industry is in such a beastly muddle that until you have straightened it out it is no good talking about anything else. That is why our National Guild doctrine appears mainly as a doctrine of industrial organisation. But the theory on which the Guild conception rests is much wider than any purely industrial theory. It rests fundamentally on a particular conception of democracy, essentially different from the conception of democracy which was almost generally accepted in the nineteenth century. Our conception of democracy is this: that it is nonsense to talk of one man representing another, or a number of others; that there is no such thing as representation of one person by another, because in his very nature a man is such a being that he cannot be represented. But that is not a denial of forms of representative government properly understood; it is merely to say that unless representative government conforms to certain canons, it will be misrepresentative government. Our next step is to try and lay down the canons to which representative government must conform if it is to be really representative. We say that the only way in which there can be real representation is when the representative represents not another person but some group of purposes which men have in common; that you never ought to try to represent Smith and Jones and Brown by means of Robinson, but that if Smith, Jones, and Brown have a common interest in some particular thing, whether as producers or as football players or in any other capacity, it is quite legitimate for them to choose Robinson to execute for them and on their behalf their common purpose. That is to say, all true representation, if we are right, is not representation of persons, but only representation of common purposes; or, to put it in other words, any real representation is necessarily functional representation. If that is so, then in social organisation, if it is to be democratic, you must follow this principle of function. If you want to have a democratic Society you can only get it by making Society democratic in all its different parts, in relation to all the various functions which have to be performed in that Society. Therefore you must treat the problem of industry as one problem, and see that you get it organised on democratic lines by itself. You must take the problem of politics and see that you get that organised on democratic lines by itself. You must take all the other problems that arise in Society, and see that in each of its compartments or departments Society is organised on a democratic basis. It is only then, by putting together

these different democratic organisations which exist for the expression of particular groups of social purposes, that you can build up a really democratic Society. As long as you conceive of Society as finding its expression in some one form of representative institution, you will inevitably go astray and get a misrepresentative instead of a really representative institution, but as soon as you conceive of Society as a whole and try to make all the parts really democratic, you get your best chance and your only chance of making the whole democratic. We have worked out that theory mainly in relation to one part of social organisation—the industrial sphere, and we have concentrated on that sphere because, until you get the industrial organisation straightened out, you do not stand the faintest chance of straightening out anything else. As long as you have the present chaos in industry, as long as men and women live the sort of life they are living in industry to-day, as long as you have the present state of war between the various parties who are supposed to be co-operating in the task of production, it is no good expecting that your Society as a whole will function decently or that you will have any real democracy in any of its parts; because the disorder in the industrial system is fatal to order in any part of the Society. Therefore that on which attention has first to be concentrated is straightening out as far as may be the industrial system, bringing it into harmony with real democratic principles, and then going on to introduce this new sanity into the other parts of Society as well.

Principles and Application.

This may seem a very long way of arriving at any attempt to describe Guild Socialism. I should not have gone this long way round unless I thought it would be the shortest way in the end; because, unless I put clearly before you the essential principles on which we are working, I shall merely present you with the shell of an organisation without explaining why that organisation has been conceived, or why we believe it to be a useful thing. The principles behind Guild Socialism are far more important than the actual forms of organisation which the Guild Socialists have thought out. The thing that really counts is the principle behind the movement, and you might perhaps find ways of expressing that principle as alternatives to the ways we have devised. At any rate, having made clear what are the principles on which this conception of social organisation rests, I can go on and try to make clear the organisation itself.

What is a Guild?

That brings me to the question, What is a Guild? By Guild we mean something based upon Trade Unionism, but essentially different from present-day Trade Unionism in two particulars. First, even if a Trade Union is what is called an industrial union—that is to say, aims at including the whole of the workers in a

particular industry—it is essentially an incomplete body, because even if it includes or tries to include all the manual workers in the industry, it very often makes no attempt to include the salaried or technical workers attached to the industry. In certain cases, Trade Unions do include professional and technical as well as other workers—the Railway Clerks' Association and to a less extent the National Union of Railwaymen are examples of that—in other cases, the salaried and technical workers have Trade Unions of their own, and these work in more or less close conjunction with the Unions representing the manual workers. But there is no case at present of a Trade Union body which does effectively and completely represent any industry and include the whole of the persons engaged in that industry who are essential to its efficient conduct. If you are to carry on an industry efficiently you must have the co-operation in the first place of the manual worker. The reason why industry is breaking down to-day is because the manual workers are not co-operating. That is why under the present system industry is bound to become more and more inefficient; because the manual workers as they wake up to the real facts of the situation more and more refuse to co-operate in industry as long as it is carried on under the present conditions, and therefore industry will become increasingly inefficient as the workers become increasingly educated and class-conscious.

Workers by Hand and Brain.

For carrying on an industry you require in the first place these manual workers, but just as much for the efficient carrying on of an industry you require all the various classes of persons whose special technical or commercial training makes them useful for particular functions which the industry has to perform. Take the mining industry. Mining is every year becoming more and more an engineering problem. The mining engineer is becoming a more and more important person. The scientific problems of mining are every year increasing in importance, and that means that the mining engineers and the others, the skilled technicians attached to the mines, are constantly gaining in their relative importance to the other classes of workers in the industry. Now one of the ways in which a Guild, as we conceive it, would differ from a Trade Union is in that it would include the whole of the workers, by hand or brain, experts, brain workers, and manual workers of every kind—all the workers who are essential to the carrying on of that industry with efficiency as a public service. In our attitude towards the Trade Union Movement we have that object in mind; we are always trying to create the sort of organisation that would be capable not merely of overthrowing capitalism—which is a comparatively easy job—but of replacing capitalism—which is a very much harder job. Therefore we are always trying, not merely to get the various sectional unions of manual workers amalgamated on industrial lines, but also to bring those unions into the closest

possible relation with the unions of brain workers and technicians. with the ultimate object of bringing the whole of the workers in the various industries into a single organisation, which will not ignore the differences of function and capacity between the various grades, but will rest on a recognition by the manual workers of the distinctive function of the brain worker and technician, and by the brain worker of the rights of the manual worker. It is not an attempt to ignore the difference of function between the technician and the other workers; we are trying to provide for that difference, and get it fully recognised by both sides. At present you have snobbishness on both sides to contend with—the brain worker thinking he can get on without the manual worker, and the manual worker thinking that he does not want the co-operation of the brain worker, because the brain worker is the boss's man. You have to overcome both these forms of snobbishness, and to get the greatest possible effective co-operation between the manual worker and the technician, before you can have a Guild.

Turning out the Goods.

The second thing in which a Guild differs from a Trade Union to-day is that a Guild would be mainly concerned not with looking after the interests of its members in an economic sense but with carrying on the industry. The main job of the Guild would be not protection, not collective bargaining, not safe-guarding the standard of life of its members; it would be turning out the goods, seeing that the industry was efficiently conducted, actually running and administering the industry. That may seem a very big change from the Trade Unionism of the present time. It is a big change: but it is not a change for which there is no preparation, because as fast as a Trade Union gains in power or authority it does begin to stretch out its hands towards the control of industry. That is no new thing, it is a very old thing. It begins naturally in the way that is easiest for the workers. The Union begins with imposing restrictions on the right of the employer to organise industry in the way in which he chooses. It begins by saying, "You shan't do that, you shan't employ people in this industry unless you conform to such and such conditions," by hemming him round with negative restrictions, and of these negative restrictions many may tend, I quite agree, to hamper the efficiency of industry in many respects. I do not say in all respects, because very often the regulations imposed by the Trade Unions have actually helped industrial efficiency, but in many cases necessarily these regulations hinder efficiency. They do so for this quite simple reason. At present the Trade Union is kept outside the actual control of industry. It can't give orders, it can't say, "You shall do this," it can only say, "You shan't do that." That means that the Trade Union is always in the position of obstruction, in the position of obstructing other people from doing things as they

choose. There, again, you have an example of the pulls of the classes which at present exist in industry: their pulling one against another hinders industry, makes industry necessarily inefficient under the present system. Now, as the Trade Unions go on gaining power, they more and more try to turn these restrictions which they have imposed on industry into a positive form. They try to pass beyond saying, "Thou shalt not" to "Thou shalt"; not merely to check the way in which the employer does things, not merely to criticise and restrain, but actually to give orders and run things themselves.

The Shop Stewards.

Perhaps the most remarkable tendency in that direction in recent years is the growth of the Shop Stewards' Movement. It has been principally in the Engineering and allied industries, where it represents a definite attempt by the workers to convert their negative restrictions on industry into a form of positive control over industry. You may say that that was not consciously so. So far as many of the Shop Stewards are concerned it was not; but I am dealing not with what was consciously present in the mind of every Shop Steward, but with the general tendency of policy behind the Shop Stewards' Movement as a whole. In that sense, what I say is undoubtedly true. During the present year the big control movements of the railwaymen and the miners have been obvious expressions of the tendency I have been describing. Both the railwaymen and the miners no longer content themselves with the imposition of restrictions on the way in which industry is run, but demand that they shall be admitted to a share in the control of industry, and shall have the right to a certain extent to lay down the conditions under which industry is to be organised in the future, and to share in the positive task of organising it. There is the second big difference between Trade Unionism as it has existed in the past and the Guild of the future.

From Trade Union to Guild.

Now, in the case of both these differences you can see that the bridge is being built by which Trade Unionism will pass from one stage to the other. There is already the tendency of the manual workers and the professional organisations to agree together and to come into closer contact. There is already the tendency for the organised workers not merely to demand, but to show themselves in a position to enforce their demand for, a real share in the control of those industries in which they are most strongly and best organised. In both cases you can see the bridge from the Trade Union to the Guild being built, and that process is likely to be immensely speeded up in the next few years, if the result of the movements which are going on in the building industry and the mines at present is a successful result. Suppose the miners succeed in securing the greater part of what they are now asking for, an

enormous impetus will be given to the demands of the workers in other industries for similar concessions. As soon as we get the mines nationalised under conditions approximating to the demands which the miners are putting forward, some other industry will step into the place which the miners have left vacant. A crisis concerning nationalisation and democratic control will develop in some other industry, and the same battle will be fought out again ; only there will be this difference, that whereas now nationalisation and democratic control have the air of an untried experiment, then the workers who next demand it will have behind them the precedent which the miners will have created. That amongst other things is the main reason why the miners' battle is the battle of all the workers—the battle of everyone who cares for democratic organisation of industry, and why the whole Labour Movement ought to stand solidly behind the miners not only in their demand for national ownership but also in their demand for democratic control.

Rock or Sand?

I have tried to make clear that in our idea of a Guild we are building upon something definite and tangible in the Trade Unionism of to-day. It is very easy to make theories, but it is of no use unless you have some definite means at hand of realising those theories. I could construct a better ideal of organisation than Guild Socialism standing on my head ; only it would not do any good, because there would be no way of getting it. When you are dealing with Guild Socialism there is a definite way of getting it, because it is built upon an existing organisation, because it can show the way in which that organisation can be adapted to the fulfilment of the functions suggested, because it can show already at work a very strong and definite tendency in the direction which it indicates. You never need take any notice of a theoretical movement unless it can say : Here is the organisation with which I am going to do this thing. At any rate, that is true in the economic sphere. Purely theoretical movements do not matter. The movements which are in the eyes of the authorities dangerous are movements which have definite organisations behind them. Guild Socialism has behind it first of all the functional organisation of Trade Unionism, and, secondly, and in a very important sense, the functional organisation of the Co-operative Movement.

The Guilds and the Community.

Then we come to what is undoubtedly the most difficult point in Guild Socialist theory to explain at all shortly or simply. As soon as you set forward your ideal for the control of industry by bodies of the kind which I have tried to describe, that is, by National Guilds, you are faced with the question, But won't these Guilds work for their own benefit, instead of working for the com-

munity as a whole; won't they serve their own interests, instead of serving the interests of the consumer? You are asked what guarantee you can give that the miners won't strike under Guild Socialism. I say at once, I cannot give you a guarantee, nor can you give me a guarantee that you can devise any system on God's earth under which the miners won't strike, because if the miners don't want to go down the pit and get coal, there is no power on earth that can make the miners go down the pit and get coal. The thing you have to fall back on is the attempt to devise a system under which miners will be prepared willingly to go down the pit and get coal. That is where so many people who argue against theorists like us make a mistake, because they always assume that under the present system miners will go down and get coal—an assumption which is steadily becoming less plausible and less true. If we do not find some new way of persuading the miners to go down the pits, then before long we shall find our houses even colder than they are now, our factories stopping for lack of coal, and our whole industrial system dislocated. It won't be a case of only the miners not being willing to do these things for us, but of an increasing unwillingness in every industry. Therefore it is not enough for you to say that the Guild Socialist offers no guarantee that the miners will produce for the community and not for themselves.

The Motive of Service.

You have, if you object to Guild Socialism, to show a system under which they will be more likely to do that than they will under Guild Socialism. I personally believe that a system under which a man has a reasonable control of the conditions of his own working life, and also, as a citizen, of the conditions of his political life, offers the best guarantee that you can have, because it offers the best opportunity for a man to give free service to the community and at the same time to express himself as a citizen and as a consumer, as well as in his capacity as a producer. But I certainly think you must rely, for securing that the various Guilds will work for the public service and not for their own advantage, mainly upon enlisting a new motive in industry and on making a real appeal to the motive of public service, given under free conditions. I do not want, and no Guild Socialist wants, the miners or any other group of workers to own the industry in which they are concerned. In the situation which has arisen to-day, we stand with the Collectivists in the demand for national ownership of industry. We believe the industries ought to be taken over and owned by the public. The difference between our theory and other theories that are put forward for the control of industry when nationalised lies simply in our belief that when you nationalise an industry that does not mean that the public has got to administer it, or rather that the public has got to appoint bureaucrats to administer it for them. We believe the right way of running an

industry is to hand it over to be worked by the people who know the best possible way of working it efficiently ; on the one hand by the technicians who understand how the industry is to be made efficient on its scientific and commercial side, and on the other hand by the manual workers without whose co-operation you cannot get the goods turned out.

The Case for Public Ownership.

We want public ownership of industry for this reason, that if any industry produces a surplus—or whatever surplus any industry produces—we desire that surplus to pass not into the pocket of the industry in question, but into the national exchequer, to become a part of the revenue of the whole country. In just the same way we do not desire the prices of commodities produced and of services rendered to be fixed by those who run those services or produce those commodities. We believe that the prices of commodities and services ought to be fixed by the community as a whole, that those are matters not for the body of working producers alone, but for the whole body of the people to determine, because the price of a commodity is something which affects the consumer even more nearly than it affects the producer. What we demand for the workers by hand and brain is not the entire control of the economic process right from production to consumption, but the control of the productive processes and the processes of distribution allied with production. We demand that the workers shall control those parts of the industry which are concerned with the way in which goods are turned out and services rendered, and that they shall organise themselves for the producing of those goods and the rendering of those services, but as soon as the producer comes into contact with the consumer, as soon as the consumer is directly affected, as he is in prices, as he is in the division of the surplus realised in the industry, then we recognise the consumers' right to make his voice heard. More than that, we recognise the right of the consumer to criticise to the full the way in which the productive processes are carried on by the producer, and, in the miners' recommendations to the Coal Commission, which are as good an expression of immediate Guild policy as you will find, that point of view is clearly and explicitly recognised in the proposal for a separate Consumers' Council related to the Mining Guild, and representing the community from the consumers' side. Therefore, we want communal control of industry and democratic control of industry. These are two sides of our programme which cannot be divided ; and they are equally essential for the creation of any Guild Socialist Society.

The Place of Co-operation.

I want to say a word as to the place which the Co-operative Movement would occupy in the Guild Socialist solution of industrial organisation. When you are dealing with the great industries and

services, not only such services as mines, railways, and shipping but the other great productive industries also, then I believe that one by one all those industries will pass into the stage at which nationalisation combined with democratic control, roughly on the lines of the miners' scheme, will become immediate and practical politics. But when you are dealing with the retail distributive industry, and with small-scale industries closely in contact with the individual consumer, and producing commodities that are individually consumed in the home, then I am not so certain that many of the industries and services connected with that sort of domestic production will ever pass into the stage of nationalisation as we ordinarily understand it. I think rather that you have to divide the various industries and services in the country roughly into three groups; into the group which will pass into national ownership, including all the great industries and services of national extent; the group which will pass into municipal ownership, or some other form of ownership by local authorities, including what we ordinarily call the Public Utility Services—gas and water and many more which will be added to them, including local transport, of course; and then a third group that you may call the domestic industries, which I believe will pass into co-operative ownership, and will not pass through the stage of either State or municipal or any other form of ownership by a public authority. I believe it is in relation to this third group of industries—domestic industries—that Co-operation will find its survival in the Socialist community.

I am not speaking now of Co-operation in agriculture. There, again, Co-operation has probably a vast future for its activities, but so far as industry apart from agriculture is concerned, I believe the Co-operative Movement will find its place as the centre of the domestic industries, and that it will be related to Guilds organising workers in those industries, in the same way as the State, or whatever replaces the State, will be related to the Guilds organising the great public industries and services, and in the same way as the municipality or other local authority will be related locally to Guilds organising the public utilities.

A Survey of Democracy.

The other great working-class movement besides Trade Unionism is Co-operation. Any theory which ignores Co-operation, or unnecessarily puts up the back of Co-operation will inevitably and deservedly fail. In Russia, the Bolsheviks began with an attempt to subordinate Co-operation to their own theories. They failed. Co-operation was too strong for them, because it was a movement rooted in the producing sections of society: and in just the same way we shall have to face this problem of Co-operation, to find a real scope for Co-operation in the society of the future, and to run our social revolution by building jointly upon those two great working-class movements, and by finding for them a harmonious

reconciliation. I believe that can be done. One of the things I would like most to see in the near future is not merely a survey of Co-operation, like the Co-operative Survey that has just been completed ; not merely a survey of Trade Unionism, like the survey we may get out of the proposals for a General Staff that are now being mooted, but a joint survey of Trade Unionism and Co-operation which would bring those two working-class movements together in theory as they are now rapidly being brought together in practice. If you could get those two movements working together, there is almost no limit to the power which they might exercise in Society.

Four Problems.

At the end of this lecture, I raise four big problems, not because I propose so much to deal with them separately, as because by putting them before you I shall be able to throw into relief that which should have been sticking out of what I have been saying all through my lecture. If Guild Socialism is a really living and vital doctrine it has to find satisfactory answers to these four problems. It has to show that it will provide a way of dividing national income, not necessarily on lines of absolute equality, although I personally believe in equality, but on lines at any rate of approximate economic equality and fairness. At the same time it has to show that it will provide for the making of fresh capital, that it will be able to divide the national production from year to year into two parts, one of which will go to satisfy the immediate needs of the population, and the other of which will go to replenishing the capital of industry, and make provision for future production. Under Guild Socialism, as under other forms of Socialism, saving becomes a business for the community as a whole, and not for the separate individuals in the community ; just as under Collectivist Socialism, so under Guild Socialism, the business of providing for the future is a business for the community as a whole. It is the business of those who budget in that community to say each year: We can afford to distribute so much in the form of income to our members, and we must put aside so much for future development. That presents exactly the same problem to Guild Socialism as it presents to any other kind of Socialism.

Guild Taxation.

Moreover, Guild Socialism provides, on the financial side certainly, the easiest basis for taxation that I know of. The basis of taxation under Guild Socialism would be taxation at source of the various industries, and we have always assumed that the main way of raising revenue, although not the only way, under Guild Socialism would be taxation at source imposed upon the various Guilds, which would incidentally be a very useful method of redressing any inequality which might remain as between the various Guilds, after the community had fixed the prices of their various products.

The Hope for Craftmanship.

Then as to the problem of Guild structure. As long as you have capitalism there is nothing for it but to centralise your forces more and more to fight capitalism ; but I believe as soon as the workers can get anything like economic freedom the first thing they will do is to begin to break up this enormous centralised industrial system that we have created. I do not mean that they will go around smashing machinery ; but I believe there will be a gradual reversion to localism, to smaller-scale production, to meet the gradual demand of the consumer for goods of higher quality. That will not be a sudden thing ; if it were sudden it would be a calamity. It will be a gradual process arising from the education of the worker, from the greater freedom which he finds in his work, from his desire to do better work. But that return to smaller-scale conditions of production cannot come about until you have installed some form of economic freedom, and until you have smashed the present capitalist system. Therefore, whether you believe ultimately in local or national or international Guilds, you have to concentrate on this problem of building up an organisation capable of overthrowing the present system and putting something in its place, capable of carrying on, even if it is not the final form of organisation you desire.

"Human Nature."

The last thing I want to say is a sentence or so about the problem of "human nature." It is impossible to lecture on almost any conceivable subject without being asked whether you believe that human nature has changed, and it is always wise to forestall some of the obvious questions in order to get on to the interesting ones. What, then, is the ordinary man really like ? That may seem rather a large question to raise at this hour. Many people would tell you the ordinary man does not want to be free, but only cares to be let alone, to get along with things without being too much interfered with. I do not believe that is true. I believe that the ordinary man might indeed very often say that all he wants is to be let alone. But if you let him alone I do not believe he would do decent work, or would enjoy himself ; he would very soon get extremely bored. What the ordinary man really does want is to have an opportunity of expressing himself if he desires to do so, to have many opportunities of expressing himself, in different directions, not because he will use those opportunities all the time or universally, but because he will be able to use them if he wants to. It is a very nice thing to feel that you have a ticket for this course of lectures, even if you don't come to all the lectures, and it is a very nice feeling that you have a sort of universal pass for human freedom, even if you are not particularly concerned in [redacted]ising human freedom in all its forms. I prefer to have a vote

even when I would die sooner than vote for any of the candidates standing, and I believe my feeling is the common feeling.

The Man in the Street.

That is, I believe, a very important point that many people go wrong about. They say the ordinary man does not want really to control industry, therefore it does not matter whether he has a chance to do so or not. That is a profound mistake. We must organise industry on such a basis that every man does get a chance to control it, not because we believe that every man will take equal advantage of that chance, but because the whole atmosphere of industry will change if that chance is given, and because that will mean that the people who do actually control industry will be controlling it with the consent of the rest, and everybody will feel that he is really co-operating—that he really counts, and that the people who are controlling industry are doing their job under his direction. If we can only get into industry that feeling not merely of consent, but of co-operation, even if it is not the most active co-operation that can be desired, then we shall change to a great extent the spirit in which work is done. I believe the change will go much further, and that if we provide the right conditions, a very much larger proportion of people than now will be active and keen in exercising a real control over industry, although at the same time I believe no less that if you once get industry decently organised it will cease to occupy the disproportionate place that it occupies in men's minds to-day, and instead of being the main thing in our minds it will sink back into being a quite minor and humdrum thing about which we need not bother; and I hope when we have got that feeling it will not be necessary for me to go on lecturing and bothering about industry. Certainly, I shall leave industry to look after itself, and get on with something else. Meanwhile, I suppose I must go on talking for a few years yet.

Trusting People.

Finally, the last problem of human nature is whether you are prepared to take the risk of trusting people or not. I remember the old Socialist question always used to be on the lines that you could not trust the people to work under conditions of industrial self-government. The Collectivists never did trust people a bit. I do not know whether they have changed now or not; at any rate a few years ago, even if they did not trust the people, they had some hope of building through bureaucratic Socialism a sort of Society that would work. That hope has gone. There is no hope in bureaucratic Society, no hope that it would work, even if anyone still desired to bring it into existence. Nor is there hope or chance of capitalism lasting much longer. We have to find some new way of facing the problem of industrial organisation. Neither

the old consumers' Socialism, nor Capitalism, is capable of turning out the goods. That puts it up to you either to accept what I am saying, or else to find some way by which you can induce men to go on producing, by means other than the means which were employed right through the nineteenth century—the means of hunger and fear. Almost the only reason why people have worked in the past, why people have consented to go on working under such miserable, unjust conditions, has been that they have been frightened, and that they have been starved. If that breaks down—and it is everywhere breaking down to-day—then either men won't go on working at all or else they will go on working for some quite different reason.

A Leap in the Dark.

I say plainly that the only reason I can see, the only appeal you can make to persuade men go on working, is the belief that in working they are really serving the community. If that conception won't work then nothing at all will work, and the world will come to an end. Not suddenly, which would not matter very much to any of us; it will come to an end slowly and very uncomfortably for all of us, and we shall see year by year not merely industry growing inefficient, but everything growing more and more dirty and uncomfortable and nasty and hopeless, and more like a story by H. G. Wells. If we want to avoid that, if we want to build up a new Society before the old one cracks all round us, then we have to be quick in making experiments, and we have to make them on trust. Exactly what we must make is what Mr. Leslie Scott called in his case for the Coal-owners before the Coal Commission, "a leap in the dark."*

* For a fuller account of Guild Socialism, reference should be made to the publications of the National Guilds League, 39 Cursitor Street, London, E.C.4.

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HOUSING

BY

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HOUSING.

THE " housing problem " first came into public prominence about two generations ago. At that time, with the development of the factory system, the exodus from the country to the towns was in full swing. Vast populations were herding together in discomfort, squalor and misery. Overcrowding and disease were taking a heavy toll; jerry-building was rampant. The municipalities were either indifferent or helpless before the magnitude of the task. Parliament had for some years been toying with the question, and the Statute Book was ornamented with Labouring Classes Dwelling-Houses Acts, Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvements Acts and the like. At last in 1884 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the Housing of the Working Classes in the United Kingdom, and six years later a pretty comprehensive measure, The Housing of the Working Classes Acts, 1890, was passed. This Act was, of course, not an adequate solution of the problem, though it is only fair to say that if the Local Authorities had shown more public spirit in exercising the powers which it gave them, a vast deal more might have been done. The next important advance was not made till nineteen years later, when the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, was passed. But the results of this both in the towns and in the country fell far short of public expectation. Finally came the War, an almost entire cessation of building for five years, and simultaneously a quickening of the public conscience as to the conditions in which British citizens ought to live. It was officially admitted that, in England and Wales alone, half a million new houses were urgently needed. The Labour Party put the figure for the United Kingdom at a million, and early in January, 1919, Lord Astor, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, announced that the revised estimate for England and Wales was now 800,000. The Government was compelled to place the question in the forefront of its " reconstruction programme," and, after a great deal of deliberation and, as it now appears, with decidedly inadequate forethought, the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act, was passed on 31st July, 1919.

THE LAW AND THE AUTHORITIES.

The law relating to the housing of the working classes is, therefore, at present contained in a number of Statutes, of which the chief are the three above mentioned—The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, The Housing and Town Planning Act,

1909, and The Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act, 1919. These Acts give large powers of providing new houses, of demolishing old ones or making them fit for habitation, and of town planning. The responsibility for these tasks falls primarily on the public authorities. (1) The Town (County Borough and Borough) Councils, Urban District Councils and Rural District Councils, and in London the London County Council and the Metropolitan Borough Councils, are, for housing purposes, the Local Authorities proper. All these Authorities are empowered to appoint a Housing Committee, to which may be delegated all the duties and powers in connection with housing, except the power to borrow money or make a rate. Persons who are not members of the Council may be co-opted on the Housing Committee, and some of these ought certainly to be women; but there must be a majority of Councillors. (2) The County Councils form what may be called intermediate authorities, with powers of acting in default of District Councils as well as certain independent powers of their own. Every County Council is bound by law to appoint a Public Health and Housing Committee. (3) The Ministry of Health is the national authority, having also powers to act in default and the general supervision of the work of the Local Authorities, and to some extent too, as we shall see presently, of that of private individuals or societies building houses. Part of this supervision is exercised through regional officers, called Housing Commissioners, each acting for one of the Districts into which England and Wales are divided for the purpose. In London—*i.e.*, the Metropolitan Police District, which extends beyond the Administrative County, and includes a ring of outer Districts, such as Barnet and Cheshunt to the north, Bromley and Epsom to the south, Romford to the east, Staines and Uxbridge to the west—there is a London Housing Board, consisting of three Members of Parliament, instead of a single Commissioner. The function of the Commissioners (and of the London Housing Board) is to stimulate the provision of houses by the Local Authorities, to give advice to all who are building houses for the working classes, to perform as much as possible of the detailed work of the Central Authority in its relations with the localities. They may even, in certain circumstances, approve the plans of Local Authorities, without first submitting them to the Ministry. Similarly, as regards insanitary houses and unhealthy areas, the Commissioners may give the fullest assistance to the Local Authorities, even to the extent of temporarily lending inspectors on the regional staff for the carrying out of detailed investigations.

The Districts of the Housing Commissioners are as follows:—

A. Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland and Durham.
B. Yorkshire.
C. Lancashire and Cheshire.
D. Wales and Monmouth.
E. Staffordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire.

F. Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland.

G. Gloucestershire, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, Devon and Cornwall.

H. Hants, Isle of Wight, Sussex, Surrey and Kent (so far as not in the Metropolitan Police District).

K. London (Metropolitan Police District).

L. Berks, Bucks, Oxon, Northants, Bedfordshire, Hunts, Herts (so far as not in the Metropolitan Police District).

M. Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex (so far as not in the Metropolitan Police District).

The exact functions and the relations of the Central and Local Authorities will appear as we discuss the powers and duties of each under the Acts. These powers and duties we shall, for the sake of clearness, deal with under the four separate heads of (A) Provision of new houses (including conversion of existing houses into flats, etc.); (B) Slum Areas; (C) Unfit Houses; (D) Town Planning.

(A) Provision of New Houses.

The Act of 1919 made it the duty of every Local Authority within three months (*i.e.*, before 1st November, 1919) to consider the need for working class houses in its area, and to submit for the approval of the Ministry of Health an outline scheme for the provision of such new houses as might be necessary. In cases where the circumstances make it desirable, two or more Local Authorities may combine in a joint scheme. And a County Council may, with the Ministry's consent, come into a joint scheme. All schemes must show approximately the number and kind of houses, the area of land, the number of houses per acre and the time expected for completion, and the estimated cost. The Ministry, if not satisfied with a scheme, may reject it or require amendments.

It does not follow, however, that the Local Authority is bound to undertake the building of new houses itself. What is required is that it (and the Ministry) shall be satisfied that the necessary houses are being provided. There are two other means of providing them. The first is by Public Utility Societies. A Public Utility Society is a Society registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1893 (which, it is to be noted, is the Act under which Co-operative Societies are registered) for carrying on " any industries, businesses or trades specified in or authorised by its rules." It must have at least 7 members and a secretary, and no individual member must hold shares amounting to more than £200 in value (except in Loan Stock). It must not pay interest or dividends exceeding 6 per cent. A Society, then, " whose objects include the erection, improvement or management of houses for the working classes," and which satisfies the above conditions, may get financial assistance from the Govern-

ment, or from a Local Authority or County Council, in the shape of subsidies as well as loans. (For this, see below, p.).

Secondly, the private builder may erect houses, which he may either retain in his own hands or, subject to the consent of the Ministry of Health, sell or lease to the Local Authority. In the latter case the Local Authority need only approve the site and the general outline of the scheme, and can then leave it to the private builder to obtain the detailed approval necessary at the various stages from the Housing Commissioners or the Ministry. In either case the private builder will be entitled to a subsidy from the State, under the Housing (Additional Powers) Act, passed in December, 1919, (See below p. 6)

London.

In London (*i.e.*, the Administrative County) the powers and duties in housing matters are divided between the London County Council and the Metropolitan Borough Councils. If new houses are to be provided outside the Administrative County, the L.C.C. is the Local Authority charged with the duty, and the L.C.C. has, in fact, a large scheme in hand in the District of Barking. But each Metropolitan Borough is the Local Authority within its own boundaries, with two important provisos however. The L.C.C. may submit and carry out a scheme for the use of land in any Metropolitan Borough to meet the housing needs of districts outside the Borough. And secondly, the Ministry may order that any of the powers or duties of a Metropolitan Borough Council in regard to the provision of houses shall be transferred to the L.C.C. It may also transfer the powers or duties of the L.C.C to a Metropolitan Borough Council; though this, of course, it is very unlikely to do.

As regards the City, the Common Council, which is the Local Housing Authority there, may enter into agreements with the L.C.C. for carrying out any scheme and for the apportionment of the expenses of it.

Powers of County Councils, etc.

If a Local Authority fails to carry out its duty to provide houses, or if it appears better that the County Council should prepare and carry out a scheme, the Ministry of Health may transfer the obligations of the Local Authority to the County Council. And, furthermore, the Ministry of Health may itself act in default of the County Council or of a Local Authority, if necessary. In the case of a joint scheme, the Ministry may either authorise the County Council to act in default of the Local Authorities, or may act itself.

But, apart from this, a County Council has certain limited powers of building for itself in the first instance. It may provide houses for any persons in its employment or paid by it—*e.g.*, for

policemen, roadmen or teachers. And it may besides erect cottages in connection with Small Holdings which it provides.

A County Council also retains its old rights under former Housing Acts of (*a*) complaining to the Ministry if a Local Authority is not carrying out its duties; (*b*) applying to the Ministry for an Order conferring on the County Council the powers of a Rural District Council to provide working class dwellings; (*c*) holding a Local inquiry, on the complaint of a Parish Council or Parish Meeting or four inhabitant householders in a Rural District, into the default of the Rural District, and itself taking over the Rural District Council's powers, if satisfied that a case is made out.

Conversion of Houses into Flats.

Local Authorities have power to buy houses and convert them into working class dwellings. They may also assist a private owner who reconstructs, enlarges or improves buildings so as to make them suitable for working class dwellings, by making a loan to him, after the work has been satisfactorily carried out, of the cost incurred, not exceeding half the value of the property mortgaged.

Finance.

The problem of providing houses is now, whatever it was before, a national one, and it is evident that the Local Authorities could not possibly bear the whole of the cost. A Local Authority is only required by the Housing Act of 1919 to pay such a sum as will be produced by a penny rate, provided that the Ministry of Health is satisfied that the expenditure is reasonable and provided that the scheme is carried out by the 31st July, 1922, or such extended time as the Ministry may allow. The difference between this and the actual cost will be met by "moneys provided by Parliament"—*i.e.*, out of the taxes.

Loans may be raised by Local Authorities, secured on the rates, at 6 per cent., and by Public Utility Societies also at 6 per cent., if repayable within 50 years. Companies and private persons, moreover, may similarly obtain loans at slightly less advantageous rates. A Public Utility Society may also get an annual subsidy from the State equal to 50 per cent. till March 31st, 1927, and after that 30 per cent., of the total loan charges (including interest and the payments for redemption of principal) during a maximum period of 50 years.

A County Council desirous of acquiring land to provide houses for its employees may negotiate a loan to be repaid within 80 years (instead of 30 years, as formerly), and it will receive an annual subsidy from the State equal to 50 per cent. till March 31st, 1927, and after that 30 per cent., of the annual loan charges. But this subsidy is subject to the conditions that the County Council's scheme has made such progress as is judged reasonable by the

Ministry of Health before the 31st July, 1920, and that it is completed before the 31st July, 1922, or such further period as the Minister may allow.

By the Housing (Additional Powers) Act, 1919, further incentives are offered to building. "Any persons or bodies of persons constructing houses," which satisfy the Ministry of Health, may receive subsidies from the State. It is laid down that the total sum to be paid for this purpose out of the taxes shall not exceed £15,000,000, the amount allowed for each house being £130, £140 or £160, according to its size. No grants will be made for houses with more than four bedrooms, or a superficial floor area of more than 1,400 feet, and the number of houses per acre will not be allowed to exceed eight in agricultural areas, and, except with the sanction of the Minister, twenty in urban areas (twelve being regarded as the normal standard).

Moreover, the Act provides that a Local Authority may, with the Ministry's approval, borrow money by the issue of "local bonds." These bonds are to be secured upon the rates, revenues and property of the Local Authority, and are to be issued for £5, £10, £20, £50 or £100, redeemable within periods of not less than five years.

The Progress of "the 500,000 Houses."

Having now shown briefly what can be done—on paper, let us see what has been done in fact. The amount of progress made has been a staggering disappointment. By 13th December, 1919, more than a year after the Armistice and four and a half months after the passing of the new Act—7,604 schemes, covering 75,170 houses, had been submitted to the Ministry of Health. Of these only 3,007 schemes, covering 59,964 houses, had been approved. The schemes of Public Utility Societies, which are included in these totals, amounted to 88, of which 27, covering 1,565 houses, had been approved. There was subsequently some acceleration; at February 14th, 1920, 8677 schemes, covering 121,660 houses, had been submitted, 4,471 schemes, covering 107.269 houses, had been approved. Public Utility Societies' schemes showed 115 submitted, and 43, covering 1,877 houses, approved. But down to March, 1920, comparatively few of the "approved" houses had been completed; many had not even been begun.

What are the causes of this unsatisfactory state of things? They can be put under six heads—(1) remissness of the Local Authorities, (2) remissness of the Central Authority, (3) difficulties in connection with building materials, (4) shortage of labour, (5) unwillingness of contractors to build, (6) financial difficulties. Of these the first two are probably the least important. There was at first a good deal of mutual recrimination between the Central and the Local Authorities. The Ministry accused the localities of being dilatory in producing schemes; the localities complained bitterly that the red tape and the burdensome requirements of the

Ministry were thwarting and delaying them. Doubtless neither side has been entirely free from blame. Many of the Local Authorities have taken a long time to move. When they have moved, they in turn have shown impatience at the slowness of Whitehall. But a great deal of the withholding of approval by the Ministry has been perfectly proper from the public point of view. Often enough a Local Authority has submitted a scheme in which it proposed to pay a grossly exaggerated price for land, and the Ministry has acted fairly in insisting on an independent valuation by the Inland Revenue Valuers. Hundreds of thousands of pounds have thus been saved, which would otherwise have passed from the pockets of the taxpayers into those of greedy landowners. Again, the Ministry has held up schemes because the design was not satisfactory, generally in one or other of two ways. Either it was considered that it was not economical enough—that a saving of cost could be effected in some way which would not really impair the quality of the house. Or, on the other hand, the scheme of the Local Authority savoured too much of jerry-building. In either case the Ministry was justified in objecting to the scheme. At the same time there have been cases where the Ministry has tried to force the Local Authorities to save expense by putting up houses of a really inferior type. The gravest ground of complaint, however, which the Local Authorities have had, has been in connection with the financing of their schemes, as we shall see presently. But this is rather the fault of the Cabinet and the Treasury than of the Ministry of Health. Broadly speaking, it is futile to blame either the Central or the Local Authorities, because we have not got our houses quickly enough. It is the other difficulties which have been, and are, really serious.

Difficulties as to Building Materials.

It is not necessary to go into detail on this point. That there has been a shortage of building materials—bricks, lime, cement, timber, tiles, slates, corrugated iron and many other things—everyone knows. And the difficulty has been made worse by the lack of transport. All sorts of suggestions as to " alternative methods of construction " have been put forward. Local Authorities are allowed to relax their building bye-laws, and the Ministry of Health will now approve of such materials as chalk, clay and *pisé de terre* (*i.e.*, rammed or compressed earth) being used in place of bricks, or of wooden huts, timber frames, concrete blocks, and even of frameworks of houses " composed of the disused under-parts of motor cars, lorries, tram rails " and other surplus war materials. The huge increase of cost of all ordinary building materials has, of course, been a factor in the problem. Official figures recently published show that, between 1914 and 1919, the price of bricks increased by 170 per cent., of cement by nearly 200 per cent., of timber by 300 per cent., and of such

articles as nails and kitchen ranges by from 250 to 400 per cent. Allegations have been made of heavy profiteering by rings of merchants holding up the supply and the price of various of materials. These allegations, though they have been hotly denied, have certainly not been disproved, and the public has learned enough about capitalistic " patriotism " during the war to have a fairly firm opinion on the point. It will await with interest the report of a Committee which was eventually appointed in February, 1920, to inquire into the matter.

The Shortage of Labour.

The number of operatives in the building industry is very much smaller than it was five years ago. A great many men have been killed or crippled in the war, and practically no new labour has been trained. It is probable that the diminution amounts to something like 100,000, a large percentage being skilled men, who cannot easily be replaced. Early in 1919 there were about 14 per cent. of building trade operatives unemployed ; twelve months later the percentage was five, and if we take only the skilled men, without whom nothing can be done, there was practically no unemployment at all. At the beginning of 1920 there were, according to the Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, only 134 out of 100,000 of his members in receipt of unemployment benefit. The Trade Unions, not unnaturally, in view of the obvious dangers and of past experiences, would not consent to " dilution," especially while the Government refused to release many skilled operatives from the Army. But, furthermore, it became only too clear during the autumn that a great number of the available workmen were not available for building new houses at all. Fifty or sixty per cent. of them were busy on repairs—some of them necessary, no doubt, but others quite unnecessary, and " luxury " work, such as cinemas, bandstands, restaurants and various industrial and commercial buildings which could very well wait for a year or two. The attraction of this repairing and " luxury " work goes far to explain another serious cause of delay—the unwillingness of contractors to embark on house-building.

Unwillingness of Contractors to Build.

The builders soon found that these jobs were highly remunerative. They could do their business at a minimum of risk and a maximum of profit. They could dominate the market in a way which was impossible under the pressure of competition before he war. Why then should they tender to Local Authorities or peculate in house-building on their own account ? When they id tender, it was pretty clear that the tenders were all too often on-competitive. If they were competitive we should not have en, as we have seen again and again, variations of £200 or more

between the lowest tenders in two districts in which the cost of labour and materials were on the same level. In short, the builders have not wanted to build unless at exorbitant prices.

Financial Difficulties.

Before the war a decent cottage could be built for £250 or £300; now the price ranges from £500 to £1,150, and few tenders are put in for less than £600. The following table, given by the Ministry of Health, tells its own tale.

Cost of Houses.

Cost of Houses of different types for which tenders have been approved and examined at the Ministry of Health up to 24th January, 1920. The cost of land, road making and sewering is excluded :—

Cost as approved	Non-Parlour Type.					Parlour Type.				Total Number of Houses
	Living-room, Scullery, and				Average cost per House	Parlour, Living-room, Scullery, and			Average cost per House	
	1 Bedroom	2 Bedrooms	3 Bedrooms	4 Bedrooms		2 Bedrooms	3 Bedrooms	4 Bedrooms		
					£				£	
£400 and under	—	—	24	—	400	—	—	—	—	24
£401 to £500	4	—	110	—	447	—	32	—	463	146
£501 to £600	—	216	561	—	569	13	160	—	572	950
£601 to £700	—	142	1623	6	658	—	135	—	670	1906
£701 to £800	—	4	1877	3	745	—	1912	73	762	3869
£801 to £900	—	—	323	4	833	71	2078	185	844	2661
£901 and over	—	—	—	—	—	—	343	79	929	422
	4	362	4518	13	£684	84	4660	337	£803	9978
	4897					5081				

The average cost of the 9,978 houses is £744.

The average cost of the 4,897 non-parlour houses is £684.

The average cost of the 5,081 parlour houses is £803.

Of the 9,978 houses :—

8,665 were in urban districts, and cost on the average £749 each.

1,313 were in rural districts, and cost on the average £699 each.

Throughout the autumn complaints were going up from the Local Authorities. The Chairman of the Housing Committee of the Rochdale Town Council observed that prices charged by builders were three-and-a-half times above pre-war prices. Sir J. Tudor Walters, the Paymaster General, said in the House of Commons on 8th December, that he believed that any contractor who wanted to, could build these houses for at least £300 less

than he was doing to-day. The builders indignantly deny profiteering, and Mr. Lloyd George has given them a testimonial of "integrity and patriotism." The plain citizen will draw his own conclusions.

But the problem of the Local Authorities has been rendered still more difficult by the requirement laid down by the Government that they shall charge a commercial rent for their new houses. In 1927 it is supposed that a normal level of prices will have been reached. Rents, therefore, it is suggested, should be fixed at a sum "which will be an economic rent on the probable cost of building in 1927," and this is to be reckoned at two-thirds of the present cost. What would this mean? It would mean in many cases a prohibitive rent. One important Town Council in the North pointed out that on this basis the "economic rent" of a number of new cottages they were building would amount to £2 4s. apiece per week. Many other Councils would have to charge £1 or 25s. a week. And what would be the result of these enormous rents for the new houses? The Increase of Rent (War Restrictions) Act, by which rents have been kept down during the war, would be repealed, and the rents of old houses would immediately leap up to the level of the new. That is to say, a handsome unearned increment would be presented automatically to house-owners all over the country. On the other hand, it is not likely that the working classes could, or would, submit to paying greatly increased rents without a corresponding increase of wages. The demand would be put forward for extra wages to meet the extra cost of living, and the demand could not easily be resisted. With wages risen, prices would rise, and the last state of the country would be worse than its first. Eventually the Ministry of Health has been forced by the pressure of criticism to issue revised regulations, making it clear that if it is not found reasonably possible to obtain a commercial rent based on the estimated cost of building in 1927, the Local Authority will not be penalised by the difference falling on the rates. The Local Authorities are still expected, however, to charge the highest rent they reasonably can. Any dispute on this point between the Ministry and the Local Authority is to be settled by a standing tribunal of five members, two appointed by the Ministry, two by associations of Local Authorities, with an independent chairman chosen by these four.

But another financial difficulty confronts the Local Authorities. They have to raise money for the capital expenditure on their housing schemes. At first the Treasury "particularly desired that Authorities should raise such loans in the open market"; but later it was announced that the Government would be responsible for finding the money for the smaller Local Authorities, *i.e.*, those with a rateable value of £200,000 or less. But it soon appeared that the larger Authorities, thus left to their own resources, were not easily able to raise money in the open market, and it is evident that if their programmes of house building are to increase as they ought to increase, their embarrassment will become still

greater. The remedy, which has been urged very strongly upon the Government, is a National Housing Loan—that is to say, that the Government should put all the Local Authorities, large as well as small, on the same footing, and thus make capital available where it is wanted at a fair rate of interest.

The Government's Remedies.

In December, 1919, when these difficulties could be no longer overlooked, the Government were forced to try to find some way round them. Their chief efforts are embodied in the Housing (Additional Powers) Act, to which we have referred above. They believe that the subsidy to the private builder (reinforced by the Prime Minister's touching appeal to his patriotism) will enormously stimulate building. And by the provision that a Local Authority shall have power to prohibit the erection of unessential buildings in its district, a good deal of labour will necessarily be directed from the "luxury" work on which it has hitherto been engaged. Labour has, of course, raised its voice strongly against this subsidising of private enterprise out of the public funds. But the Government pins its faith to the private builder. The Minister of Health, in reply to a question whether Municipalities should be allowed to construct new houses themselves by the direct employment of labour, said very guardedly that he was "prepared to consider proposals for the erection of houses by direct labour where it appears that economy is likely to result."

How much further towards "the million houses" this new plan will take us, remains to be seen. At present the builders do not appear to be highly enamoured of the proffered gift. Fears have been expressed that the standard of house that may now be built will be lower than that required of the Local Authorities, but Dr. Addison asserts that the Ministry of Health will take care that this shall not be so. He cannot, however, so easily insure that the new houses will be built where they are most needed. There is every danger that they will spring up haphazard in those places and on those sites which suit the contractor rather than the public. It is, in short, a retrograde step to relax at any point the control of the public authorities.

So far as the Local Authorities' own schemes are concerned, better progress may be made as a result of an agreement come to with the building trade by the Ministry of Health, under which builders will share out the work under a scheme, each undertaking a certain number of houses at a certain price. Dr. Addison has stated definitely to a deputation from the National Housing Council that Local Authorities might enter into arrangements with these builders for the erection of the required houses on the basis of prime cost plus a fixed charge to cover profit, use of plant and establishment charges. It is obvious that a costing system specially adapted to the needs of the building trade, with contracts at a price based on the actual cost of building plus a fixed profit

(not a percentage on cost), opens up great possibilities. During the war costing systems were applied in the production of munitions, and saved hundreds of millions of pounds to the public. There is no reason why great economies should not similarly be effected in the production of houses. Moreover, such a system is desirable in the interests of efficiency in the building trade. A proper costing system, as the National Housing Council has urged, " will lay bare many cardinal faults. In some cases the plant will be found to be out of date, and in great need of additions. In other cases the management of labour will be such as to encourage and even develop slackness. In others the choice of markets for building materials will show lack of sound business acumen. But the best feature of all will be that the Government and the Local Authorities will be able to secure that, by the adoption of a good costing system, real facts instead of vague statements shall be available with regard to questions of speed in production and economy in the use of materials."

To the demand for a National Housing Loan the Government have not acceded. Dr. Addison is " inclined to be sceptical in regard to the representations of a number of great municipalities that they were unable to raise the money needed for housing schemes." That, of course, is not surprising ; to disbelieve in the complaints of its critics is the last refuge of a Government which has earned the distrust of everyone. However, the Local Authorities are to issue Local Bonds, which are to be gilt-edged securities and, the Government hopes, an attractive investment. They do not seem likely to be a good substitute for the National Loan ; their success is, to say the least, problematical. But they serve the purpose of preventing the spineless municipalities from " leaning up against the Chancellor of the Exchequer "—which is Dr. Addison's happy way of rebuking those who want the government to play a national hand in a matter of national concern.

Two other difficulties remain—the shortage of labour and of materials. As regards the first, all that the Government can do to increase the total supply is to release 20,000 or 30,000 men from the Army, and to hope that more operatives will be trained as quickly as possible. It is evident that the labour difficulty cannot be settled by a wave of the hand—even of the hand of so potent a wizard as Mr. Lloyd George. It is not likely to be settled until steps are taken to put the building trade on a proper footing, and to make proper provision against the disease of unemployment, with which it is cursed.

Meantime, considerable hopes have been raised by an independent move on the part of the Building Trade Unions. On the initiative of the Bricklayers, the operatives in Lancashire have formed a " Manchester Building Guild," embracing all the Unions in the area (and excluding employers), which has already agreed with the Irlam Urban District Council to erect a number of houses, and is in negotiation with the Manchester City Council for a similar undertaking on a still larger scale. The Guild charges the Local

Authority the cost of the job plus 10 per cent. to cover all overhead expenses—including provision against unemployment; for the operatives are not to lose their pay, if they are unable to work owing to weather or other causes. This scheme has attracted wide public notice, and it has inspired attempts at similar organisations in other towns. The Minister of Health has shown himself not unfavourable, and the experiment, if it proves successful, may have important consequences not merely in the better provision of houses, but for the future of the building industry as a whole. It is noteworthy that the Manchester Guild has declared itself in no sense hostile to the proposals for a National Building Guild. It has, indeed, definitely stated that it will be ready to merge itself in a National Guild, if such a body is established presently by the "Building Trades Parliament," or otherwise.

As for materials, there should be some improvement with the promised increase and speeding up of transport, and, for the rest, our hopes are to be centred in the blessed word "de-control." Optimists believe that, as a result of this, prices will soar for a time, but that the consequent increase in supply will presently bring them down, while the Profiteering Act will restrain gross exploitation. This is, indeed, a very rosy expectation! At the same time there is not much to be said in favour of the retention of control—certainly not of the feeble kind that we have had in the past. And a really rigid control of prices is, for various reasons, not a practical policy. The best method would be for the State to come in as a competitor in the production of some of the chief building materials.

What the Local Authorities Should do.

The Local Authorities meanwhile ought obviously to get on with their proper task of municipal housing, despite the discouragement of the Government. They ought, wherever possible, to try to carry out their building by direct labour, with their own materials and their own plant, or through the "Guilds," when these are established. If they are bound to employ contractors, they ought, as far as possible, to make use of the cost plus profit system referred to above. They ought to exercise the greatest care in the public interest that there is no skimping or falling below standard in the work of the contractor. There is, despite official assurances, a real danger lest the Ministry, in its anxiety to see houses built, should allow, or even encourage, the Local Authorities to go on lowering standards. Labour Councillors at least will not forget that there is a problem of quality in housing as well as of quantity. The old policy was to save a few pounds—and the new policy is to save a few weeks—by means of the ancient art of jerry-building, by leaving out such useless incumbrances as parlours or front doors or baths, or, in short, by erecting "workmen's cottages" instead of houses. That policy ought to be resisted at all costs and in every detail. Every Local Authority

should see that it has the assistance of an Advisory Committee of women in this matter—and the most important sort of women will be working women. Women's Advisory Committees have been formed in a good many places, and the Minister of Health is anxious to see them in every Urban District. The Local Authority might summon representatives of such organisations as the Women's Co-operative Guild, Women's Citizen Association, district nurses and midwives, women's sections of local Labour Parties, and so on, for the purpose of forming the Advisory Committee, or if it is in any doubt, it might consult the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations as to the bodies to be approached for representatives. In Rural Districts, where it may not be possible to form permanent Advisory Committees, there should be a specially convened meeting of women in the parish concerned to give their advice on the plans of proposed houses.

(B) Slum Areas

A large proportion of the inhabitants of this country is housed, as everyone knows, under disgusting conditions. To prove, however, that we are a civilised nation, we have long been in the habit of passing admirable laws to remedy this scandal. But unfortunately it has been far easier to pass the laws than to get them properly carried out. It is true that many of the large-scale slums of a generation ago no longer exist. In Liverpool, for example, between 1901 and 1912, eighteen unhealthy areas were dealt with, involving 2,521 houses. And some years earlier (betwen 1893 and 1897), the London County Council had, by the famous Boundary St. Scheme, swept away fifteen acres of filthy and dangerous slums sheltering no less than 5,719 inhabitants. Yet there are still some of these plague spots left, as, for instance, the notorious Brady Street Area in Bethnal Green. This foul conglomeration has been denounced, disputed about, patched up, and tolerated for half a century or more. A Local Government Board inquiry in 1913 showed that it comprised 7 acres with 528 houses and tenements occupied by over 3,000 persons, and enjoying a death rate of 34.74 per 1,000 as compared with the rate of 16.71 for the whole Borough. Plans for dealing with it are still in course of preparation. There are also plenty of smaller slums; there are vast numbers of back-to-back houses (though happily the erection of new back-to-backs was prohibited by the Act of 1909), packed tenement dwellings, and squalid little death traps all over the country. Many amiable persons would refuse to call all these "slums." But nobody but a fool, or one who considers the national welfare to consist merely in the saving of money, would dare to claim that they are healthy.

How does the law stand to-day? Under Part I. of the Housing Act of 1890, strengthened by certain provisions in the Acts of 1909 and 1919, the Local Authorities have wide powers to clear or reconstruct large unhealthy areas.

The Medical Officer of Health will generally at his own initiative make an inspection of the area, and he is bound to do so on the request of a magistrate or six ratepayers. If he considers that an improvement scheme should be made, he must make a representation to the Local Authority. If he neglects to do so, then a Justice of the Peace or six ratepayers may get an inquiry by the Ministry of Health, and the Ministry may make an order equivalent to an official representation. The Local Authority, if satisfied of the truth of the representation and of the adequacy of their own resources, must order an improvement scheme. In default of the Local Authority, the Ministry of Health may order a scheme to be carried out. And if the Local Authority fail to comply with the Ministry's requirements within a fixed time, the Ministry may authorise the County Council to act, or may act itself.

Every Local Authority (except Rural District Councils and Metropolitan Borough Councils, which have not powers under Part I.) is now required to submit to the Ministry of Health, before 31st July, 1920, definite proposals for dealing with unhealthy areas.

What is an Unhealthy Area?

An "unhealthy area" is one in which the houses, courts, or alleys are unfit for human habitation, or the streets or houses so narrow, close, badly arranged or lighted or ventilated, so defective from a sanitary point of view or in such a bad condition, as to be dangerous to the health of persons living in or near the area. Such an area may be dealt with in one of two ways. Either some of the houses may be demolished, so as to enable the remainder to be made habitable, or the whole may be swept away. The first has generally been the favourite way, because it is cheaper, and only the poor live in "unhealthy areas." This "slum patching" will, of course, have to go on for the present, owing to the shortage of accommodation; but it is important that the Local Authority should only regard it as a temporary expedient.

Improvements in the Law.

In the past the Local Authorities have undoubtedly been seriously handicapped in dealing with this matter, especially by the great tenderness which the law has shown to the slum landlords, and by the idiotic requirements as to the re-housing of the persons turned out by an improvement scheme. Under the new law, however, the Local Authority is in a much better position. In the first place, if a slum area has to be cleared, the price to be paid is now the value of the land alone, without any compensation for the buildings. If the whole of the land to be cleared is required for re-housing, or partly for re-housing and partly as an open space, the price to be paid will be its value to a person who proposes to develop it for working class dwellings. Formerly

the Local Authority might have had to pay a price which it would have fetched for industrial or business premises, even though it was actually used for re-housing.

Secondly, though the law is not yet entirely satisfactory in the matter of re-housing, there has been a great change of public opinion, and it appears likely that the Ministry of Health will not follow the old reactionary Local Government Board by constantly insisting on "central re-housing." The Ministry, indeed, is already urging that Local Authorities should always carefully inquire into the genuineness of claims that residence very near to the place of employment is essential, and not allow the life-long attachment of the slum dweller to his slum to override the general good. They urge also the importance of open spaces, planted with grass or shrubs or trees, of playgrounds for children, and the like, where re-housing on the cleared site is carried out.

Thirdly, as in the case of building new houses, so in the case of destroying old ones and re-housing, the Local Authority is entitled to substantial assistance from the Exchequer, since it is only required to spend itself up to the limit of a penny rate. Furthermore, the Ministry may, under sect. 16 of the Act of 1919, for the purpose of assisting the preparation and execution of schemes, or of making immediate provision while schemes are being prepared, acquire and hold land and buildings, and erect, alter, enlarge, repair or improve buildings and dispose of any such lands or buildings.

On the other hand, the anxiety of any Local Authority to clear away its slums is unfortunately bound for the moment to be affected by the house famine. It will hardly be practicable in present circumstances to carry out immediately many large clearances. But every Local Authority can, and ought to, prepare without delay a comprehensive programme which can be put into force gradually, beginning at once with what is most urgent.

(C) Unfit Houses.

Apart from the slum areas, the Local Authorities have the very important task of dealing with individual houses (or small groups of houses) which are unfit for habitation. This is in one sense an even more serious and more exacting task. The slum area stares you in the face; the unfit house will often have to be discovered. Constant watchfulness is required on the part of the Local Authority and its sanitary officers, and constant attention to detail. The owners will naturally not be anxious to expose the defects of their houses, and often enough the tenants will give little help. Any Local Authority which is remiss in this matter is guilty of a crime against society, for bad housing conditions are one of the causes of high death rates, and of an enormous amount of sickness, physical inefficiency and moral degradation. If statistics are wanted, they can be found in the Medical Officer of

Health's Reports and in almost any book on Housing, though it is well to remember that these must be taken with care, since other causes besides bad housing are operating in high mortality and disease rates. It is important, however, to call attention to the fact that the problem is not, as is sometimes supposed, entirely or even chiefly an urban one. Many of the "cottage homes" of rural England are little better than whited sepulchres. Many more of them, if not actually a serious danger to health, are not reasonably fit to live in. Here are some of the results of an inspection in the County of Somerset in the years 1911, 1912 and 1913. In the Rural District of Bath, out of 774 houses inspected, 58 or 7·5 per cent. were found to be unfit for habitation, 251 or 32·5 per cent. "defective though not unfit." In the Rural District of Williton 848 houses were inspected; 62, or 7·3 per cent. were unfit, and 603 or 71·1 per cent. defective. In the Rural District of Taunton 1797 houses were inspected; 171, or 9.5 per cent. were unfit, and 1,375 or 76·5 per cent. defective. Similar figures could be given for almost any County. Somerset is not singled out because it is particularly bad; indeed it has an M.O.H., who is a well known and zealous housing reformer, and the County Council itself has shown much activity. But it is clear, in the face of such evidence, that there has been gross neglect in the past, and that the task of making "healthy homes for all" will be a long and heavy one.

What the Local Authorities can do.

The Local Authorities which are charged to deal with these unfit houses are, as laid down by Part II. of the Housing Act of 1890, the Borough and Urban and Rural District Councils, and the Metropolitan Borough Councils in London. The London County Council is not primarily concerned, except in a case where more than ten houses are included. The London County Council may, however, act, if it considers that the Metropolitan Borough Council is in default, or at the request of the Metropolitan Borough Council.

The Local Authority is required to make periodic inspections, and the Medical Officer of Health must, either of his own initiative or on the complaint of a Justice of the Peace or four inhabitant householders, make a representation to his Council as to any dwellings which are unhealthy. An "unhealthy dwelling house" is defined in the Housing Act of 1909, as one which is in a state so dangerous or injurious to health as to be unfit for human habitation (including every sleeping room of which the floor is more than 3 feet below the street level, unless it is seven feet high and complies with certain regulations). With such unhealthy houses the Act of 1909 also couples "obstructive buildings"—*i.e.*, buildings which, though not in themselves unhealthy, yet by reason of their position impede ventilation or conduce to the unhealthiness of other buildings or prevent the remedying of such unhealthiness.

The Local Authority, when satisfied that a dwelling is unhealthy, has several courses open to it. (1) It may make a closing order prohibiting the use of the house till it has been rendered fit for human habitation. Fourteen days are allowed for the owner of the house to appeal to the Ministry of Health against the closing order. If he does not appeal, or if his appeal is unsuccessful, the closing order becomes effective and the occupiers must move out, their cost of removal being in certain cases at the charge of the owner (see Act of 1909, sect. 17 (4) and (5), and Act of 1919, Schedule II.). (2) After a closing order has been in force for three months, the Local Authority, if they consider the house is not being made, or cannot be made, healthy, must issue a demolition order (from which the owner has a right of appeal to the Ministry of Health). If it appears that the house can and will be made healthy by the owner, the demolition order may be suspended for six months to allow him to carry out the work. (3) After a demolition order has been in force for three months, the owner must pull the house down. Failing him the Local Authority must pull it down at his expense. No house or other building which will be injurious to health may then be erected on the site. (4) Under sect. 28 of the Act of 1919, a Local Authority may serve a notice upon the owner of an unfit house requiring him within a reasonable time, not being less than 21 days, to make it " in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation." If the owner does not comply with the notice, the Local Authority may do the work at his expense, provided it can be done without reconstruction. It is important to notice that it is not necessary, before such an order for repairs can be issued, that the house should be in a state so dangerous or injurious to health as to justify a closing order.

As regards obstructive buildings, the Local Authority considers the cost of pulling them down and acquiring the land, and may after hearing the owner, make a demolition order (from which he has the right of appeal to the Ministry of Health). When the demolition order becomes operative, either the owner or the Local Authority must demolish the buildings, and the land may be retained by the owner or bought by the Local Authority.

When an area has been cleared by the demolition of unhealthy houses or obstructive buildings, and is too small for an " improvement scheme " under Part I. of the Act of 1890, then the Local Authority may, if it so desires, prepare a scheme under Part II. That is to say, reconstruction may be carried out by the minor authorities—Rural District and Metropolitan Borough Councils—on a small scale similar to that described above for a large slum area. The powers of the Ministry of Health to act in default, or to authorise the County Council to act in default, of the Local Authority are similar for schemes under Part I. or Part II.

A Local Authority is not, of course, bound to build new houses on a cleared site. It may, if it chooses, dedicate the site as a highway or open space, or exchange it for other land for workmen's dwellings.

Standards of Fitness.

It will be worth while now to examine in a little more detail what we mean by a house being reasonably fit for human habitation. It is, of course, useless at the present time to aim at Utopian ideals. A Local Authority is not a Harlequin in a Pantomime who can produce with a tap of his wand a wonderful transformation scene, and millions of citizens must continue to put up with discomfort, inconveniences and ugliness in their houses. But they need not be satisfied with anything that makes seriously for ill-health. Let us lay down certain minimum conditions of fitness.

Every house ought to be :—

(1) *Free from serious dampness.* Porous walls, the absence of gutter pipes, of a damp-proof course or of sub-soil drainage, the banking of earth against the walls, are some of the commonest causes of unhealthiness.

(2) *Properly lighted and ventilated.* It is worth remembering that the presence of a window, or what looks like a window, is not by itself a sufficient guarantee of ventilation. Proper ventilation means *through* ventilation.

(3) *Properly drained and provided with adequate sanitary conveniences, as well as with a sink and suitable arrangements for disposing of slop water.*

(4) *In good general repair.* Among the commonest defects under this head are bad paving in yards ; broken roofs, eaves, gutters, etc. ; cracked or peeling walls, dirty or loose wall-papers ; broken ceilings, floors, stairs ; rotten window frames ; warped doors ; stopped-up or broken ventilators and flues ; insufficient or defective cupboards ; broken or badly set grates, stoves or ranges.

(5) *Provided with a proper water supply,* and

(6) *With adequate washing accommodation (and in new houses, of course, a bath),* and

(7) *With a well-ventilated larder or store for food (if possible on the north or east side of the dwelling).*

This is not an exhaustive list. Many other matters, small, maybe, but important, will suggest themselves to any practical person. But how many Local Authorities maintain a decent standard on these seven points ? It is safe to say that there is not a town or a village in the kingdom where the conditions are satisfactory. It is idle to blame the law or the Ministry of Health ; it is the Local Authority, or perhaps the electors who elected it, that should be blamed. Civilised man has a marvellous propensity for choosing the wrong persons to represent him on public bodies. Is it to be expected that Councils consisting largely of wealthy manufacturers or shopkeepers, squires, farmers, landlords, builders and house speculators, will be particularly zealous about the closets and gutter pipes of the poor, or anxious to spend the rates or coerce property owners ? There are, of course, honourable

exceptions among these classes, and there are some really public-spirited Local Authorities. But until the working class itself is serious about its own affairs, it will continue to be badly housed.

Overcrowding.

So far we have said nothing of overcrowding. Overcrowding is, in its magnitude as well as in the difficulty of dealing with it, the worst of the evils connected with the housing problem. It takes two forms—overcrowding per acre, *i.e.*, too many houses on any given area of land, and overcrowding of persons in any one house or room, These are distinct evils, though, of course, the two are often found together. Overcrowding per acre is evident to the naked eye in the poorer quarters of all our great towns; but its full enormity will only be appreciated if the number of dwellers in some of these quarters is examined. It has been said that a healthy city ought not to have more than 25 people to the acre; yet we find large areas all over the Kingdom with 200, 300 and more. As for overcrowding per room, this is widespread in town and country alike, and it has been enormously intensified by the house famine since the war. Both physically and morally it has disastrous effects. It is not confined to insanitary houses; it was common, long before the abnormal shortage of accommodation, in homes otherwise healthy enough, for it is obviously a result, in part at least, of poverty. There are, as there always have been, hundreds of thousands of workmen with large families unable to pay the rent required for an adequate number of rooms.

Technically this form of overcrowding is a "nuisance," which can be dealt with under the Public Health Acts. The law is vague and unsatisfactory about it. There is no statutory definition of overcrowding. The Registrar General for the purpose of the Census Returns allows two adults to a room, counting a child under 12 as half an adult. Anything beyond that constitutes overcrowding, and in 1911 it was found that 3,139,472 persons, or 9.1 per cent. of the population of England and Wales were living in an overcrowded condition. In many places the state of things is utterly appalling, notably in the colliery areas. The evidence given before the Coal Commission in 1919 showed that in the mining district of Ashington, in Northumberland, 32·2 per cent. of the people were overcrowded, in Annfield Plain, Durham, 41·4 per cent., and in Leadgate, Durham, 43·6 per cent.

Most Local Authorities adopt the Registrar General's standard. Some take an even lower one; the London County Council, for example, allows two adults per room and counts a child between 5 and 10 as half an adult, but does not count a child below 5 at all. It is, therefore, possible for two parents and seven or eight young children to live in a two-roomed L.C.C. tenement, the whole family sleeping in the one bedroom, and yet, in the eyes of the Public Health Authority, not to be overcrowded! In the case of

lodging-houses we find other standards laid down by bye-laws, requiring a minimum cubic space per person. These minima vary from 240 c. ft. (for an adult, or 120 c. ft. for a child) to 450 c. ft. In Army barracks 600 c. ft. per man is the minimum, in the Metropolitan Police barracks 450 c. ft., and in Poor Law Institutions 500 c. ft. It is worth recalling that Professor Huxley many years ago fixed the quantity of cubic air space required for each adult at 800 c. ft.

Bad, then, as the overcrowding problem has long been on the low standard of two persons to a room, it is infinitely worse if we look at the prospects of raising that standard. Mr. E. D. Simon, of the Manchester City Council, recently made an inquiry into the conditions of a number of working class houses at Didsbury. Practically all of these were of the usual four-roomed type, two only of the rooms being bedrooms. Mr. Simon found house after house occupied by families—respectable families—of 5, 6, 7, 8, and even more persons. In some cases one bedroom was slept in by the parents and one and more children, the others by two or three other children, boys and girls indiscriminately. Sometimes there were a couple of beds squeezed into a room, one for the boys and young men, the other for the girls. Sometimes a lodger, male or female, formed part of this human *mélange*. Of the 71 houses examined only 4 were legally overcrowded. Mr. Simon submits that this is a scandal, and that 2½ persons per bedroom should be regarded as a maximum, and that the separation of the sexes should be taken into account. Few decent people will disagree with his view. But on that basis nearly fifty per cent. of those houses were overcrowded! Didsbury is not an exceptional case, as everyone knows. Make some allowance, if you will, for the present shortage of accommodation, and build what hopes you will on the Government's "800,000 new houses"; and the problem yet remains serious enough. We cannot discuss it in more detail here; it must suffice to say one thing—a higher standard than the Registrar General's ought to be adopted, if not immediately, as soon as is reasonably possible, and that standard ought to be enforced for all houses, old and new.

(D) Town Planning.

Town planning is not really a sub-division of the housing question, and it deserves a better fate than to be tacked on as a sort of tail to a Housing tract. But since the legislature has thought fit to include it in the Housing Acts, it is necessary to touch briefly on it here, with the warning to the reader that it should be studied independently as a larger and profoundly important subject.

Town planning means the securing of proper sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience, in connection with the laying out and use of land. It ought to be regarded as one of the most urgent tasks of the Local Authorities. In point of fact, it

has hitherto been most grossly neglected. In this country, throughout the nineteenth century, practically no attention whatever was paid to it. *Laisser faire* reigned triumphant, and the result is the hideous blotches that disfigure a great part of the land to-day. It was only in this century, after many efforts and experiments by private enthusiasts in the shape of Garden Cities, Garden Suburbs, and the like, and after the German municipalities had long shown the way, that the Public Authorities began to develop an interest in the idea. The Housing, and Town Planning Act, 1909, empowered Local Authorities to prepare town planning schemes in such cases as they thought fit. Few of them showed any disposition to " think fit," and those who did, were discouraged both by the bad regulations made by the Local Government Board and by the troublesome procedure involved in getting the Board's sanction for their schemes. In the nine years following the passing of the 1909 Act only one hundred Local Authorities prepared or decided to prepare schemes—to the number of 155 altogether, involving 279,184 acres of land. And only about one-tenth of these schemes have by 1920 got anywhere near a practical stage.

Town Planning under the Act of 1919.

The new Act marks a considerable step forward. The procedure for making schemes has been simplified. The Local Authority—(*i.e.*, in London the L.C.C., and outside London, every Borough, Urban and Rural District Council)—may now by resolution decide to prepare a town planning scheme for any area in its district, without having to obtain the authority of the Ministry of Health. To save unnecessary delay of development during the preparation of schemes, the Minister of Health may make orders prescribing the conditions under which the proposed development may proceed pending the making and approval of the schemes. After 1st January, 1923, the preparation of town planning schemes will be compulsory in all Boroughs or Urban Districts with a population of 20,000 or more. And in the meantime any Local Authority may be required by the Ministry of Health to prepare a town planning scheme for any area for which the Ministry considers that a scheme is immediately necessary. Furthermore, if a Local Authority fails to carry out its duties as regards town planning, the Ministry may act itself, or, in the case of a Borough or Urban District with a population of less than 20,000, or of any Rural District, may empower the County Council to act, at the expense in either case of the Local Authority. There is still need of an improvement in the law so far as the functioning of the Local Authorities is concerned. Joint Committees of neighbouring Authorities may be set up (see Act of 1919, Sect. 42 (2) (ii), but it is left to the discretion of the Authorities to decide whether they shall. Everyone, who is familiar with the practice and policy of the Local Authorities at the present time, will know

that it ought not to be so left. There is a real need for the constitution of more or less permanent joint bodies for the purpose of town planning in many places. This is obvious enough in the case of "Greater London" and of a number of other large towns; but it is also important, where it is not so self-evident, in a great many other districts. Now that we have the Housing Commissioners, with their defined areas, it ought not to be difficult to establish the proper machinery for co-ordinating town planning schemes.

The Present Opportunity.

Town planning, as we have already said, means the securing of proper sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience in the laying out and use of land. It is clearly a matter with which every member of a Local Authority, and every private citizen, ought to concern himself. And they ought to concern themselves with it now. New houses are to be built everywhere. It is necessary to see that in all these schemes the larger "amenities" and "conveniences" are not sacrificed to immediate haste for roofs and walls. The width and position of streets, open spaces, trees and grass, the proper sites for public buildings of all sorts, as well as for factories and workshops and offices, access to railway stations, docks, theatres and other busy spots—all these are matters to be taken into account in making a new town or altering an old one. They are matters which ought not to be considered piece-meal, but all together as parts of a whole plan. And it would be an agreeable innovation if a few Councillors, at the risk of being decried as cranks and sentimentalists, should insist that not only convenience but beauty is essential to a well-planned town.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS.

(Any of these will be procured and sent by the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, on remittance of price and postage).

English Public Health Administration. By B. G. BANNINGTON. (1915). King. 8s. 6d.

Garden Suburbs, Villages, and Homes. Garden City Press.

The Home I Want. By R. L. REISS. New edition. (1920). Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d.

The Housing Handbook. By W. THOMPSON. (1903). King. *O.P.*

Housing Up-to-Date. By W. THOMPSON. (1907). King. *O.P.*

Housing and the Public Health. By J. ROBERTSON. (1919). Cassell. 5s.

The Housing Problem: Its Growth, Legislation and Procedure. By J. J. CLARK. (1920). Pitman. 21s.

Local Development Law. By H. C. DOWDALL. (1919). Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d.

Rural Housing. By W. G. SAVAGE. New edition. (1919). Fisher Unwin. 7s. 6d.

The Working Woman's House. By A. D. SANDERSON FURNISS and MARION PHILLIPS. (1919). Swarthmore Press. 1s. 6d.

The Case for Town Planning. By H. R. ALDRIDGE. (1915). National Housing and Town Planning Council. 21s.

Town Planning in Practice. By RAYMOND UNWIN. (1917). Fisher Unwin. 31s. 6d.

Some of the Publications of the Fabian Society and the Labour Research Department.

(Complete list of nearly a hundred on application).

The History of the Fabian Society. (1916) By EDW. R. PEASE. 300 pp., with portraits. 6s. net.

The Wages of Men and Women: Should they be Equal? By Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB. 1s.

A Public Medical Service. By DAVID MCKAIL, M.D., D.Ph., and WILLIAM JONES. 1s.

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TAXES, RATES AND LOCAL INCOME TAX.

BY

ROBERT JONES, D.Sc.

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TAXES, RATES, AND LOCAL INCOME TAX.

Local Finance.

THE whole business of local government stands in need of revision, and that revision must include a great deal of simplification. To no branch of local government does this apply more completely than to its finance. The present system is the result of a great number of laws, and its complications are not all of one kind. Some of them represent real differences in the proportion of local and national interests, others seem to have no justification whatever.

Central and Local Finance.

State subventions, in one form or other, have rapidly increased. Before Mr. Goschen formed the Local Taxation Account (1889), that is to say, "in the eighties," the State subvention was about one-ninth of the total local expenditure. In the pre-war period of this century, the proportion was about one-quarter. The tendency to increase the State subvention still continues. For the Education Act of 1918, it was fixed at one-half.

Principles.

There are no sound principles of local finance that differ, or can properly differ, from the principles of national finance. It is unfortunate that local affairs and local finance, being so complicated, should be so often considered by themselves. The trees hide the shape of the wood. This difficulty occurs along with another, which is similar in its effect—the slow growth of a knowledge of principles, and the long persistence of incorrect ideas, not only among the general public, but among large classes of the better instructed.

This slow fixing of sound principles is in part the result of natural human conservatism, and partly is caused by the fact that certain vested interests will grow around the incorrect view, strengthening it, finding reasons for it (a common and natural process), and upon occasion defending it with righteous anger. These causes are by no means small and subsidiary.

The following examples will illustrate the meaning and importance of what has been said above :

Some Examples of the " Time-Lag " of Knowledge :

(1) *The Nature of Taxation.*

Tribute, taxes, rates, impositions, in one form or another, have been levied for thousands of years. The principles of finance and of taxing have been discussed for twenty centuries. Yet no really correct definition of a tax appears until the first part of the nineteenth century. Now our ideas of the correct method of levying, collecting, spending rates and taxes depend very largely upon our idea of what a tax actually is. While people thought that a tax was a price paid for State protection, just as money might be paid to buy soap, they were likely to take an individualist view of public finance, and to judge of it as they judged business transactions in general. But rates and taxes are essentially communal, and not individualist, and it is just because this has not been properly grasped that certain people would find themselves startled by an imaginary conversation of this kind :

" London has got an immense and valuable property, able to yield hundreds of thousands a year—"

" It should be made as fully profitable as possible."

" The cash return from it is practically nothing. Yet a syndicate of capitalists could be formed to-morrow to take it over and pay a million or so a year for it."

" —And the rates bounding up ! Scandalous ! It should be disposed of at once."

" It is Hyde Park."

" Ah, well, of course—"

Now the gentleman who ends this imaginary conversation in such fashion would not have fallen into so simple a trap if his ideas of what is valuable, productive, profitable, had been built upon the communal, as well as upon the individualist meaning of those words.

In similar fashion, the old idea of a tax being a kind of price paid for State benefits received is only true in the communal sense. The total " payments " made to the local and central authorities, would not be made at all unless we had a belief—strong, even if confused—that very important benefits would result. But these benefits cannot be counted out, for each individual, in portions of so much for each £1 of rates or taxes. This confusion of communal with individualist ways of reckoning creates, in many directions, a series of false contradictions. Thus it is equally true to say that Hyde Park yields no income (dividend, profit, rent, cash), and that it yields a valuable income of health, education, happiness.

Taxes, as Mr. Sidney Webb puts it, represent the part of our incomes that we arrange to have spent for us by the community, and as the community directs. But a tax differs from an ordinary

price in two respects : it is compulsory, and it is not proportioned to the " benefit " received in return. If sixpence buys a pound of soap, we expect a shilling to buy two pounds. But a doubling of rates or taxes by no means implies a doubling of the "benefit received." The parallel is truer in the case of the rate than in the case of the tax, though it is not correct for either of them. Rates, however, are in many cases linked with definite measurable services, such as road-mending or street lighting; and this is partly the reason why the old " benefit " idea has dominated local more completely than national finance. When a great part of local expenditure went to make improvements that increased the value of land, the idea of benefit to the landowner had a reality that sometimes got carried over, in mere confusion of thought, to the community in general. A century ago (1814) seventy per cent. of rates was levied upon land. On the outbreak of the war (1914) the percentage was twelve. The change was due chiefly to the increase in the value of buildings, and to the introduction of a new item, railways. It resulted partly, however, from the efforts of the landed interest to shift the burden to the taxpayer.

(2) *Progressive or Graduated Taxation.*

The change of public opinion in favour of graduated or progressive taxation illustrates both the slowness of the spread of a new idea (in finance as in other matters) and also, the speed of the spread of the same idea under an effective method of education. The third (1903) edition of our standard textbook on Public Finance (Bastable) still shows a distrust of graduated taxation, only less strong than that of the earlier editions. It reflects the sense of justice of the citizen of the nineteenth century, for our fathers honestly thought it unjust to tax an income of £2,000 a year at a higher percentage than an income of £200 a year. The basis of all rating and taxing must be the sense of justice or equity of the time, and this is a variable for which there is no fixed standard beyond the law of the land for the time being. We cannot apply that standard when it is a question of altering the law of the land, and that is what every change of taxation implies.

(3) *Taxes upon Income.*

The income tax is now the sheet-anchor of our national system. Many people are now discussing its application to local finance—an application already made, on the continent, and indirectly already adopted here, through our Grants in Aid. Yet Gladstone apologised for using an income tax in times of peace. He viewed it as an abnormal impost, only proper to such cases as the hard times of war. We think differently to-day.

Here again we see the educative force of actual practice. Just as to the ordinary citizen taxes should first of all be "fair"; just as to the economist they should not check the production of desirable goods, or encourage the production of undesirable goods; so to the Chancellor they should be productive; and no Chancellor lightly abandons any productive tax, once levied, however bitterly his party may have condemned it on its first appearance. It is scarcely credible to this generation that in 1816, the wealthy Whig party was able to get Wiltshire farm labourers—none of them earning so much as 10s. per week— to send resolutions to the House of Parliament protesting against the iniquity of continuing the income tax. The proposal was to continue the tax, reduced from 10% to 5%, on incomes over £150 per year. The national conscience, upon this instruction, was roused (!) and income tax disappeared from our Budgets. Only as an "exceptional tax" was it re-imposed (at sevenpence in the pound) in 1842.

(4) *Direct Taxation.*

The next example has an increasing interest just now, because the old dispute about direct and indirect taxation is re-emerging.

On the continent indirect taxes have long formed a part of local finance, as well as figuring in national systems,—the *octroi*, or tariff upon goods entering towns or districts; but so far (except in a few isolated cases) we have escaped town tariffs. The present Lord Chancellor wrote in 1909: "With characteristic arrogance, Mr. Lloyd George has thrown over the financial maxims of the past. Instead of an even balance between the two sets of taxes—direct and indirect—the direct burdens are more the heavier by about 7 per cent." But the economics of a Lord Chancellor-to-be are unknown to economists. The "even balance" is a myth that began to haunt the lobbies of the House when the proportion of indirect to direct taxes fell steadily from 73:27 (1840) to 50:50 (1900). The creators of the myth had simply "rationalised" their desire to check the movement. But the movement continued. The ratio of indirect to direct taxes was calculated, in 1917, as 18 : 82; and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in April, 1919, stated the proportions of his budget taxes thus—Direct 75%, "Sumptuary," 17,91%, Indirect, 7,01 (essentially, Direct 75, Indirect 25). There is no reason known to the economist in favour of any particular ratio between them.

Indirect taxes by raising prices necessarily check consumption, and therefore check production. Hence they are best applicable to such commodities as in the opinion of the nation may at least be limited without any real harm resulting—whiskey and tobacco, for example. They should not be levied on food, on necessities, on any educative product or habit. They have the serious drawback

that they do not and cannot be distributed according to " ability to pay." Further, they are not " progressive " in their graduation, but very often degressive. A tax on bread falls most heavily where it should fall most lightly. Finally, indirect taxes make for a bad training in citizenship. All who exercise the rights of citizenship should share its duties, among which is to bear a just proportion of the national expenses. Representation without taxation is tyranny. No adult sane citizen should escape taxation; and therefore no citizen should ever live at " bare subsistence " level; for in that case, of course he—or she— is incapable of paying any tax. Lastly, every citizen should be aware of his citizenship, and take some pride in it. Indirect taxes hide from him the fact that he is paying at all. How seldom does an educated man, when he buys tobacco, realise that he is paying a tax? How often, do uneducated men, who pay no taxes directly, think that they escape? If a man pays rates embodied in his rent, and taxes only in the extra prices of the goods he buys, he loses a healthy continuous lesson in citizenship. A good State should ensure good citizens by these three methods, namely,

(a) By seeing to it that no citizen is incapable of contributing to the common fund;

(b) By claiming from every citizen a contribution according to his abilities (which does not mean " in proportion to his income," although Adam Smith thought these two were one and the same, and others, with less excuse than he had, still can think no more clearly. For a man with £1,000 a year is able to pay more than twice as much as another with £500 a year);

(c) By seeing to it, lastly, that the citizen not only pays, but knows that he pays, knows how much he pays, knows why he pays. If these things are hidden from him, or not clear to his mind, to that extent he is the less a good citizen.

It is a convenience to a Chancellor of the Exchequer if a tax, being disguised, arouses little opposition while providing a goodly sum. But it is a poor public spirit that grows from such ill statesmanship. Secret taxation is no more to be commended than secret diplomacy. Necessary or not, it is never admirable in itself.

These examples illustrate (1) the importance of keeping the main principles of finance in view;

(2) the need of repeating them, and the comparative danger of assuming, in the detail of local affairs, that the general principles of finance may be taken for granted; and

(3) the curious slowness in the spread of an idea, while it is still an " abstract idea," however good may be the reasons that support it; and the equally curious speed at which a nation can absorb an idea when it has been translated into practice, by a Chancellor of the Exchequer for example.

Ratings.

Professor Cannan has pointed out that two principles have in the past controlled the development of local finance :

(1) That every inhabitant of a district should be made to contribute according to his ability ; and

(2) That everyone who receives benefit from the local expenditure should be made to contribute in proportion to the benefit he receives.*

" Applied to the same rate," he says, " these principles are obviously incompatible," and he goes on to show that a very fair approximation to rough justice is in fact reached by the counteracting effect of the two principles.

Rates are in effect taxes upon property rather than on income. It has often been pointed out that where two individuals, say a diamond merchant and a timber merchant, have equal incomes, it by no means follows, that they have equal holdings in fixed property,—land and buildings ; and that therefore it is absurd to assess their rates upon their properties. But the rates in both cases are really paid by the owners of the land on which the offices or timber yards are placed (except in the case of new rates or taxes). A fuller account is given under the heading " Local Income Tax," further on.

Rating is a method developed in connection, first of all, with the Poor Rate, and afterwards applied to other local purposes. The probable abolition of the Boards of Guardians in the near future will compel the setting-up of a revised system of assessment of the value of properties. The Overseers or the Boards of Guardians are still the valuers for rating purposes in many places, and even in some London Boroughs—Woolwich for example. The contrast between the relative unimportance of the Guardians, as illustrated by the apathy that marks their election, and the very great importance of the work of assessment entrusted to them, is one of the anomalies of local government. Highly responsible work should go to highly responsible bodies or individuals.

Newer Ideas of Finance.

Almost during the last generation, the following new ideas, proposals, or practices have come forward.

1. *Graduated scales.*—This was a re-emergence. Athens in the fourth century B.C. had a graduated scale of taxation.

* History of Local Rates in England in Relation to the Proper Distribution of the Burden of Taxation: Second Edition, 1912. P. S. King, 3s. 6d. net.

2. *The distinction between Earned and Unearned Incomes.* Very largely this is an attempt to tax economic rents, or unproductive surpluses. Mr. J. A. Hobson has elaborated the whole idea in several recent books. *

3. *The Super Tax:* an extension of the ideas in (1) and (2), above.

4. *The Excess Profits Tax:* a well-meant but rather clumsy further extension.

5. *A Luxury Tax:* This might have been made economically useful, though in a small way. The temptation it offered to those who really desired more indirect taxation, or merely protectionism, proved stronger in action than any desire of economic purity. It was abandoned (1918).

6. The acceptance of the Tax on Income, in terms of Ability to Pay, as the " sheet-anchor " of our system.

7. The recognition of the Family as an economic unit. This has already expressed itself in the form of wife-and-children abatements. The assessment and taxing of the Family Income as a distinct unit, however, is yet only a suggestion.

8. *Municipal Enterprises.* This is a subject for a whole treatise. It has a long history of Beginnings, with a period of comparative disappearance, and a modern History of Emergence; this last dating from the decay of the Individualist Period (18th—19th Centuries).

9. The general superiority of direct to indirect taxation.

10. The equity and practical wisdom of making exemptions and abatements, now applied to (a) life assurance, (b) children, (c) wives; and, with vicissitudes that show the opportunism and empiricism of governments, to small incomes.

11. The definite relation of taxpaying to a sense of citizenship.

12. The right application of taxes upon income to local expenditure.

13. Taxes on persons in proportion to their wealth, fortune or " riches " as in the schemes for a Capital Levy.

Municipal Undertakings.

The extension of Municipal Undertakings, with their analogue, the Nationalisation of Industries, represents for the future a change in the nature of national and local finance so great as to dwarf all other developments. For national action, the way is open. The first " communally-minded " Parliament that meets will probably take two or three important steps of this kind,—unless, indeed, it is anticipated by a Parliament of shareholders who fear being bought out without " extra compensation for forced sale " or some similar formula.

* See the Industrial System; Longmans, 1909; and his Taxation in the New State; Methuen, 1919.

For local authorities, however, two preliminary steps are needed for the efficient development of municipal undertakings:

(1) The simplification of the present innumerable areas and authorities—possibly into Parish and Borough Councils only, with the County Council as the larger unit of area outside the County Boroughs; and

(2) The grant of powers to the County and Borough Councils to do anything they wish except only those things that Parliament specifically forbids. At present, we are unable to see how droll we are in holding it ridiculous to force a company owning a private fleet of motor buses to get a special Act of Parliament passed, as a kind of certificate of birth, while insisting that if the same fleet of motor buses is to belong to the London County Council, a certificate of this kind (very costly upon occasion) must be insisted on. Profits, we seem to say, may go to profiteers or to profit-makers; but only to profit sharers by an Act of Grace. Thus also the capital of a profit-making Company, when it is taken over by a public body, is to some good folk, no longer capital, but a burden of debt. Yet we smile at the Wiltshire labourers of 1816.

Central Control, Central Grants.

State Grants must always imply State control, and this will be good or bad according to the intelligence of the control department: but that is a limitation belonging to all human concerns. Broadly speaking, central control acts for the common good—

(1) When it encourages active and public-spirited local authorities;

(2) When it maintains, against local apathy or ignorance, any necessary "National Minimum";

(3) When it leaves the door open for new ventures and experiments;

(4) When it controls, and in extreme cases punishes, local bodies that through inefficiency or corrupt interests act against the public weal.

As a rule, action taken under (1) (2) and (3) is far more effective and valuable than the more sensational acts possible under (4). Here again the general law of human government applies, whether for nation, village, family, school, or any other group: that the methods of good government seek to prevent the need of punishment arising, just as good housing outvalues the best supply of medicines.

Scarcely any of the activities of a local authority are purely local in their effects; so that the range of State subventions, or grants-in-aid, is a very wide one. The best method of payment

is that adopted in the Education Act (1918) and likely to be extended to other branches of work. The Board of Education says in practice to the local authority: "If you go beyond the compulsory National Minimum of Education laid down for general use, then, whatever educational work you may undertake, whether experimental or not, so that you demonstrate that it is educational work, we will pay half your expenditure." But this should be accompanied, as was elaborately worked out in 1913-14, by a scale graduated so as to help even more liberally the districts of low rateable value in proportion to the necessary service.

Local Income Tax.

An extension of this method of Grants, together with a "free hand" for municipal enterprises and undertakings, would solve the difficulties of local finance so completely that the movement for a local income tax would probably cease. It would be merged into activities that would yield all that is being sought by the public-spirited people who are pressing for this particular change.

There is one hidden danger connected with a Local Income Tax that should have special mention. It is the danger that a Local Income Tax should replace part or all of the present system of rates. Every landowner and houseowner who is both selfish and intelligent ought to be an ardent supporter of the idea of sweeping away as much as possible of the present rates, and substituting a Local Income Tax. The effects would work out somewhat in this fashion:

Any fixed charge upon land, such as tithe or rates, as soon as it is recognised as being fixed, must either be paid by the landlord at once, or, in the first instance, by the tenant. If by the tenant, he of course must reckon with it as with his rent; if he is to pay £150 rent and £50 fixed charge in rates he has a clear item of £200 expenses to face. Suppose, now, the £50 rates removed, and a Local Income Tax on the whole community put in its place, the tenant paying, we will say, £10 towards this tax. Until his lease runs out, he will be paying £160 (£150 + £10) instead of £200; a gain to him of £40 per year. On the renewal of the lease, the landlord will ask for rent anything up to £190, for that will leave the tenant just as well off as before. Out of this £40 extra the landlord will pay his quota of the Local Income tax, which at the same rate will be less than £3 (the tenant paying £10 in £150, or one-fifteenth). If he pays at a higher poundage he may have to yield as much as £5 out of the £40. He is better off by £35 per year. The change would mean a gift to the holders of real estate, whether land or houses, running into tens of millions, even after allowing for the landowners' share in the new Local Income Tax.

Classification of State Grants.

The Goschen system of the Local Taxation account was intended to be the general and chief method of dealing with local finance. Fixed fractions of fixed taxes would go into a distinct fund, and from this fund payments would be allocated and made to the local authorities.* There were State payments, however, apart from this fund, notably payments for Education. These were at first held to be exceptional, but they have in fact become the most significant part of local finance. The direct grants are now double the amount paid from the Local Taxation Account, and they tend to increase still further. The Grants have been classified thus :

1. Amounts fixed : that is, not based on the present actions or activities of the local authority (*e.g.* the " Whiskey Money," or share in the Customs and Excise Revenue).

2. Amounts paid for the services or " efficiencies " of the local authority; being payments for services rendered and approved, but not proportioned in any way to the local expenditure.

3. Amounts calculated on a percentage of approved local expenditure. This promises to be the typical Grant, and the percentage now favoured is 50 (like the " Police Grant " of 1874, then raised to half the expenditure). But a higher percentage has been given in some instances, and there is no valid argument against 75 or even 85 per cent, instead of 50.

The practical solution of the national—local discussion, at the present day, comes briefly to this : a prescribed percentage share of the actual expenditure on all local services which the community wishes, for the common benefit of the nation, to see increased; with due provision for the needs of districts of low rateable value. On the side of direct finance, it would seem advisable to leave that solution to be further applied, and to help in its application. Side by side with this, local authorities should work for the " free hand " in municipal ventures. Such freedom is the likelier to be gained if the number of local bodies is reduced, and their position rendered more responsible. A practical "local authorities programme" would be :

1. Fewer authorities with more authority.
2. All powers except those definitely withheld by statute.
3. Acceptance and furtherance of the Grant in Aid method, of a percentage of actual expenditure for the immediate future.

* A diagram in Dr. Grice's book, *National and Local Finance*, P. S. King, 1910, illustrates the process.

A Single Tax.

We have all of us a natural tendency, when faced by any complicated system, to desire it simplified ; and if simplified into one type or method, so much the better. This feeling makes a part of all movements in favour of a single tax, whether on land or on income. The same feeling adds to the attractiveness of the idea of a local income tax ; for we have all moved towards a belief in these tenets :—

(a) Income is a better general test of wealth than is occupation of property, though less good than assessment in proportion to capital wealth or " riches."

(b) The tax on income is the best type of tax, because it is the most just (but consider the alternative of taxation in proportion to capital wealth).

(c) The income tax avoids all discussions of tariffs, preferences, bounties.

(d) Income and capital taxes can be assessed according to graduated scales with exemptions and abatements.

Against these must be put the fact, of which everyone knows examples, that people in certain occupations persistently evade income tax. This is a remediable weakness capable of steady reduction by improved administration. A less obvious danger, and one to be specially noted in discussing plans for a local income tax, has already been mentioned. No rates or taxes, such as those upon fixed property, should be removed in order that an income tax may replace them, for that would in effect be equivalent to making a disguised gift to the present holders of the property.

Our knowledge of economics and finance, and our experience of administrative methods, are a very long way from being so complete as to enable us to sweep away all our various rates and taxes in favour of any one tax, without, at the same time, very greatly benefiting some classes, or very unfairly hurting others, or both. To this there is but one possible limitation :

All " economic rent " can be taxed up to 100% without any injury whatever to the powers of production of the nation, for rent-takers, as such, give no services,—though they may do so in other capacities, if not as rent-takers. Now it is roughly possible to assess the " economic rent " of land, but it is not yet practicable to assess and tax all economic rents. Until that can be done, and is done, a mixed system of taxation is the most practicable one. Thus, a balance against the escape from income tax of certain groups may be found in a fuller and properly graduated tax upon transactions above a fixed amount— a method already in use in our " receipt stamps." This in turn, has the objection of being a tax on trade, and therefore a check upon production. It is only cited here to illustrate the difficulties of complete simplification.

The Demand for a Local Income Tax.

The case for a Local Income Tax appears irresistible—until the difficulties are realised! The system of charging all the expenses of Local Government upon the occupiers of premises, approximately in proportion to the rental value of those premises, (i) fails to extract any direct contribution from the ground landlord or absentee owner of property; (ii) secures a quite unduly small contribution from the man with a big income occupying a small house; (iii) unfairly penalises the shopkeeper, the doctor, or the farmer, who pays in rent more than the average proportion of income; (iv) weighs heavily on the large family needing more rooms than the small family of like means; (v) operates as a discouragement to building additional houses; (vi) is specially unfair to the clergyman deriving his professional income from tithe, which (alone among professional incomes) is assessed to the rates; and (vii) makes the ratepaying occupiers disproportionately sensitive about any municipal improvements which involve a rise in rates. Moreover, the system by which each Local Authority has to provide, by rates levied on the occupiers within its area, for all the expenses of its administration, (a) weighs unduly on the "cities of the poor" with relatively low rateable value, and unfairly exempts the "cities of the rich" where rateable value is high; and (b) exacts from occupiers in the working-class districts an unfair share of the cost of the thoroughfares, the local drainage, the elementary schools, and the Public Health services, incurred in the common interest of the nation. Under this pressure the rates in some districts have risen even beyond "twenty shillings in the pound," whilst in others, no more economically managed, they are only a quarter of this rate.

What is a Local Income Tax?

It is accordingly suggested by some reformers that each Local Authority should be empowered to levy the whole, or some portion of the revenue that it requires, not according to the rental value of the premises occupied, but according to the incomes enjoyed by the several inhabitants, with provisions for the total exemption of very small incomes, and the mitigation of the impost on small incomes by Abatements, Wife and Children Allowances, etc., as for the National Income Tax. Such a Local Income Tax, it is urged, is in force in Germany and other countries.

A Local Income Tax Impracticable here.

Unfortunately, such a measure appears to be in this country both impracticable and inexpedient, at any rate in the form in which it is usually proposed, for the following reasons:

(A) The British Income Tax is, to the extent of more than two-thirds, "assessed at the source," in such a way as to make it

impossible to discover the total incomes of the inhabitants of each locality; and this system is demonstrably so important in preventing evasion that it will certainly never be abandoned by any Government. Each Local Authority would, therefore, have to create its own machinery for assessment and collection of any Local Income Tax, which it would be extraordinarily difficult to institute and conduct with any accuracy or completeness.

(B) Even if this local machinery could be provided, the difficulty of deciding (i) where the income should be assessed, and (ii) how much of it should be assessed by each Local Authority, appears, in innumerable cases, insuperable. Consider (a) the common case of a man earning his income in the business area, and residing in the suburbs outside the Municipality; (b) the case of a man maintaining several residences (*e.g.*, a cottage in the country as well as a house in the town); (c) the case of the proprietors of a business with different branches or "multiple shops"; (d) the case of businesses making their incomes from a whole series of premises of different kinds, scattered over different Local Government areas; such as a city warehouse; various kinds of factories for different components; stabling, wharfs, and offices in different places; possibly also farms or grazing fields, and drying grounds. How would it be possible, for each of the many Local Authorities concerned, to decide how much of the aggregate income of the business, which could only be regarded as a whole, was to be deemed to be assessable at each point? It seems as if the only possible way of dividing the income of such a complex case would be according to the extent and value of the premises employed in each place—which brings us back to the present basis of rateable value!

A Share in the National Income Tax.

In order to avoid these difficulties it is sometimes proposed that the assessment of Income Tax by the Inland Revenue Department for the whole nation should be adopted for local purposes; and an additional penny, or two pence, should be added to the National Income Tax for the time being, the extra sum thus realised by the Inland Revenue being handed over to the Local Authorities in aid of their own finances. Each penny in the pound of Income Tax now yields, net, about four million pounds, which may be, approximately, equal to about a fivepenny rate. If a Local Authority could receive each year from the Inland Revenue the equivalent of a tenpenny rate, what a boon it would be to Councillors harassed by an impending rise in rates!

But this would not be a "Local Income Tax." It would not mean that each locality was getting the proceeds of the assessment of the incomes of its own wealthy residents. It would mean only

that the National Income Tax, as we know it, had been increased by twopence in the pound ; and that the aggregate Grants in Aid to all the Local Authorities together were to be increased by eight million pounds. Thus, we come back to the present system of relying on Local Rates and relieving them by Grants in Aid.

How it Could be Distributed.

We should then have to face the problem of how to distribute among all the thousands of Local Authorities, rich and poor, apathetic and energetic, thrifty and extravagant, the additional Grant in Aid. If this were done on any common basis, such as proportionately to rateable value, or to population, or to superficial area, the result could only be the production of a new set of inequalities between the "cities of the rich" and the "cities of the poor," which would leave the problem essentially unsolved.

Moreover, it cannot be ignored that any such distribution, besides creating new inequalities, would bring the largest reduction in rates to the most apathetic or to the most stingy Local Authority, and the least reduction to the enterprising, energetic, and large-minded Local Authority that aimed at maintaining all the local services in a high state of efficiency. This would not make for Municipal Progress !

How to Help Local Authorities.

It is clear that what we want to do is to secure most relief to the rates in (a) those districts in which the necessary expenditure on local services is greatest in proportion to rateable value ; and (b) those districts which are actually providing most service of any desirable kind. A Local Authority which has a full supply of schools, a well-qualified and properly paid staff of teachers, an efficient public library, all the parks and open spaces that its inhabitants require, the best possible provision for Maternity and Infancy, and enough hospitals and convalescent homes for the sick, ought to receive much larger Grants in Aid than a Local Authority which neglects or starves all these valuable but costly public services. No system of Local Income Tax, or mechanical apportionment of an addition to the National Income Tax, makes this wise discrimination.

The Grant in Aid.

And so we come back to the plan of Grants in Aid calculated (a) proportionately to the actual expenditure of the several Local Authorities on all the various public services that it is considered

desirable to encourage ; and at the same time (b) specially graduated so as to aid most those Local Authorities in which the rateable value per head of population is exceptionally low.

There is no advantage, but, on the contrary, great disadvantage, in making the aggregate Grant in Aid dependent on any particular source of revenue (such as the Spirit Duties or the Income Tax). The total Grant to Local Authorities ought to vary only with their needs, not according to the year's receipts from some particular tax. Hence the plea of local reformers should be, not for any share of the Income Tax, but simply for an Increase in the Grants in Aid and a proper reform of the System.

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THE SCANDAL OF THE POOR LAW.

FIFTEEN years ago a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the working of the Poor Laws and the methods adopted for meeting distress due to unemployment. Its investigations dragged into the light not only the perpetual degradation and misery of a large section of the people, but also the futility and wastefulness of the whole Poor Law system in dealing with the destitute. The system was, and still is—theoretically at any rate—based on the famous " principles of 1834 " : (1) that relief should not be offered to able-bodied persons and their dependents except in a well-regulated Workhouse, and (2) that the lot of the able bodied should be made " less eligible " than that of the independent labourer outside. But the Royal Commission found that these principles had become, by the beginning of this century, mere shadows of their former selves. The relief of the able-bodied was very far from being confined to the Workhouse, nor were the pauper inmates always by any means " less eligibly " treated than those outside. The Workhouses for the most part were not well-regulated. They were too often shelters for an indiscriminate host of men, women, and children, able-bodied and infirm and feeble minded, of good character or bad, with little in common except their destitution and their disgrace. In a few cases the old hard theory of deterrence was still applied. In others the Workhouse had been transformed into a palatial institution, whose expensive grandeur served to conceal the wretchedness of its inmates and the stupidity of the whole policy of " parish relief." If the Workhouse that the Commission examined was, generally speaking, less uncomfortable than it was, and was intended to be, in the middle of last century, it was certainly not less detested. As for outdoor relief, it had, by the pressure of a humaner public opinion, grown to enormous dimensions. It was often given without any proper investigation ; it was capricious, and as a rule inadequate for a healthy subsistence, and being, as it frequently was, a mere temporary dole to the chronically destitute, it simply helped to perpetuate a pauper class. Moreover, there was an incredible waste of effort and of money, due to the fact that the Boards of Guardians were everywhere in competition

with other public bodies engaged in making provision for the sick, the feeble-minded, the children and the able-bodied. Overlapping and duplication of administrative machinery was universal, and the development of the good policy of the Local Health or Education Authorities was retarded by the conflict with the bad policy of their rivals, the Destitution Authorities.

Let us look for a moment at the picture which the Reports of the Royal Commission presented.

The Pauper Children.

It was found that there were in the United Kingdom some 300,000 child paupers. Nearly 20,000 of these were actually being brought up in the Workhouses, subject to all the demoralising influences which life in such an atmosphere must produce. The birth-rate in the Poor Law Institutions was nearly 15,000 annually, and the infant death-rate was appallingly high. Bad as the Workhouse was as a birthplace, it was often worse still as a nursery. Many of these wretched children were tended by imbeciles, and kept in dark and unwholesome rooms, from which they were seldom or never taken into the open air. Nor was the case of the "outdoor" infant paupers and their mothers much better. The starvation pittances of relief given to expectant and nursing mothers, and the restriction of midwifery orders, spelt misery or lingering death for thousands of women and children. Of the children of school age some, it is true, had a happier lot; for in many Unions they were "boarded-out" or brought up in separate institutions—Cottage Homes or Poor Law Schools. But a great number of the "boarded-out" children were without proper supervision, and paying the penalty of the inadequate sums allowed for their maintenance—sums often as low as 2/6 a week. And the condition even of those in the Homes and Schools was unsatisfactory; for apart from the stigma of pauperism resting on them, their education was impaired by the constant passage of the "in-and-out" children, the indiscriminate mixture of children of different grades of intelligence and the difficulty of getting good teachers.

But the crying scandal was the case of the children on outdoor relief, numbering nearly 200,000. Tens of thousands of these, the Royal Commission reported, were being brought up in insanitary or drunken and immoral homes, while the great majority were chronically underfed, insufficiently clothed, badly housed, and often suffering gravely from want of proper medical attention. It was with a shock of surprise and pain that the public read that many Boards of Guardians were allowing sums of 1/6 or 1/- a week to a mother to provide for a child, sometimes even with nothing at all for herself.

The Sick Paupers.

"Sickness," said the Majority Report, "is admittedly one of the chief causes of pauperism . . . . We estimate that at least one-half of the total cost of pauperism is swallowed up in direct dealing with sickness. To this burden we must add the indirect contributions of sickness, viz., the widows, children, and old people, cast upon the rates through preventable deaths of bread-winners, and the host of degenerate, imbecile, maimed and blind, with whom disease helps to populate our workhouses. It is probably little, if any, exaggeration to say that, to the extent to which we can eliminate or diminish sickness among the poor, we shall eliminate or diminish one-half the existing amount of pauperism." But the Poor Law system is a system which, by its very principles, can only deal with those who have fallen into destitution. It thus actually deters the sick from getting the earliest and best treatment of their disease, which is hardly the most promising way to "eliminate or diminish sickness among the poor." It was estimated, after an inquiry into the ravages of tuberculosis, that nearly 60 per cent. of the consumptives in the Poor Law infirmaries were paupers because they were consumptives, and not consumptives because they were paupers. The majority of these sufferers come to the Poor Law when their disease is well advanced, and it is too late to effect a cure. Apart from this fundamental failure, due to the fact that the Guardians are compelled to restrict treatment to the destitute, there were particular evils which called forth the strongest condemnation of the Royal Commission. In many Unions there was the "grave public scandal" of the retention of the sick in the General Workhouse. Even where there were separate infirmaries, these, like the ordinary Workhouse wards, were commonly understaffed both as regards doctors and nurses. As for Outdoor Medical Relief, it was shown to be a tragic farce. "From first to last," said the Minority Report, "it has no conception of the Public Health point of view." The parish doctors were generally underpaid and overworked, with the very natural result that the poor could seldom expect proper treatment. One Poor Law Medical Officer, indeed, in his evidence before the Commission, actually stated that "we are forced to treat the people not as patients, but as paupers!"

The Feeble-Minded Paupers.

Out of the great host of feeble-minded persons maintained at the public expense, it was found that there were "detained in the General Mixed Workhouses of England, Wales and Ireland, and, to a lesser degree, those of Scotland, no fewer than 60,000 mentally

defectives, including not a few children, without education or ameliorative treatment, and herded indiscriminately with the sane." The Minority Commissioners describe how they have themselves seen, "what one of the Local Government Board Inspectors observe is of common occurrence—idiots who are physically offensive or mischievous, or so noisy as to create a disturbance by day and by night with their howls, living in the ordinary wards, to the perpetual annoyance and disgust of the other inmates. We have seen imbeciles annoying the sane, and the sane tormenting the imbeciles. We have seen half-witted women nursing the sick, feeble-minded women in charge of the babies, and imbecile old men put to look after the boys out of school hours. We have seen expectant mothers, who have come in for their confinements, by day and by night working, eating and sleeping in close companionship with idiots and imbeciles of revolting habits and hideous appearance." And besides all these, certified or uncertified, of various degrees of mental deficiency, maintained by the Guardians in the workhouses, there were another 12,000 or so on outdoor relief, all more or less free to produce at the public expense further generations of imbecile paupers.

The Aged and Infirm Paupers.

The Royal Commission found that the "Aged and Infirm" were a mass of diverse individuals of all ages and of different mental and physical characteristics, making up about one-third of the entire pauper host. The lack of classification, shown in the lumping together in a single category of all these different groups with different needs, was in itself strong evidence of one of the chief defects in the Poor Law administration. For their treatment the majority of the Boards of Guardians made no other provision than the general Workhouse, or indiscriminate, inadequate and unconditional out-relief—"forms of relief cruel to the deserving, and demoralisingly attractive to those who are depraved." In one particular class—the aged—the Old Age Pensions Act, which came into force after the Royal Commission had reported, did, of course, produce a considerable reduction during the following years. But even so, thousands of old men and women over 70 remained still in the Workhouse or on outdoor relief, because they were too feeble or too friendless to live independently on their pensions. And a still larger number under 70 must continue their pauper existence, a very few in the comparative comfort of separate "Homes" provided by a Board of Guardians here and there, the majority in the Workhouse or on doles of out-relief.

The Able-Bodied Paupers.

In certain Unions the Royal Commission discovered an attempt to carry out the strict deterrent principle of 1834. The "Able-

bodied Test Workhouses," maintained at Manchester, Sheffield, and elsewhere, were little other than penal institutions, employing what were regarded as more brutal and stupid methods than any humane prison system would care to acknowledge; whilst the "Stoneyards," opened in times of exceptional distress, offered a spectacle of the crudest and most uneconomic "relief work." In the majority of Unions, however, the ordinary way of dealing with the "unemployed" was to put them in the "able-bodied wards" of the Workhouse. These were characterised by the Commissioners as "places of sloth and utter degradation of character, will and intelligence." "Of all the spectacles of human demoralisation now existing in these islands," said the Minority Report, "there can scarcely be anything worse than the scene presented by the men's day-ward of a large urban Workhouse during the long hours of leisure on week-days, or the whole of Sundays. Through the clouds of tobacco smoke that fill the long, low room, the visitor gradually becomes aware of the presence of one or two hundred wholly unoccupied males of any age between fifteen and ninety—strong and vicious men; men in all stages of recovery from debauch; weedy youths of weak intellect; old men too dirty or disreputable to be given special privileges, and sometimes, when there are no such privileges, even worthy old men; men subject to fits; the feeble-minded of every kind; the respectable labourer prematurely invalided; the hardened, sodden loafer, and the temporarily unemployed man who has found no better refuge . . . . all free to associate with each other, and to communicate to each other, in long hours of idleness, all the contents of their minds. In such places . . . . there are aggregated, this winter, certainly more than 10,000 healthy able-bodied men."

There is, however, yet another recipient of the Guardians' hospitality. This is the vagrant. The Casual Wards, where the tramps, in return for a night's lodging and a portion of bread and cheese and water, were put to a useless task of stone-breaking, corn-grinding, or oakum picking (with sometimes incarceration for thirty-six hours in a small cell), were condemned as "brutalising and demoralising." They were, indeed, patently cruel to the honest workman on the tramp for a job, whilst they could do little to deter, and nothing to reform, the wastrel or the "workshy."

The Destitution Authorities.

Such, then, briefly summarised, was the Poor Law system ten years ago. And such, in its essentials, as we shall see presently, it remains to-day. But there was another significant fact which the Commission laid bare. All this business of pauperism, covering in the course of a year something from one and three quarter million to two million individuals in the United Kingdom

was, and is, administered by 1,600 or 1,700 *ad hoc* Destitution Authorities—640 Boards of Guardians in England and Wales, 154 in Ireland, and between 800 and 900 Parish Councils (with 70 or 80 Poorhouses) in Scotland—at an annual expenditure, out of the rates and taxes, of about £17,000,000. But the Local Destitution Authority, thus trying to cope with the problems of infancy and education, of sickness and lunacy and unemployment, was found to have a whole set of other Local Authorities competing with it in every department. In 1834 the Poor Law was the only public agency for dealing with any form of destitution. By 1909 not one of the five different classes which came under the Poor Law was left to the Poor Law alone. The Local Health Authorities were providing hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, nurses, midwives and health visitors. The Local Education Authorities were giving meals and medical treatment and (in Scotland) clothes to necessitous children. The Local Lunacy Authorities maintained their own asylums, and boarded-out mentally defectives. The Local Pensions Authorities were paying old age pensions, and were soon actually to take scores of thousands of aged persons out of the hands of the Guardians. A Local Unemployment Authority had been created in 1905 by the Unemployed Workmen Act with its Distress Committees, which, by means of Farm Colonies, relief works, women's workrooms, the payment of travelling expenses, and even of the expense of emigration, deliberately set out to save decent workmen in distress from falling into the clutches of the Poor Law. Even the Police Authority overlapped with the Poor Law, with its gifts of clothing out of the "Police Aided Clothing Fund" and (in Scotland) the provision of a night's lodging for vagrants. All this, as we have said, was significant. There was obviously a squandering of public money in maintaining this elaborate duplicate machinery, even supposing that the Destitution Authorities and their rivals were both administering their services as economically as possible. But it was also pretty obvious that the administration of the Boards of Guardians was not economical in any real sense, though it was certainly miserly in all too many Unions. And the very fact of the development of the new services of the Local Authorities, and their steady encroachment on the Poor Law, was a sign that the Poor Law was a failure, and that public opinion was more and more recognising that failure.

The Reports of the Royal Commission.

When the Royal Commission reported in 1909 it was unanimous in its condemnation of the System as it stood, and urgent for large reforms, though as to the practical shape which these reforms should take, there was a division of opinion. Both the Majority and the Minority recommended the abolition of the

Boards of Guardians, and the transfer of their duties to the County and County Borough Councils. But the Majority were in favour of retaining an *ad hoc* Destitution Authority—a Statutory Committee of the County or County Borough Council, practically independent of the Council, though able to draw on it for funds, and appointing Public Assistance Committees to function under it in smaller areas (*e.g.*, Rural or Urban Districts, or groupings of these). The Public Assistance Committee would (in co-operation with Voluntary Aid Committees and other agencies) undertake the executive work hitherto carried out by the Guardians. The Minority Commissioners, on the other hand, were totally opposed to the idea of a Destitution Authority. It was not, they said, merely destitution that the victims of the Poor Law were suffering from. What was required was treatment of each individual according to his special needs. And the proper authorities, therefore, were those which were dealing with a particular class—*e.g.*, the Local Education Authorities, the Local Health Authorities, the Local Lunacy Authorities. Moreover, these authorities alone could, and do, pursue a policy of prevention and not of mere palliation. And the right method of coping with destitution is to prevent its occurrence, and not to relieve it after it has occurred.

Of the controversy that ensued between these two policies it is not necessary to say anything here; it has only a historical interest. It is sufficient to recall that the propaganda set on foot by the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution very rapidly convinced the country that the Poor Law must be broken up, and its functions handed over to the appropriate Local Authorities. There was, of course, opposition by the defenders of the existing order—the vested interests of Bumbledom, from the President of the Local Government Board down to the ordinary reactionary Guardian or self-satisfied Workhouse official. But the Labour Party was solidly behind the Minority Report, as also were the majority of the Liberals and many Conservatives, and it was confidently expected, shortly before the outbreak of the war, that the Government would legislate.

Pauperism During and after the War.

With the declaration of war in August, 1914, there was a new situation. The prospect of the Government taking up the question of Poor Law reform was, of course, indefinitely postponed. During the early autumn there was a large increase of distress owing to the rapid and widespread dislocation of industry and commerce, and despite the many agencies, public and private, which sprang into being to combat this distress, a considerable number of people were driven to the Poor Law for relief. The total of pauperism within three weeks of the outbreak of war was

as much as 41,621 higher than that for the corresponding date in 1913, and a month later it had risen by another 115,000. There was before long, however, an equally rapid recovery, and as more and more men were absorbed into the Army or the manufacture of munitions, and with the influx of women into industry, the figures of pauperism decreased. Many of the Poor Law Institutions—workhouses, infirmaries and the like, were taken over as military hospitals or depots, their inmates being transferred to other buildings or boarded out in neighbouring Unions. Nevertheless, there remained a large residue of pauper sick and infirm, feeble-minded, aged and children.

The following figures show the numbers in receipt of Poor Law relief in England and Wales at the end of the September quarter in each year:—

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Ordinary Paupers (in workhouses, institutions and on outdoor relief) ..	641,028	566,725	516,876	483,436	446,665	463,009
Casuals	5,587	3,799	3,321	1,849	1,195	1,857
Outdoor Medical Relief	17,521	14,238	14,169	13,661	12,794	12,274
Lunatics	100,941	102,975	100,182	97,356	90,718	83,172
Total ..	765,077	687,737	634,548	596,298	551,262	560,312

It will be seen that the figures for 1919 show an increase. This is due to the dislocation which followed the Armistice and the demobilisation, and resulted in widespread unemployment, with strikes and lock-outs. At the beginning of 1920 the volume of pauperism was clearly returning to its pre-war proportions, and although industrial conditions are more settled than they were a year or six months ago the numbers in receipt of Poor Law relief tends to rise week by week. In January, 1920, the total of indoor paupers in over 30 of the largest industrial areas in the Kingdom showed an increase of 2,642 (or 2·3 per cent.) over that of December, and the total of outdoor paupers (exclusive of vagrants and of persons receiving outdoor relief) an increase of 1,374 (or 1 per cent.). By March there was a further rise of 1·8 per cent. in the indoor figures, and 2·4 per cent. in the outdoor. As compared with a year earlier, the increases were, in the case of indoor paupers, 6·2 per cent., in the case of outdoor, 11·2 per cent. In London there were 9,500 more paupers on April 24th, 1920, than on the corresponding day in 1919.

Reforms in the Poor Law.

But, it will be asked, have there not been reforms in the Poor Law administration in the last five years, and even before the war,

subsequent to the Reports of the Royal Commission? Is the state of the Poor Law as described by the Royal Commission a true picture to-day?

There have indeed been reforms. But let us examine them, and see how much change they have made in the Poor Law system. In the years following the publication of the Reports, Mr. John Burns, then President of the Local Government Board, did his best to whitewash the Poor Law. He admitted that amendments were required here and there; but these could safely be left to him—"the fairy godfather of the poor," as he modestly called himself! He was soon proclaiming that he had introduced sweeping "ameliorations," and that, "if reform by revolution has been denied us, revolution by reform in administration has been most efficiently secured." This revolutionary administrative reform proved, on examination, to amount to very little. An Outdoor Relief Regulation Order was issued, introducing a case-paper system. But in 1912 the doles of out relief in a great number of the Unions were as inadequate and as unsatisfactory as they had been before and as they have been since. Many of the Workhouses were still crowded with indiscriminate herds of paupers, as they had been before and as they have been since. The lot of the feeble minded remained practically unaltered, and the improvement of the miserable Medical Service of the Poor Law only moved by inches. Some of the aged certainly, as has already been said, were being rescued, but the Old Age Pensions Act could hardly be claimed, save in a very ironical sense, as a reform in Poor Law administration. The "able-bodied" problem, except in so far as it was affected by the Insurance Act (which, again, was not a Local Government Board reform) was still the same problem. The hardened tramps, however, were "reformed" by the remarkable device of putting all the twenty-eight Casual Wards of the Metropolis under the management of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. Thus, said Mr. Burns, "we shall be able to keep a register of all the vagrants, and devise a means by which the decent men amongst them can be put upon their feet, re-instated in the industrial sphere, and by which those who are not quite so good can be dealt with either by medical, curative or preventive methods." There is not, it must be confessed, much evidence that these dazzling hopes have been fulfilled. And, in any case, the possibility that the Metropolitan Asylums Board may succeed in rehabilitating a few hundred of these unfortunate wretches and "workshys," is not a very solid proof that the Poor Law is a satisfactory method of dealing with unemployment. In one department certainly Mr. Burns did make some useful efforts, though the process of reform took a long time. He put pressure on a number of the more reactionary Boards of Guardians to move their children from the Workhouses. Even in this, however, he was only partially successful, for a considerable

number still remain to this day in their old surroundings. There was also a Boarding-Out Order in 1911, which did a little to improve the lot of the boarded-out children. But in many Unions it was very far from being honestly carried out. Altogether it is safe to say that Mr. Burns was the only man in the Kingdom who could discern any important difference between the "reformed" Poor Law of 1912 and the "unreformed" Poor Law of 1909!

But there have been further reforms since 1912. It is not worth while to discuss them in detail. We have, indeed, only referred at some little length to Mr. Burns's activities in order to show the hopelessness of expecting any change of the Poor Law system from within. Of the most recent changes two only can be called important. These are the supersession of the reactionary Local Government Board by the Ministry of Health, and the removal, by the Representation of the People Act, of the disqualification which prevented a man from voting if he had received parish relief in the previous year. Both these, it will be noticed, were measures carried by Parliament; both point clearly to the general contempt for the Poor Law and its administration. For the rest, there has been, in some Unions, a better classification of paupers, a slight improvement in the treatment of sickness, and a further effort to deal with the "tramp" problem by the establishment of County Vagrancy Committees (which are, in fact, only local combinations of Boards of Guardians). And there is no longer a Workhouse; it is now generally called "The Institution" (though the name "Workhouse" must still be used for certain legal purposes). This trivial joke, which Bumble and his champions take quite seriously, is again significant of the popular feeling about the Poor Law and its degrading associations.

The Position To-Day.

What, then, is the sum total of all these reforms of the last ten years? It would be unfair to deny that some Boards of Guardians have honestly tried to remove abuses, and that in the best administered Unions the standard of provision is as high as the law will allow. But in all too many cases the old evils, which were so unsparingly criticised by the Royal Commission, still flourish. The new Institution and the old Workhouse are as like as two peas. Outdoor relief is still, over a large part of the Kingdom, a synonym for inadequate doles dispensed in the old way. The outdoor scales have, of course, risen, but so also has the cost of living, and the old person or widow who receives 10/- or 11/- to-day cannot make it go any further than 4/6 or 5/- would go formerly. And some Boards, despite the great enhancement of prices, have not raised their doles beyond 7/6. The Guardians are little better equipped than they were for the

treatment of disease, for maintaining the mentally defective or for educating children. Many of them, as we have already said, still keep their children in the " Institution " despite the laments of the Ministry of Health. There were, in fact, on January 1st, 1920, over 3,000 inmates of the mixed Workhouses between the ages of three and sixteen (not more than one-third of whom could be said to be there only temporarily, pending their removal to some other place). As for the Medical Service, such reform as has been introduced has been largely superficial, and limited generally to the larger Urban Unions. Even there, it has not been universal. In one important town in the Eastern Counties, for instance, we find the Medical Officer complaining to the Guardians that " the nursing staff is inadequate and insufficiently paid, there are 120 people in the Infirmary, 83 of them bedridden, with only one certificated nurse and about three ward-maids."

Nor is there any sign of the Guardians having performed a miracle for the able-bodied. The Yorkshire Vagrancy Committee had 11,681 admissions to its Casual Wards during the fourth quarter of 1919. The Warwickshire Vagrancy Committee reports for the March quarter, 1920, an increase of 636 admissions over the previous quarter, and of 3,081 over the corresponding figure in 1919. The tramp, in fact, is again on the road, and the grim old farce will be repeated despite the County Vagrancy Committees.

Meanwhile, the encroachment on the Poor Law by the Local Authorities has grown apace. The Local Health Authority has of late enormously extended its provision for infancy and maternity and for sufferers from various diseases, notably tuberculosis and venereal disease. Moreover, it is in many places in open conflict with the Guardians on the question of hospital provision. The insufficiency of accommodation has become a serious problem. Boards of Guardians are asking the Minister of Health to let the ratepayers come as paying patients to the Poor Law Infirmaries ; for in many of these Institutions there are empty beds, whilst the non-Poor Law hospitals, already over-crowded, have long lists of patients waiting their chance to come in. At Bradford the Poor Law Infirmary has actually been handed over to the Corporation, with the approval of the Ministry of Health, to be run as a municipal hospital, and it seems probable that a similar policy will be carried out elsewhere. The Local Education Authority, with its School Medical service, now doctors thousands of children who formerly were treated (if they were treated at all) by the Poor Law. The Insurance Committees, too, have further diminished the importance of the Poor Law Medical service. And the war gave us yet another authority, the Local Pensions Committee, to add to the confusion.

The ugly picture, then, of the Poor Law system that was drawn by the Royal Commission in 1909, remains in all essentials, if not in its details, a true picture in 1920. There have been

reforms; some of the worst scandals have been removed, or partially removed, and large numbers of the poor have been rescued from the fear of the "parish." But the fundamental cause of the Poor Law's failure has not been removed, and a thousand "administrative reforms" could not remove it. An *ad hoc* Destitution Authority, which cannot take any steps to prevent destitution before it occurs, and which, furthermore, is forced to regard those who come to it primarily as destitute persons rather than as individuals in need of specialised treatment, is a hopeless anachronism. The demand for the break-up of the Poor Law is as urgent to-day as it was ten years ago.

Further Proposals for the Abolition of the Poor Law.

But that demand has now been strongly re-inforced. In July, 1917, the Ministry of Reconstruction appointed a Committee "to consider and report upon the steps to be taken to secure the better co-ordination of Public Assistance in England and Wales. Its members were: Sir Donald Maclean, M.P. (chairman), Mr. R. J. Curtis, Mr. Robert Donald, Sir G. Fordham, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. G. Montagu Harris, Mr. Spurley Hey, Sir Robert Morant, Mr. R. C. Norman, Mr. H. G. Pritchard, Sir Samuel Provis, Dr. John Robertson, Mr. A. V. Symonds, Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., and Mrs. Sidney Webb.

Its Report (Cd. 8917, 1918, commonly known as the "Maclean Report") issued in December, 1917, was unanimous (with certain reservations, which need not be discussed here, by one or two members), and the following are its principal recommendations:

(1) Boards of Guardians should be abolished and all their functions transferred to the Councils of Counties, County Boroughs, and Boroughs and Urban Districts with populations over 50,000.

(2) Provision for all the sick and infirm (including the aged requiring institutional care, and maternity and infancy) should be made by these Authorities under the Public Health Acts suitably extended.

(3) The Ministry of Health should have power, on the application of any Borough with over 10,000 population, or any Urban District with over 20,000, to "direct that such functions as the Ministry may determine" shall be exercised by the Town or Urban District Council instead of by the County Council.

(4) The children should be dealt with by the Local Education Authorities, the mentally deficient by the Lunacy Authorities.

(5) Every County or County Borough (or Borough or Urban District Council with population over 50,000) should set up (*a*) a Prevention of Unemployment and Training

Committee (on the lines of the Education Committee, and including representatives of employers and Trade Unions) ;

(*b*) A Home Assistance Committee (on the lines of the Education Committee), to inquire into the economic circumstances of all applicants for public assistance, to supervise them, to administer all relief given in the home, to recover expenses for maintenance, treatment, etc., and to keep a private register of all such applicants and their families and of the assistance given.

(6) County Councils should appoint Committees for Districts or combinations of Districts, to which various functions of the Home Assistance Committee and the Prevention of Unemployment Committee would be delegated.

These District Committees would consist of (*a*) members of the County Council, (*b*) Town or District Councillors, (*c*) persons experienced in the work to be done.

(7) London should have a special scheme, in which the duties would be divided between the L.C.C. and the Metropolitan Borough Councils.

(*a*) The Borough Councils would appoint Home Assistance Committees, and would also carry out vaccination and registration of births and deaths.

(*b*) The L.C.C. would exercise the rest of the functions transferred (through its Public Health, Education, Asylums, and Prevention of Unemployment Committees). It would also appoint a Central Assistance Committee, which would lay down policy and rules of local administration for the Home Assistance Committees in the Boroughs.

(8) Poor Law officials should be transferred to the Local Authorities (provided both they and the Local Authorities agreed), and compensated for any pecuniary loss incurred by the change.

(9) The cost of all functions transferred should fall on the new Authority (the Administrative County, County Borough, Borough or Urban District), and in London mainly on the County, except for Home Assistance, which would be a charge on the Borough (but the L.C.C. would repay two-thirds of this, if satisfied of the efficiency of the Borough's staff and administration).

These recommendations, it will be seen, represent the acceptance of the principle on which the Minority Commissioners in 1909 were so emphatic—the abolition of the *ad hoc* Destitution bodies and treatment of each individual according to his needs by the appropriate Local Authority. There are two particular points, however, on which they diverge from the Minority Report, and on these they are open to some criticism.

Unemployment and The Local Authorities.

The first is the proposed local Unemployment and Training Committee. To this the objection has been made that it presents considerable administrative difficulties for the County Councils, and further that, in any case, a County is not a satisfactory area for dealing with unemployment. It must be confessed that there is a good deal in this contention. The problem of unemployment is primarily a national question. It might, no doubt, be dealt with in some measure on a "regional" basis—*i.e.*, by taking a group of counties as a unit. But single Counties are not convenient units. It is worth noticing, however, the exact words of the Maclean Report. It is proposed that the Prevention of Unemployment and Training Committee should supersede both the Board of Guardians and the Distress Committee set up under the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905. It would "exercise the powers of the Council as to (i) preventing unemployment (so far as practicable, and subject to service requirements and due economy) by procuring such a re-arrangement of the Council's rules and services as to regularise the local demand for labour; (ii) facilitating through the Employment Exchanges the finding of situations; (iii) making use of any form of educational training in co-operation as much as possible with the Education Committee; (iv) assisting migration; and (v) creating and administering, whether by itself or in federation with other Local Authorities, any specialised provision of the time required by the unemployed.

The scheme, it will be observed, is not altogether clear, and it is difficult to pass a final judgment until its details are put in a more concrete shape. But this much, at least, may be said. In so far as it means a definite obligation imposed on a Local Authority to play its proper part in the organisation of industry, it points in the right direction. The prevention of unemployment will not be achieved without the carefully devised co-operation of the Local Authorities with the State for meeting the great industrial depressions which unhappily recur every few years. But is it necessary for this purpose to set up a new Committee of the Council, with a separate staff and machinery, and whose function will be not to manage any service of its own, but rather to interfere with those of other Committees? In another aspect, again, it appears to duplicate the machinery of the Employment Exchanges. The Employment Exchange, for instance, is already able to assist migration. Is it necessary to charge a County Council also with this duty? And why this elaborate Committee to "facilitate the finding of situations" through the Employment Exchange? Push the idea but a little further and we shall have other Committees charged with facilitating the getting of Old Age Pensions from the Post Office, or Maternity Benefit from the Insurance Committee! A third point is the provision of training. This, of

course, may be of the highest importance. But it does not appear that the new Unemployment Committee is to maintain institutions of its own, but rather to see that men are properly placed in existing farm colonies, or trade schools or workshops. As for any " detention colonies " that may be created for " won't works," the Maclean Report does not propose to entrust these to the Local Authority at all, but " either to some one existing Government Department or to a special body on which the various Government Departments concerned would be represented." That is evidently right; but it is also evidently one reason the less for the establishment of the Prevention of Unemployment and Training Committee. Altogether, it is very questionable whether a case is made out for this new piece of local machinery.

" Home Assistance."

Secondly, there is the Home Assistance Committee. Here, again, administrative objections have been raised on the part of the County Councils. The County, it is urged, is not properly equipped for this work ; it would be better done by the Boroughs and Districts on their own responsibility. But may it not also be asked whether some of it, at least, had better not be done at all ? The Maclean Committee was impressed, rightly enough, by the need of co-ordination among the various authorities giving assistance in money or kind out of public funds—often to different members of the same family, and without any common register of cases. There is thus, they argue, " a complex evil, involving (*a*) unnecessary expenditure on assistance and administration ; (*b*) unnecessary multiplication at enquiry offices and pay clubs ; (*c*) annoyance to the recipients of repeated inquiries from different authorities ; (*d*) failure in many cases, owing to lack of organisation and staff, to make the payments promptly or regularly ; and (*e*) the temptations to fraud afforded to the applicants by the failure of the overlapping authorities to discover what each is doing. And they add that it seems desirable that to the one Committee, which is to manage all the work of co-ordination, shall also " be assigned certain duties of general supervision, for the reason that it is the only unspecialised Committee and deals with all classes of applicants for assistance in the above sense . . . This supervision should apply to families where any member is in receipt of any form of assistance in money, kind, or service, wholly or partly provided out of rates or taxes, eligibility for which is dependent on the pecuniary need of the person or family concerned, or for which payment is legally recoverable. Have we not here peeping out the cloven hoof of the Charity Organisation Society? Obviously co-ordination, including a proper register of cases, is necessary. But why should this " unspecialised " Committee, on the plea of " co-ordination," interfere with the work of the specialised

Committees? Doubtless, too, some supervision is necessary. But supervision is a blessed word which too often covers a multitude of inquisitions. Why should a whole family be supervised by a new and "unspecialised" Committee, (a goodly proportion of whose members are co-opted "persons experienced in the work to be done"—an ominous category!) because grandmother gets an Old Age Pension, or little Jane a pair of spectacles? Did not, the Minority Report, in a word, go as far as was necessary in suggesting a Registrar of Public Assistance to co-ordinate the work of the Education and Health and other Committees? This personage came in some years ago for a large measure of abuse as a sinister bureaucrat. But he would be at least an official with defined powers, with routine functions, and under democratic control. At the very worst, he might have chastised the poor with whips; the Home Assistance Committee, with its co-opted members "experienced in the work to be done," would chastise them with scorpions! The proposal, in short, as it stands, looks suspiciously like a concession to our old friend the professional philanthropist, who, convinced at the bottom of his heart that destitution is a "moral disease," will "learn the poor to be better."

The Government's Pledge.

But these two recommendations are, after all, details, which can easily be modified in the legislation that will abolish the Poor Law. The significance of the Maclean Report is that it heals the old breach between the partisans of the Majority and Minority of the Royal Commission, and unites them in the demand for the complete disappearance of the Board of Guardians. What, then, has the Government to say to this demand? The Government has accepted it. It has promised to legislate at the earliest opportunity. The Minister of Health has continually proclaimed the urgency of carrying out this great measure. When will the opportunity arise? Why not immediately? It is a large question to deal with, but it does not present the difficulties which it presented before the war. The Ministry of Health is in favour of reform, and not, as was its predecessor, the old Local Government Board, against it. There is even less popular support for the Poor Law than there was ten years ago—and there was very little then. A devoted band of reactionary Guardians and Bumbles, great and small, will die in the last ditch to save the system. But their plea for what they naively call the "splendid machinery of the Poor Law," so cheap at the price of £15,000,000 to £20,000,000 per annum, will hardly persuade an infant in arms. Nor will their own proposals for "genuine reform," in the shape of "re-adjusted" local Destitution Authorities "for the purpose of co-ordinating further assistance," commend itself to any intelligent person. The efficiency of such a scheme of

glorified Boards of Guardians is no more credible than the efficiency of the present " splendid machinery." For the rest, the Government has no opposition to fear, and no excuse for its inaction. It is idle to pretend that time cannot be found for this important task ; the time of Parliament and of the Government is constantly occupied in less pressing business. No such pretence would be made if the public chose to bestir itself. Let the public, therefore, take careful stock of the facts of the last ten years and the position to-day.

The Poor Law to-day is a crying scandal. It is a scandal because it applies mischievous principles of deterrence where it ought rather to encourage treatment. It is a scandal because it inflicts needless humiliation and suffering upon a vast mass of the poor. It is a scandal because it interferes with the development of good local government. It is a scandal because it expends each year, for an utterly inadequate return, millions of public money. It is useless to tinker with it ; it cannot be " reformed." For the system does not fail merely because Boards of Guardians are not doing their duty : some of them are, in fact, doing all that is possible as the law stands. It does not fail because the " wrong people " are elected to administer it. It would fail if all the Guardians in the country were Archangels or Labour men—and that for the very simple reason that it is a system of Destitution Authorities, attempting to relieve those who have fallen into destitution instead of preventing them from falling into it. It is a system which is repellent alike to educationists, to public health reformers, to the victims who suffer under it, and to the democratic sentiment of the age. There is only one way to deal with it, which is to abolish the Boards of Guardians, the Poor Law Unions, and the Workhouses; to make the Local Health Authorities responsible for all the sick, the infants and the infirm aged ; to make the Local Education Authorities responsible for all the children of school age ; to make the Local Lunacy Authorities responsible for all the feeble minded ; to establish such an " organisation of the labour market " and such reforms in industry as will provide, through the State, the Local Authorities and the Trade Unions against the distress caused by unemployment.

All this was recommended by the Royal Commission eleven years ago and again by the Maclean Committee, whose proposals the Government pledged itself to carry out. It is high time to insist that the Government shall honour its pledge.

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THE ROOT OF LABOUR UNREST:

AN ADDRESS TO EMPLOYERS AND MANAGERS.*

BY

SIDNEY WEBB.

* An Address to a representative private gathering of Employers, Managers and Foremen in 1919; reproduced as delivered with bibliographical footnotes added. Reference may be made to *The Works Manager To-day*, by the lecturer (Longmans: 7s. 6d. net).

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THE ROOT OF LABOUR UNREST

By SIDNEY WEBB.

The subject that I have been asked to speak upon is capable of more than one meaning. What I propose to do is to endeavour to convey to those here what I think is at the bottom of the mind of the workman. I am not going necessarily to justify, or even to adopt as my own, everything that I shall say, nor can I pretend that what I shall say will be found anywhere, either in the printed documents of any labour organisation, or, for that matter, in the speech of any workman. The workman, like many of us, is an inarticulate person, and you will not discover all that he is thinking from any programme to which he may give his assent. You will not even discover what he is thinking from anything you can get out of him in a brief interview. I am going to try and describe to you the ideas which he is scarcely conscious of himself, but which seem to me to lie at the bottom of the present industrial unrest. I am here as an interpreter to you of something which I think to be the real explanation, or the fundamental cause, of the phenomenon that we commonly speak of as labour unrest. Of course, this "new spirit" in industry is not, in one sense, really new. I have had occasion, when my wife and I were writing the "History of Trade Unionism,"* to try and trace the underlying motives and causes of industrial combination and industrial revolt for the last two hundred and fifty years, and the spirit which I am going to describe to you is to be detected a very long way back. It is thus very far from being merely a result of the war. What is new is its extent, I might even say its universality. It has spread more suddenly and rapidly in a year or two than any of us believed possible. Secondly, if I may say it without offence, another new element in the situation is the recognition by employers and managers that there is such a thing as this spirit. The unrest was there a hundred years ago, but it was ignored, denied, and refused any recognition. It has now forced itself upon the minds of the employers, because they, too, have experienced a certain change of heart. They have spontaneously recognised the existence of this spirit, and its unprecedented growth has coincided with their discovery of it. I need hardly say what I am talking about is not a demand for

* *The History of Trade Unionism*, by S. and B. Webb, new edition, enlarged and extended to 1920. (Longmans: 21s. net.)

higher wages. That is as old as history itself. There is nothing surprising in the demand for a rise in wages on one ground or another, and at present the demand is based on firm ground, not only on the continual rise in the cost of living, but also on the relatively considerable amount of the employers' profits in practically every industry whatsoever. At no time in the history of the British Empire have the aggregate profits of industry been so large as at the present time, so far as can be ascertained from the very imperfect statistics available. Whether you meet the demand of the workmen by saying that the rise in the cost of living is not quite so great as they represent it to be, or by telling them that your industry cannot afford the rise, you have a particularly weak case. And, as an actual fact, the rise is usually granted almost as soon as it is demanded. But, of course, there have often been general rises in wages before, from the 14th century onwards.

Nor is there anything new in the demand for shorter hours. That claim, too, has long been with us, and the normal working day has gone down from twelve hours—if there was any normal day at all 150 years ago—to ten, nine and eight hours. Now, employers and moralists pretend to be shocked if anyone proposes a day of six hours; and yet there is no sanctity about any one of these numbers. There is no more reason *a priori* why men should sell their labour for ten hours a day than for eight, or for eight hours than for six. Each particular generation of employers clings desperately to some accustomed standard, but there is no finality.* I am quite sure myself that the work of the world, and all the present production, if properly arranged, could easily be done in much less than eight hours a day. We could get all that is required by very much shorter hours of labour than are at present worked. Incidentally, it might mean that every healthy adult (as Ruskin long ago suggested) would have to work—a terrible consummation, no doubt, for certain people. When we hear of it in Russia, we think the end of the world has come.

Putting it briefly, the most pressing claim of the workman at the present time is, as Lord Robert Cecil quite rightly observed, for partnership in industry. Unfortunately, Lord Robert Cecil, who can hardly be expected to know very much about it, assumed that partnership meant profit-sharing. Let me warn you straight away that profit-sharing is looked on by the workman as either a fraud or a futility. It is not infrequently a fraud, and always a futility. I cannot stop to prove that, but I am expressing the workman's point of view, and any attempt to smooth over labour unrest by proposals for profit-sharing stamps the man who makes them as an ignoramus. He has not taken the trouble to learn by experience, or even to theorise on the basis of what has happened. Naturally, I do not mean to imply that profit-sharing is always meant as a fraud: that, of course, is not the case. But we are bound to realise that, in all profit-sharing schemes, the

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* The economic argument for prescribed hours of labour, as well as for a shorter working day, will be found in *Industrial Democracy*, chap. vi., "The Normal Day," by S. and B. Webb, edition of 1920. (Longmans: 21s. net.)

employer secures for himself a preferential claim to a fixed interest on capital, the amount of which is either not defined in advance, or is defined arbitrarily by the employer himself. The capital of a firm is often a purely imaginary figure, and you can put on as many noughts as you please. The workman is invited to agree to an arrangement by which, as a first charge, a fixed rate of interest shall be paid upon an amount of capital which he has had no share in defining and no means of verifying, and over which he has no power of control. Moreover, the proceeds are always subject to the prior deduction of sums for reserves and depreciation, and also for the salaries of the partners, or of the directors and managers, over the scale of which the workman is not allowed any control. Then, after all these deductions have been made, if there is anything over, the workman gets, in successful years, five or six per cent. addition to his wages. If he is getting £2 a week, under a successful profit-sharing scheme he may receive something like 2s. a week more in his share of the profits. This is nothing like good enough. Of course, any Trade Unionist would ask: "How do I know that I am not foregoing much more than 2s. a week on my standard rate? Have I any security that the 2s. is a real addition at all?"

PROFIT-SHARING REJECTED.

Suppose a workman invited to agree to a profit-sharing scheme was prudent enough to ask a solicitor: "Am I justified in going into this sort of partnership?" If the solicitor gave the advice which he would give to a capitalist inquiring about a partnership, he would point out to the workman that he was putting himself entirely into the employer's hands, and pledging himself to accept the latter's estimates blindfold. In short, the solicitor would advise him to reject the proposal entirely.*

What the workman is asking for at present is a more genuine partnership. He does not want part ownership of the capital, except as a member of the community in a sense which I will afterwards explain. He does not want a share in the profits, because he does not think that profits (as distinguished from the wages of management) ought to exist. But he wants to be admitted on equal terms as a partner in the management and direction of the concern. What he objects to is the autocracy, the arbitrary power, to which he is asked to submit. Mr. Galsworthy, in one of his novels, describes the dwellers of a country house as people who got up when they liked, had what they liked for breakfast and lunch, did precisely what they liked during the day, and, when they liked, went to rest again. Then he describes an agricultural labourer, who had to get up at a certain time and go to work that he did not like, because he was ordered to do so; he lived in a cottage that he did not like and his whole life was spent in an inevitable routine; he was removed, when ill, to a workhouse that he did not like, and eventually died—to the last, under compulsion. Galsworthy's point is that

* See Fabian Tract No. 170: *Profit-Sharing a Fraud and a Failure?* by E. R. Pease. (Fabian Society: price 1d.)

we have one class passing its whole existence in giving orders, and another class passing its whole existence in receiving them.

The workman objects to being placed perpetually in the second category. It is not the unjust distribution of the wealth of the world that, at the moment, he has in mind, but the unjust distribution of the world's power, in this sense of personal autocracy. That is the explanation of something that will seem to employers extremely unfair. They all understand the objection to slavery—and they look upon it as human degradation, degrading to the slave-owner as well as to the slave. Yet they find that the existing system of industry is called wage slavery! But let them try to realise the point of view of the workman whose destiny is to pass his whole life in obeying another human being. He is bound to feel himself a slave. That is why profit-sharing strikes him as futile, if it is not worse. That is why, I am sorry to say, he resents a great deal of philanthropy. I am using the word "philanthropy" as a shorthand expression to cover many schemes, such as welfare, good housing, etc. The minor reforms which a kindly employer wishes to carry out are seldom received with gratitude, and they do not allay labour unrest. But if you recall my analysis, you will see the reason of this. It is the power of the employer which the workman resents, and his philanthropy, of course, is a manifestation of his power. The fact that it is exerted on the workman's behalf does not placate him.

"LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY."

I have sometimes thought that the three words which we still see on public buildings in France—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—are profoundly significant in their order. The French Revolution did not achieve those ideals, although it attempted to do so, but the important point is the order in which the three ideals are presented to us. Liberty, Equality—and when we have these,—Fraternity. Now, it is clear that if we attempt to begin with Fraternity, the prescription will not be so healing as if we adopted the original sequence. I suggest that we cannot have a genuine fraternity without equality, nor any genuine equality without liberty. Therefore, I think we must try to begin with liberty and equality.

This is a hard saying for the good employer, or the considerate manager, or the well-mannered foreman. It seems to them that equality and liberty are inconsistent with the present organisation of industry, and the present capitalist system, and they may be, on that account, all the more eager to be brotherly to the workers. They sincerely think this possible—that is, the man in a superior position thinks it possible to be brotherly to an industrial inferior. I like him for thinking so, but I am afraid that as a rule we shall only achieve a very thin kind of brotherliness on those lines. Let us assume that we secure for everybody adequate wages, short hours of work, consideration, welfare and the like. After all, that only amounts to treating the workman as though he were a horse. The wise owner of a number

of horses will see to it that they are adequately fed and decently housed and have properly limited hours of labour. He will treat them with consideration. As a matter of fact, very often, he has looked after them much better than he did after his men. He recognised that it paid him to do so; and he is only now coming to realise that it pays him equally well to take care of the human workers. But that is not the point. To-day, men are not content to be treated as well as horses. They want something different. The solution cannot be put on a "fodder basis," as Mr. Bevin said the other day. At the present moment unfortunately, there are still hundreds of thousands of workmen who are not treated as well as horses, in spite of the rise of wages. They are not getting the short hours of work, the shelter, or the subsistence which well-kept horses receive. But even if they were, labour unrest would remain. What the workers resent is their virtual exclusion from the circle of—shall I say, human beings? They do not under-value the advantages of good material conditions, but they want to go much further.

THE BAD MANNERS OF EMPLOYERS.

Let me emphasise a point at which we obviously fail—the manners of management. They are still, it seems to me, pretty bad. Before the war, I remember a young workman telling me what made his blood boil with anger. It was not that he only got a certain wage, or had to work so many hours. It was the foreman's habit of going round in the afternoon and saying: "You stop to-night,"—to certain men by way of telling them they had to work overtime. This young man knew that there must be overtime in certain emergencies, but he rebelled against the imperative order that he should remain when he had done the work that he contracted for. He might have a W.E.A. class, or some other engagement, but it did not matter. The foreman treated him as a horse.

This is one example of the habitual manners of management—and it is difficult to drive into the mind of the ordinary employer that it is "bad form," thus to claim to be entitled to exceed his contract. A workman regards the agreement into which he enters with the employer as pledging him to do a definite quantum of service. It is a defective form of agreement, of course; it is ambiguous, ragged at the edges, and open to misconception. Still, the worker regards it as binding on him only within certain fixed limits of time and speed and exertion. But the employer imagines that he has bought the whole time and energy of the workman, and that his claim upon him can be indefinitely extended beyond normal working hours, the normal pace, or the normal intensity of effort, without so much as a "by your leave." It is the view of the slave-owner.

Now, into that kind of one-sided agreement the workman does not enter. He never consciously sells himself in that way; he merely engages to render a certain amount of service, nor would he consider that he was behaving disloyally if he refused to work overtime, or in

some other way failed to promote the employer's business interests, with which he has, under the contract of service, absolutely no concern. We must get rid of that difference of view between the two parties to the so-called contract—which really was never a contract at all because the parties were not agreed—and so long as we cling to the capitalistic system we shall certainly have to adopt the workman's standpoint. In future there must be some reciprocal and mutual engagement, in which one party buys and the other sells, certain definite, clear-cut services with a precisely fixed quantum.

To come back to my rebellious young friend, who objected to being told to work overtime. The foreman, of course, was obviously wrong. Instead of saying, "You stop to-night." he should have said, "Would it be convenient for you to stop to-night?" What a difference that would have made! Or he could have explained to the whole workshop that it was extremely important to get a certain job done, and that six or ten men were needed, and asked who could stop most conveniently to themselves. I do not know that I am particularly polite, but I always speak like that to my parlour-maid; and why should not foremen speak in the same way to workmen? They lose no authority by it. The officers who had most command over their men in the late war were those who treated them in a considerate way. To put it briefly, I plead for an enormous improvement in the manners of management, and I cannot believe that it is not possible to run a factory in a spirit of genuine partnership and mutual consideration. When I once expressed an opinion on military matters, a certain Major-General replied to me—"I cannot make an army in that way." I was rude enough to say, "I know *you* can't, but someone else might do it." Now, if you think what I am saying impracticable, ask yourself whether the real obstacle does not lie in our own conventional modes of thought. Someone else may find it practicable.

EQUALITY OF STATUS.

There is another thing. Even to treat the workman with the utmost consideration is not to solve the problem. What he is asking for is equality of status in industry. Now, is that quite impossible? Status is very largely a matter of social distinction. Is there any reason why we should habitually think of the capitalist owner of the factory as belonging to one social class, and the workman in the factory as belonging to another? Such social distinctions sting very much, and I do not think they are necessary. Of course, we can never make people equal, or identical, in capacity or in attainments, or even in refinement. But these innate or characteristic differences generally cut right across our differences of social status. Certainly they afford no warrant for ordinary class distinctions. Why does an employer or a foreman habitually address a workman by his surname "Jones"? He would be very much surprised, except in the old-fashioned days in Lancashire, if the workman addressed him in that way. Washington was seen taking off his hat to a negro, and when asked why he did so,

he said, "I do not want the negro to be more polite than I am." There are really no good manners without reciprocity and equality. There are in England what used to be called the line officer's manners, which meant a grovelling servility to those who were considered superiors, and insolence to those who were considered inferiors. A gentleman never measures his manners. He is equally courteous to everybody.

Consider, too, the horrible dirt, roughness and lack of amenity with which many workmen are surrounded. Even the office clerk is made far more comfortable than the ordinary manual worker—I say nothing of the directors' Board Room. But true consideration and the ideal of equality would lead us to give workmen surroundings as pleasant as those of the clerks, while the clerks were treated as well as the directors. I have heard of one factory in which, when a workman calls to ask for a job, he does not go to the works gates, but is shown into a properly furnished room and given a courteous reception, just as if he had been a customer come to give an order. How is it that we don't feel it imperative on us to treat manual workers courteously, if we are gentlemen ? Perhaps we are not. Perhaps there are no gentlemen in industry, in which case the first thing for employers to do is to become gentlemen. We ought to show to everyone the consideration which we regard as due to ourselves. Don't under-rate the need for politeness. It is like an air-cushion ; there may be nothing in it, but it eases the jolts considerably.

CIVILISATION IN THE FACTORY.

I venture to prophesy that, at no distant date, every factory will have (as the Zeiss works at Jena already have) an adequate installation of hot baths, a complete set of secure lockers for a suit of clothes and private dressing-rooms, so that every workman will leave the premises at the end of the day fit to enter his wife's parlour. If you think this extraordinary, remember that it is what any educated employer expects in his own case. Do we really mean to refuse to our workmen the civilised amenities that we claim for ourselves ?

But more is needed than to supplement good material conditions by courteous treatment. What the miners, for example, resent at the present time is the fact that a toll is levied on their industry by people who are contributing nothing to its value. They do not object to the high salaries of the manager or the active employer, or to their large share of the profits. Their objection is to the idle shareholder, or royalty owner, or landlord who is regularly drawing a tribute from the enterprise. This is, of course, good orthodox economics on the part of the miners. The functionless shareholder or landlord was receiving, every year before the war—roughly speaking, about a quarter of the entire produce of the country.* He is probably receiving more to-day, because the financial result of the war has been to augment the

* See for the relevant statistics, giving authorities, Fabian Tract No. 5, *Facts for Socialists*, revised down to 1915. (Fabian Society : price 2d.)

share of the functionless shareholder at the expense of the portion of those who do fulfil some definite function in industry. This is, I need hardly say, an injustice against which the worker furiously rebels. I am sometimes amused by the naïve gentlemen who write to the "Times" or the "Morning Post" periodically, to ask why we do not start an organisation to teach the working men political economy? The workmen are often far better instructed in political economy than the people who write to the "Times," and speaking generally, than the average man in the employing class. The workmen, in the course of the past generation, have learned their economics, whilst the employing classes, as a whole, have despised the economist. We shall arrive at no ultimate settlement until we take account of that fact. Take this question of the exaction of a tribute. Speaking to people who are interested in business rather than in land-owning, I think I may win my way to your acquiescence if I point to the case of the landlord. It is always better to dwell on some other case than our own. The workman cannot see that the landlord has either created the land or created its enormous increment of value. We pay about twenty million pounds a year in London for the bare privilege of building houses, and squatting on the marshy ground by the Thames, a work in which the landlords have given us no help. It is easy to see that something is wrong with regard to the landlord, but not so easy to see it in regard to the functionless shareholders, to which class we all, more or less belong. They flatter themselves that they contribute the capital, on which, of course, we are dependent for keeping our business going. Without investigating that point too closely, let us assume that the capital of a particular business has been furnished by the shareholders, who have thereby rendered a service for which some payment may be made. But no one ventures to suggest that the amount which the shareholder gets to-day has any relation to the sum that it is necessary to offer in order to induce the saving of sufficient capital. How unnecessarily great it is we cannot compute, but even the most orthodox economists have given up asserting that it is no more than sufficient to evoke the necessary saving. To pay a tribute of interest for ever and ever because a useful service was once rendered is like paying a perpetual pension all down the ages to the heirs of someone who once told you which was the road to London.

So far I have been endeavouring to portray to you what is in the workman's mind. He intends to alter the present state of things, and he intends as a rule, to use democracy as his instrument. He understands by democracy something very different from what the ordinary employer in this country or in America understands by it. You will very often be told that this is a democratic country, and it will be pointed out to you, by way of proof, that a large number of employers and managers were originally workmen, and that men may rise from the ranks. But democracy means more than opportunity, more even than equality of opportunity. It means that no control over others shall be exercised by individuals, but only by the community. Our notion of political democracy is not that it shall be open to anybody

to become Prime Minister, but that the Prime Minister shall express and execute, not his own will, but the will of the people. Therefore, when the workman proposes to apply democracy to industry, he does not mean that he wants an equal chance to become a millionaire. To use an historic phrase, he wants that which concerns all to be decided by all. Now, nothing concerns the workers more than the way they get their livelihood, and this must therefore be decided democratically. But, whilst it is a difficult business to apply democracy to politics, it is still more difficult to apply it to industry.* We have hardly yet begun to think about the matter, and our suggestions are very crude. We have a long road to go, and it will be travelled gradually. Yet, if we adapt ourselves, as employers, managers, and foremen, more and more to this old constitutional ideal of democracy, we shall be putting ourselves in tune with the universe, and pulling with the stream instead of against it.

THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRY.

I do not want to leave you in any uncertainty, so I will put the matter in a more concrete way. It is, in my judgment, quite inevitable that individual ownership of industry and the means of production shall, in the main, and gradually, give place to collective ownership. The latter will take a great many forms. There will be certain great nationalised industries and services. In a few years it will be a commonplace for canals and railways to be run, not for the shareholders, nominally by orders of the shareholders, but for the benefit of the whole community by the will of the whole community. The same thing will happen with such essentially national services as coal-mining. Many other services by which we live will be organised and controlled by our local government, while, as for the great mass of commodities which we consume, they will obviously come within the sphere of the consumers' co-operative movement, which already operates far more successfully than any capitalistic enterprise that I ever heard of. It is now supplying nearly two hundred million pounds' worth of goods annually, and has a membership of one-third of the families in the Kingdom. It undertakes every kind of business, and is actually manufacturing something like fifty million pounds' worth of goods a year. In all this we eliminate the functionless shareholder and the landlord, but we do not get rid of management; and in this connection the workman is still very much at sea. As I have often tried to explain, even with the most complete democracy, and the utmost equality, management remains as indispensable as ever. In fact, it becomes even more indispensable, as enterprise becomes more complicated. In an orchestral concert there must be a conductor who gives the time and somebody must choose the tune. But the conductor is not the proprietor of the orchestra and usually not even of the musical instruments.

* This will be found, tentatively worked out in elaborate detail, in *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain*, by S. and B. Webb. (Longmans: 12s. 6d. net.)

He is not in a different social class from the players, nor does he necessarily get a larger salary than the first violin. They are really all partners in a co-operative enterprise. Nevertheless, there is management, and, in a sense, autocracy, because the conductor's beat is law, and all the players recognise that it is only by obedience to the necessary direction that the co-operative product can be made. It seems to me that every business enterprise resembles an orchestral concert in which all the players must, for the time being, adjust their movements to the conductor's direction. That is a very appropriate picture of a factory, where, though neither private ownership nor the functionless shareholder is essential, we must have co-ordination and control.

I suggest to you that two things are going to solve the problem of industrial re-organisation. They are quite homely things, not new inventions; but we must apply them, as we have never yet thought of applying them, to industrial operations. In the first place, industry, as far as possible, should dispense with peremptory orders. In a choral society there is a great deal of give and take, of consultation and mutual arrangement. This should be the case in industry, where far more must be done by way of consultation among all the parties concerned. But I come back to my old Major-General, who said "I cannot make an army in that way," and I am quite prepared to hear employers tell me "We cannot run a factory in that way." My retort is the same: "If you cannot, perhaps somebody else can, and even run it better, for aught you know."

CO-OPERATION IN MANAGEMENT.

At present, the workers have only the vaguest idea of what the management or direction of an enterprise really is. They are not yet competent to undertake it, because they do not know what is involved. Nevertheless, as regards intellectual and moral competence, they compare quite favourably with the ordinary run of directors of companies, from whom we do not expect much as a rule. Yet, we consult our directors, or we do them the courtesy of seeming to consult them. Let us make a point of consulting the workmen—they will teach us something, perhaps more than we imagine. Consultation, in a business, means many things—such as Works Committees and the admission of representative workers to the Board of Directors. Those enterprises which have tremblingly put one or two workmen on their Board of Management have never regretted the step; indeed, they only regret not having taken it before.

When I was responsible for a good deal of education in London, I said: "We are going to take all the teachers into counsel, and they shall as far as practicable sit on the Board." Perhaps that policy did not alter the steering to any great extent, but it enabled the ship to go with much greater smoothness. What this means, however, is that personal autocracy must go. I was told of a big firm at Birkenhead which suddenly announced a change in the workmen's dinner hour. There was a strike immediately, which cost the firm a lot of money.

Now, very likely the proposed change was wise, but it affected the men's households and all their domestic arrangements, and to introduce it autocratically, without consulting them, was an insane proceeding. Personal autocracy has been banished from the throne, the castle, and the altar. I do not think that it is going to survive in the farm, or the mine, or the factory. It may be necessary in dealing with horses, but not in dealing with men who are advancing rapidly in education and common sense. It must be superseded by a genuine democracy, which is quite compatible with the fact that the conductor gives the beat and chooses the tune. The employer must recognise that he is the servant of all, like the conductor in the orchestra. Where will the authority go? When I was on the London County Council, we of the Progressive Party took ourselves very seriously. We were democratic in spirit, and we thought we governed London. We certainly interfered a good deal; and out of our deep wisdom we decided to build a new bridge over the Thames. But we could proceed no further without calling in an engineer. He produced plans, and we had to accept them—there was nothing else for it. We found we could discuss little more than the colour the bridge was to be painted. Even on that point we consulted the artists, but they failed us, because they all advised different colours! So, finally, that decision was really left in our own hands. After all, in nearly every case, in the last resort, it is the facts that decide, and they can be interpreted only by the men who know the facts. There should be no more personal autocracy in industry than there was in the case of the bridge. It will be the facts that will decide, as interpreted by the common sense of all. But that would mean great changes in our industrial system; and not before it is time! Personally, to-day, I am amazed at the extraordinary inefficiency with which the productive work of this country and every other country is carried on. Think of our engineering shops at this moment. Think of the very best shops in the industry and the shortcomings existing even there—and then think of the chaotic conditions of the worst of them.

Industry will be transformed by two new principles, Measurement and Publicity. We shall have enormously more exact scientific measurement. Remember the ordinary foreman to-day, and his notions about a job. How very little exact measurement there is, either of the time it should take, the time it actually does take, or the time each part takes. But that is not the only sphere of measurement. The whole of costing is dependent on it. The majority of employers in this country do not even know what their own goods are costing, and we cannot have costing without exact measurement. As to the extent of the varied needs for their products; the degree to which what is made really satisfies the need; what is being done in other factories, in other industries and in other countries to increase the demand or to improve the product—on all this there is available as yet, even to the vigilant manufacturer, little more than the vaguest hearsay. You may think it unfair if I say that, in all these respects, the failure of Capitalism is egregious. It may have brought science into its mechanical processes, but it has certainly not done so in its business

organisation. It is apparently to be left to Socialism to apply science to the organisation of production and distribution, industry by industry, from the standpoint of supplying, to the uttermost, the consumers' needs.

The second essential is publicity. That may seem a hard saying to some, because so frequently it seems as if secrecy were the soul of successful business. But this is only tantamount to saying that, to-day, the soul of business is perverted. There is no reason, however, why it should continue to be so. I imagine that employers are afraid that a policy of frankness would militate against their profits. But, of course, the object of business is not profits at all, but output. I suppose there are still some people who think that the object of business is profits, but that is bad economics. The only object of business is production. It is for the sake of the utmost possible productivity that we want the industrial machine to act with the utmost smoothness, and when an employer gauges his industrial success by the amount of profits he makes, he reminds me of a man who measures the perfection of his car by the amount of lubricating oil required to keep it running. There is no advantage whatever, but actual waste, in using more lubricating oil than need be. Equally, there is no advantage to the community at all, but actual injury, in any profit being more than the bare minimum that is required to keep the machine going. In future, we shall judge a business by its efficiency in production. We do not estimate the achievements of a doctor by the amount of his fees, but by the extent of his cures. Similarly, the business man will be judged by his efficient fulfilment of his function of production, and not by his profits, which are merely the lubricating oil allowed him at present but which in the interests of efficiency must be reduced to a minimum.

My vision of the function of management in industry in the years to come is a very exalted one. But this management, far from being autocratic, will be dependent very largely on the reports of disinterested experts. Of course, there will still be emergency decisions, but management on its higher level will probably come to be more and more a competent weighing of expert evidence involving both measurement and publicity. Think, for instance, what it would mean to a particular factory to receive a report from an efficient outside costing expert, and to find out exactly what each component and every process was costing in comparison with what it cost in previous years, and with its cost in other factories in this country and elsewhere. Similarly, comparative statistics will show the management how each separate part of the concern is running in relation to other parts, and how it compares with all the other factories in the world. Other reports would keep the factory up to date, in matters of health and education, and would make it acquainted with the latest inventions, in its own industry, and in analogous industries. What we need in industry, as in science, is to universalise knowledge, and to disseminate it with the very minimum of delay. At present every employer works in the dark: and the worst of it is that he is so thoroughly accustomed to the darkness, like the blind fish in the pools of the Styrian caves, that he does not realise

that he is in the dark! He declares that the darkness in which he gropes is the only sun-light!

My belief is that in the future the efficiency of production will increase very greatly, simply through industry being carried on under the glare of a group of searchlights, playing on every process from many different angles. As for the operators who manipulate the searchlights, they will not be dependent on the goodwill of the factory under observation. Their function will be fulfilled when they have given their advice. The sphere of the brain-working professional will be a great one.

The actual decisions will be arrived at in committees. Those people who say that industry cannot be managed by committees are evidently unaware that this is precisely how nearly all our present industry is managed. Why, even of Boards of Directors there are, to-day, in the United Kingdom, more than 66,000. The extent to which every large business is already managed by committees would astonish the village blacksmith if any such person happens to survive. We shall have more and more of this government. Committees are fruitful both in suggestion and criticism, and the representation of the workers upon them will be of tremendous value. But their main function is to bury personal autocracy.

To sum up, I began by putting before you my conception of what is at the bottom of the new spirit in industry. It is the demand of the workman for a partnership in the direction and management of the business in which he is engaged: partnership not with the functionless shareholder, or even in profit, but with the technicians and managers of all grades, with the community as owner. This change must come, and it is coming, and we must find out a way of introducing it successfully without upsetting the machine.

Secondly, I have suggested that production must be facilitated, not by secrecy, but by the widest possible knowledge of every relevant fact. Such knowledge will involve both scientific management and publicity, and the latter will very largely result from the use of the reports of professional experts, on whose services all great business is relying to an ever-increasing extent.

Thirdly, it is just this transformation of business by Measurement and Publicity that will enable business men to become professional men and gentlemen, instead of mere shopkeepers.

Finally, it is by the combination of the conception of partnership among all those concerned in each enterprise, and the conception of the function of industry—to produce not profits, but products—with the devices of measurement and publicity coupled with an early elimination of all mere "passengers" in the industrial ship, who now actually pride, themselves, as landlords or functionless shareholders, on "living by owning" and of committee government upon a universalised knowledge of the facts as to the industry as a whole, that we can safely make the transition from Industrial Autocracy to Industrial Democracy, which alone will allay Labour Unrest.

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THE

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OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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BY

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The International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations.

THE International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations is the outcome of reiterated demands on the part of the working classes of the chief industrial countries throughout the world. At International Congresses and Conferences of the organised workers the pressing need for an institution of this kind has been repeatedly urged, and resolutions calling for its establishment have been carried again and again. During the war the interest in the subject deepened, and its importance for the future welfare of the workers became still more widely recognised. The Inter-allied Trade Union Conference held at Leeds in 1916 demanded the creation of an International Labour Commission with the object of "controlling the application of legislation on social insurance, immigration and emigration, hours of labour, hygiene and protection against accidents." The same Conference insisted upon the necessity of the co-ordination and development of statistical studies and enquiries into the conditions of the workers by means of an International Labour Office. The Stockholm Conference of 1917 came to the same conclusions, and, in 1919, the Berne Conference urged the drafting of an International Charter of Labour to be applied by an International Labour Office. Thus it was in accordance with the emphatically expressed desires of the working classes that the statesmen and diplomatists who drew up the Treaty of Peace included within it the provisions relating to Labour which form Part XIII. of the Treaty.

Labour and the Treaty of Peace.

To Part XIII. of the Treaty there is the following preamble :—

"Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice ;

"And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled ; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required : as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provisions for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures ;

"Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

"The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following": (here follow the articles establishing a permanent organisation for the promotion of the principles set out in the preamble) *

Statement of Principles.

Further, in Article 427, the Treaty lays down the following general principles with regard to the treatment of labour:—

1st. The guiding principle . . . . that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

2nd. The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

3rd. The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

4th. The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

5th. The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

6th. The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

7th. The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

8th. The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

9th. Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of these laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

This declaration of the principles which should "inspire the policy of the League of Nations" may be said to constitute a kind of Labour Charter such as was demanded by the International Trade Union Conference at Berne.

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* For a complete statement of the constitution, powers, duties and standing orders of the Organisation, see "Permanent Labour Organisation: Constitution and Rules." (The London Office of the International Labour Office, 26 Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.) Also "Labour and the Peace Treaty," with an introduction by the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P. Issued by the Ministry of Labour. (H.M. Stationery Office.)

Principles and Practice.

But, in order to secure the well-being, physical, moral, and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners, which has been the aim of the workers' organisations, and is the declared intention of the signatories of the Treaty of Peace as embodied in the Labour clauses of the Treaty, it is necessary to have something more than declarations. The experience of the past justified the insistence of the workers upon the necessity for a Permanent International Organisation, whose duty it should be to see that the "Charter" was actually carried out in all countries which agreed to its provisions. There have been attempts, such as the Conferences at Berne of 1906 and 1913, to arrive at an international agreement with regard to certain branches of labour legislation. But in these instances action arose simply through the chance initiative of some State specially interested in the subject, which issued an invitation to other States (which they could accept on conditions or refuse altogether) to send officials to a Conference which, when dispersed, might never be called together again. Such spasmodic and unauthoritative consultations, valuable as they may have been as tentative experiments in international co-operation for industrial legislation, would have to be greatly improved upon if the principles of the "Charter" were ever to be put into universal practice.*

The Permanent International Labour Organisation.

(1) The International Labour Conference.

Realising this, the authors of the Treaty of Peace decided to set up a permanent International Labour Organisation as a part of the League of Nations, thus meeting the oft-repeated demand of the organised working classes. The Treaty provided that "the original members of the League of Nations shall be the original members of this Organisation, and hereafter membership of the League of Nations shall carry with it membership of the said Organisation."

The Permanent Organisation consists of (1) a General Conference of representatives of the members, and (2) an International Labour Office controlled by a Governing Body. The General Conference consists of representatives of each of the fifty States belonging to the Organisation. The only great States remaining outside it are the United States of America, which, up to the present, has not signed the Treaty, and Russia still in the throes of revolution.

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* "The International Labour Organisation: a Comparison," issued by the International Labour Office (The London Office of the International Labour Office, 26 Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1), gives a short account of previous attempts to promote and co-ordinate labour legislation on international lines by means of the International Association for Labour Legislation.

All States, whether large or small, have equal rights at the Conference. Each is represented by two Government delegates, one Employers' delegate and one Workers' delegate. Each delegate votes individually ; if they so desire the Workers can vote with the Workers, and the Employers with the Employers of all nationalities. The Employers' and Workers' delegates have to be "chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople" in each country. Thus the Workers' representative of Great Britain is selected in agreement with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the body having the greatest number of affiliated industrial workers' organisations. In addition to the delegates, technical advisers may be appointed to assist in the discussions of subjects on which their expert knowledge would be valuable.

The General Conference meets as occasion may require, and at least once in every year. Two meetings have already been held—one at Washington in November, 1919, and the other at Genoa in June, 1920, the latter being specially devoted to maritime questions. The results of these gatherings are given in detail later on. The third meeting of the Conference will take place at Geneva, October, 1921, and will deal mainly with questions concerning labour in agriculture.

The General Conference, which may justly be called an "International Social Parliament," cannot pass legislation. Each country remains jealous of parting with any portion of its sovereignty ; but the Conference votes Draft Conventions, by which States agree to observe strictly certain regulations and recommendations which should be taken as guides in passing national legislation or in issuing administrative orders. These may, it is true, vary in different countries, but they have to conform to one and the same principle.

The Ratification of Conventions.

The Parliaments of the various States are not bound to adopt the Conventions agreed to by the Conference, but Governments and Parliaments are always subject to the influence of public opinion, which can bring pressure to bear upon them for the purpose of securing ratification. A large number of States have already drafted Bills dealing with the ratification of Conventions ; some of them have already been ratified.* Once the Conventions have been ratified by a State and the Recommendations have been the subject of special legislation, those States are bound to respect them. Any violation brings the International Labour Office, its Commission of Enquiry, and the International Court of Justice into action, and these possess definite powers for obtaining proper enforcement. Here again economic penalties can be applied.

* Information relating to the progress in the process of ratification of Draft Conventions by the member-States is given in the 'Bulletin of the International Labour Office, which is issued at intervals of about one week. This publication also records the activities of the Office. The English edition of the Bulletin can be obtained from the London Office of the International Labour Office, 26 Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.

The Permanent International Labour Organisation.
(2) The International Labour Office.

The International Labour Office is under the control of a Governing Body consisting of 24 persons, 12 of whom represent the Governments of the States which are members of the International Labour Organisation, six elected by the delegates to the General Conference representing the Employers, and six elected by the delegates to the General Conference representing the Workers. Of the 12 persons representing the Governments, eight are nominated by the States which are of the chief industrial importance, and four are nominated by the States selected for the purpose by the Government delegates to the General Conference, excluding the delegates of the eight States mentioned above. The period of office of the Governing Body is three years. The headquarters of the Office are at Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations.

The functions of the Office include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of industrial conditions of life and labour, and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the General Conference with a view to the conclusion of international Conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the General Conference*. It is entrusted with the duty of receiving complaints with regard to violations of ratified Conventions, and the Governing Body can, if they think fit, apply to the League of Nations for the institution of a Commission of Enquiry to investigate any such complaint. If a complaint is found to be justified, further measures are provided in the Treaty for securing a remedy.

The preparation of the Agenda of the General Conference is also a duty of the Office.

International Labour Office and the Individual Citizen.

It will thus be seen that the International Labour Office can affect beneficially the conditions of life and labour of every worker in every country. Not only so, but, on the other hand, every worker can, if he so wills, help to influence and direct the activities of the Office. The subjects dealt with by the periodical meetings of the General Conference are drawn up by the Governing Body of the Office, upon which, as already stated, are representatives of the great national working class industrial organisations. These organisations can put forward proposals to be brought before the Conference. It is, therefore, quite possible for any individual member of a body affiliated to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress to

* A considerable number of publications consisting of a monthly periodical, *The International Labour Review*, and studies and reports on questions vitally concerning labour have already been issued by the Office. A full list can be obtained from the London Office of the International Labour Office, 26 Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.

request, through the usual channel of his local branch, that his organisation should ask the Parliamentary Committee to propose that a given question of international importance relating to labour should be placed upon the Agenda of the General Conference. Members of employers' organisations are given the same opportunity of having subjects which interest them discussed.

The First International Labour Conference.

The first meeting of the General Conference, held in Washington from the 29th October to the 29th November, 1919, proved to be a gathering of the greatest significance for the future of industry, and demonstrated the value of the new International Labour Organisation as an instrument for securing far-reaching reforms in the conditions of labour. The Conference was attended by the representatives of forty countries. The United States had no official delegate, as the Peace Treaty had not been ratified by the Senate, but the Conference was presided over by Mr. W. B. Wilson, the United States Secretary of Labour. Three important States were, unfortunately, not represented. The delegates of Germany and Austria were unable to be present owing to the difficulty of securing passages to America, and there was no representative from Russia. Apart from these exceptions, however, the Assembly was a fully representative international gathering. The delegations, in normal cases, included, as provided by the constitution of the General Conference, representatives of employers and workpeople as well as of Governments. Each delegate was free to cast his vote as he thought best on every occasion and irrespective of the fact that he belonged to a particular nation, or represented a particular class of interests. The fact that in a body of this character it was possible to secure agreement on detailed proposals for international action augured well for the success of the whole movement for international labour organisation.

The Representatives of the United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom was represented by the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P., and Sir Malcolm Delevingne, K.C.B., Assistant Under-Secretary for State for Home Affairs, on behalf of the Government; Mr. D. S. Majoribanks, C.B.E., Managing Director of Messrs. W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., Ltd., on behalf of the employers; and Mr. G. H. Stuart-Bunning (Postmen's Federation and ex-President of the Trades Union Congress) on behalf of the workers. Attached to the delegates were groups of technical advisers. Accompanying Mr. Stuart-Bunning in this capacity were the Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P. (Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress); Mr. A. Onions, M.P. (South Wales Miners' Federation); Mr. T. Shaw, M.P. (Weavers' Association); Mr. J. Sexton, C.B.E., M.P. (National Union of Dock Labourers and Riverside Workers); Miss Margaret Bondfield (National Federation of Women Workers); and the late Miss Mary Macarthur (National

Federation of Women Workers). Several of the advisers acted as representatives of the delegates on special commissions, and during the discussions in the full Conference of the questions on which they were expert.

Women and the Conference.

A feature of the Conference was the claim of the women for special representation. This was met under the constitution which, as already mentioned, allows technical advisers to replace delegates on occasions when questions in which they are specially competent arise. In accordance with this provision, Miss Bondfield represented the British Labour Delegate on the Commission on the employment of children and the late Miss Mary Macarthur represented him on the Commission on childbirth and maternity, while Miss Constance Smith (Senior Lady Inspector of Factories, Home Office) replaced Sir Malcolm Delevingne on the latter Commission. In the preparation of the Conventions, especially on these two subjects, women took a prominent part.

The Results of the Conference.

The Conference adopted six Draft Conventions and six Recommendations. The Draft Conventions dealt with :

(1) The application of the principle of the eight hours day and the 48 hours week.
(2) The prevention of or provision against unemployment.
(3) The employment of women before and after childbirth.
(4) The employment of women on night work.
(5) The minimum age of employment of children in industry.
(6) The employment of young persons on night work.

The Recommendations related to :

(1) Public Employment Exchanges.
(2) Reciprocity of treatment of foreign workers.
(3) The prevention of anthrax.
(4) The protection of women and children against lead poisoning.
(5) The establisment of Government Health Services.
(6) The application of the Berne Convention of 1906 on the prohibition of the use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches.

The various Conventions and Recommendation were prepared by the Commissions of the General Conference, and much useful discussion between experts on the particular subjects took place on these Commissions. Differences of national interest and difficulties between employers and workers' representatives had to be faced, and drafts arrived at which could be placed before the plenary meetings of the Conference. Conventions were so thoroughly discussed in the Commissions, and such a degree of agreement was arrived at, that with comparatively few alterations they were adopted by the General Conference.*

* "International Labour Conference, 1919. Draft Conventions and Recommendations ; with an Introduction." (H.M. Stationery Office.)

The Convention on Hours of Labour.

The most important Convention is the one dealing with the hours of labour. It was naturally not easy to arrive at an agreement on this matter. Eventually, however, the representatives of the employers and the workers accepted the principle of the eight hours day, but with the conditions in regard to its application made fairly elastic. The Convention as finally passed involves an agreement of the countries concerned to introduce legislation for securing an eight hours day and a 48 hours week for all workers in industrial undertakings, including mining and quarrying, manufacturing, building and construction work. It was agreed that the provisions relative to transport by sea and on inland waterways should be determined by a special conference. Each country may adopt modifications within certain limits in the application of the principle of the eight hours day to their industries. But all Governments have to report to the International Labour Office the regulations which they adopt and the modifications they permit. The peculiar conditions prevailing in Oriental countries rendered it necessary to make special provisions with regard to India and Japan. In the former country the hours of labour are to be generally 57 in the week, in the raw silk industry 60 for adults, and for persons under fifteen and all miners, of whatever age, 48. In British India the hours of labour in factories, mines and railway works are to be limited to 60 in the week. These provisions represent for these two countries greater progress than the other provisions do for Western lands.

The Convention on Unemployment.

The Convention on unemployment involves an international scheme for securing information from all countries with regard to the problem, the establishment of free public employment agencies where not already in existence, and for mutual benefits for emigrants in regard to unemployment insurance. Further, the Conference recommended that every Government should prohibit new private employment agencies, and permit existing agencies to operate only under a licence; that the recruiting of foreign labour should be only by agreement between the countries concerned and after consultation with the employers and workers; that there should be in every State unemployment insurance; and that public work ought to be allocated to periods of unemployment, or to districts affected by it. It was also recommended that foreign workers should receive the protection and the rights of organisation possessed by the native workers, by mutual arrangements between the States concerned.

The Conventions on the Work of Women.

The Conventions on the work of women workers laid down that for six weeks after confinement women shall not be permitted to work in industry or commerce, and shall have the right to cease

work six weeks before confinement, being paid in both periods full benefits for maintenance. Further, a nursing mother shall have half an hour twice a day for nursing her child. Dismissal is not to take place during the two rest periods before and after childbirth. Night work for women in industry is prohibited, the night being defined as normally a period of eleven consecutive hours, including the period from 10 p.m to 5 a.m. In the case of India and Siam a special form of legislation is provided, and certain general exceptions are allowed.

The Conventions on the Work of Children and Young Persons.

The Conventions relating to the employment of children and young persons fixes fourteen as the minimum age at which a child should enter industry. Exceptions were made in the cases of Japan and India, where the age is to be 12. Persons under the age of 18 are not to be employed during the night, although persons over 16 may be so employed in continuous process industries, as in the manufacture of iron and steel, glass, raw sugar, paper, and in the reduction of gold. Certain exceptions in particular industries and countries are permitted.

Diseases of Occupation.

Diseases of occupation were also the subject of discussion, and it was recommended that wool infected with anthrax spores should be disinfected; that women and children should be excluded from certain employments involving the risk of lead poisoning; and that certain other occupations should be permitted only if proper appliances were used certain and regulations observed. It was also recommended that health services, in addition to factory inspection, should be introduced by all Governments.

The Pioneer Work of the Conference.

The results of the Washington Conference are generally recognised as being of permanent importance. In reviewing the work accomplished, the great problems that had to be encountered should be borne in mind. It was the first Conference of its kind, and it had to meet and surmount all the difficulties which confront the pioneer. Language obstacles, well known to those acquainted with international gatherings for the transaction of business, were prominent. It is, therefore, remarkable that in the complicated negotiations inseparable from the drafting of Conventions and Recommendations language difficulties were overcome, and that complete agreement was reached on so many complex subjects. By some the Conventions may be considered moderate in their provisions, but it must be remembered that the degree of progress in reforms intended to be world-wide in extent is determined in some measure not by the most advanced country, but by the most backward; and that the great aim of the Conference was to make

provision for the gradual or, in some cases, rapid raising of the more backward countries to something approaching the level reached by the more advanced nations after many years of social effort.

British Labour and the Washington Conference.

In Great Britain the Washington Conventions are now known in Labour circles as the "International Labour Charter." The views of the Labour delegates, members of workers' organisations of Great Britain, are interesting as showing the importance they attach to the Conventions :—

> Whilst we should have liked to have seen stronger and more far-reaching Conventions and Recommendations, we feel sure that in the circumstances more was accomplished than we could have expected. At a first Conference of such a character, it would not have been surprising had it failed to do more than set up machinery with a view of working in the future, but not only were we able to do this, but to carry through the Conventions and Recommendations mentioned above.*

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, in commenting upon the Report of the delegation, states :—

> The Washington Conference was not only unique from the international standpoint, but without parallel, and, as will be seen from the short statement of the Conference's work appearing in another portion of this Report, the results exceeded expectations. It was indeed remarkable that, with representatives of the most backward nations (from an industrial standpoint) brought into consultation for the first time with representatives of the most highly developed nations, questions affecting the industrial workers of the world should have been discussed with such keenness and with a genuine desire on the part of the former to bring their countries into line industrially with the more advanced and better organised countries. Common agreement was realised on many points, and it now remains for the various Governments to give legislative effect to Recommendations from the Conference.†

The Genoa Conference.

The second session of the General Conference was held at Genoa in June and July, 1920. The conditions of the work of seafarers was the sole subject of discussion ; but it proved so complex and refractory that it was not possible to arrive at a definite conclusion on the chief question : that of the application of the eight hours working day to seamen. The Commission which considered the problem succeeded, after long and strenuous debates, in framing a Draft Convention. But this failed by a fraction of a vote to secure the necessary two-thirds majority when it came before the General Conference, and hence no decision on the subject was reached. Draft Conventions, however, were agreed to on the following questions :—

(1) The minimum age for the admission of children to employment at sea.

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* Report of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress adopted by the Trades Union Congress, Portsmouth, 1920.

† *Ibid.*

(2) Unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of the ship.
(3) The establishment of facilities for finding employment for seamen.

Further Recommendations were passed dealing with :

(1) Limitation of hours of work in the fishing industry.
(2) Limitation of hours of work in inland navigation.
(3) The establishment of national seamen's codes.
(4) Unemployment insurance for seamen.

Further, a Joint Maritime Commission, consisting of representatives of shipowners and seamen, was elected to consider the drawing up of an International Seamen's Code and other questions affecting seafarers.*

How the Work Can be Perfected.

The results of the Washington and Genoa Conferences are, however, only the beginnings of a tremendous task, for the completion of which the International Labour Office is responsible. To carry out this responsibility successfully, the Office requires the steady and vigorous support of public opinion in every country, and especially that of far-seeing employers who realise the economic necessities of the times, and of the workers who have repeatedly demanded the establishment of international machinery for promoting systematic and universal industrial reforms. International labour legislation, even when Conventions and Recommendations have been secured, depends, like national legislation, entirely on the citizens of each country. By persistent and methodical action the industrial organisations of employers and employed can obtain from the Parliaments of their countries the ratification of Conventions already agreed upon and ensure that they are faithfully observed. Moreover, through the International Labour Office and the International Labour Conference they can achieve by further measures the fulfilment of the programme drawn up in the Treaty of Peace, which requires that the conditions of labour should be brought to an ever-increasing extent into conformity with justice.

* Following the Session of the General Conference at Genoa the International Seafarers' Federation requested the Director of the International Labour Office to endeavour to bring about an unofficial conference between the shipowners and seafarers. Steps were taken by the Office to carry out this request, with the result that a Conference between the International Shipping Federation and the International Seafarers' Federation was held at Brussels on January 25 and 26, 1921, under the chairmanship of the Director of the Office. This Conference elected two Committees to discuss the whole problem of working hours in the seafaring industry, with the view of arriving at a practicable solution of the question. A further Conference is to meet to discuss the reports of the Committees.

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SOME PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION.

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this pamphlet is to present a short survey of public education for the use of members of local education committees and practical educationists. Under cover of national economy, the parties of reaction, inside and outside of Parliament, are preparing an attack on the people's education, which threatens, not merely to destroy the promise of the Education Act of 1918, but to undo to a great extent the achievem nt of the Act of 1902. Hence, lovers of education have to arm themselves for the children's defence on one side with a knowledge of facts, on the other side with a practical policy. There has been no attempt to cover all the ground; but rather to fix attention on certain central problems. The various matters connected with medical inspection and care of physical health have been purposely omitted from the reference, as these subjects are discussed in other Fabian publications. Nor does the writer pretend to originality of views, but the pamphlet is mainly composed of abstracts from official and Labour Party publications, or from various documents, a list of which is given in the bibliography. If, however, the pamphlet should succeed in strengthening the hands of educationists against forces of reaction in ever so small a measure, it would not have wholly failed in its purpose.

The thanks of the writer are due to officials, directors of education, school teachers and others, who, while taking no responsibility for the opinions expressed, have given generous assistance in correcting and revising the draft.

SOME PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION.

The Building of Schools.

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. — According to the Annual Report of the Board of Education for the year 1919-1920 there are 20,971 public elementary schools in England and Wales, of which 8,705 are provided by local authorities and 12,266 by voluntary agencies. There is a total accommodation for about 7,000,000 pupils. There are in addition 478 "special schools" for physically infirm and mentally defective children, with places for about 35,000 scholars, and 53 "certified efficient schools." It is incumbent on a local education authority to provide school accommodation for every child of school age within its area, but a rising standard of efficiency, together with fluctuations of population, do not make this duty an altogether simple one. While in some districts there is an accommodation considerably in excess of present needs, elsewhere nearly every school has too many children. Similarly, in some large areas with a total excess of accommodation, there is a deficiency in certain parts of the area. Moreover, owing to the awkward arrangement and unwieldy size of class-rooms in the older schools, the nominal accommodation is often no real guide to the effective accommodation.

A general survey of school premises has not been published by the Board since the year 1908-1909. The Annual Report for that year states that information furnished to the Board indicated that in the case of about 2,000 schools, or 3,000 departments, in England and Wales, the school premises were more or less seriously unsatisfactory, and 660 schools were condemned unconditionally. These figures did not include cases in which the only objection to the premises was the fact that three or more classes were taught in a single undivided room ; nor cases in which the only ground for objection was the absence or insufficiency of playground accommodation ; nor cases of schools where the accommodation was merely insufficient for the number of scholars taught, and enlargement was the only improvement required. Moreover, the standard embodied in the Board's Building Regulations, which is applicable to new schools, was not employed in judging existing buildings. Such a procedure would have resulted, according to the Board, "in the condemnation of a large number of school buildings erected within the last twenty or thirty years, and could not in the present state of public opinion be carried to a successful issue."

Since the year 1908-1909 about 1,200 new schools in England and Wales have been opened, or have taken the place of old ones, making a net increase of 238 schools. The whole advance took place before 1915, for the building of new schools was almost entirely held up by the circumstances of the war. Between 1915 and 1919

there was actually a net decrease of 120 in the total number of schools. In the year 1919-1920 the Board of Education had "under consideration how best to meet not only arrears of building caused by the war, but also the new requirements of the Education Act, 1918, especially as regards the instruction of older children." The year saw the opening of 51 new schools, but the figure represents barely more than a quarter of the average output of schools in the five years before the war. Less than nothing has been done to make good the war-time arrears. The Board has embarked on a policy of so-called economy, and the prospects of building are about as bad as they can be.

It is common knowledge that, in areas where the population is increasing, there is serious congestion in the matter of school accommodation, accompanied by the usual tendency to deterioration. Under the Board's Building Regulations a new school should have "no undesirable surroundings"; a good playing-ground, with a portion covered for shelter in wet weather; a central hall for general assembly; a number of class-rooms such that there is never more than one teacher working in each; as a rule there should be not less than two class-rooms for every hundred scholars and not less than 10 square feet of floor space for each scholar in the class-room; class-rooms should be well lighted from the left of the pupils, well ventilated and warmed; there should be wide corridors and safe staircases and exits, adequate cloak-rooms where clothes can be dried, well-provided lavatories for necessary washing, and a good supply of drinking water. Schools erected, however, before 1900 fall far short of modern requirements. Even before the war the standard adopted by the Board in condemning schools was a very low one indeed compared with the modern ideas of school planning, and condemned premises have been allowed to continue in use for years because a new building has not been available. It is not unusual in old-fashioned schools to find cramped surroundings and no proper playground, no separate hall which is not used as a class-room, class-rooms made to accommodate 60 to 100 children, and sometimes one large room in which four or more classes are taught together. Even passages and exits are known to be used as class-rooms. The Education Act of 1918 requires that suitable provision should be made by local authorities for "practical instruction," but the lack of accommodation in backward areas makes this out of the question. Some local authorities, such as the London County Council, had arranged before the war to rebuild or remodel systematically a certain number of schools each year, but these schemes are now held up indefinitely. Local authorities are not merely permitted by the Board, but deliberately advised to make do with premises which do not comply in the least with the Board's building requirements. Even in the case of a new school, the Board has actually forbidden the provision of a practical room, although the provision of such a room is a statutory obligation. There is practically no new building except

in cases where the conditions are actually injurious to health, or the congestion is so great that children are walking the streets. The Board has recently arranged for the purchase by local authorities of disused army huts, and a large number of these are being used as temporary accommodation; but makeshift premises of this kind are necessarily unsatisfactory to run, and tend to cost more in the end than the building of efficient schools. It is true that owing to the decline of the birth-rate during the war, the number of children proceeding to school in the next few years will fall below the normal. There will be for a time a decrease rather than an increase in the demand for elementary school accommodation, but this is no reason why children should be taught in unsuitable premises. The Board of Education ought to carry out the survey of existing school buildings which was begun before the war, and should put pressure on local education authorities to make good deficiencies by giving notice that after a reasonable interval it will decline to pay grant on account of schools held on premises which are obviously unsuitable. At the same time, labour members of local education authorities should call for regular reports on the school accommodation of their area, and should press for the erection of new schools in place of those which are condemned. Educationists may reasonably claim that the rebuilding or remodelling of the schools in the coming year should be at least equivalent to the average achievement in the five years before the war.

NURSERY SCHOOLS.—The advent of nursery schools, provided for under the Education Act of 1918, seems as far off as ever. Under the new Act, local education authorities are expressly empowered to make arrangements for "supplying or assisting the supply of nursery schools (which expression shall include nursery classes) for children over two and under five years, or such later age as may be approved by the Board of Education, whose attendance at such schools is necessary or desirable for their healthy physical and mental development." The Board issued its regulations in respect of nursery schools in January, 1919, twenty-nine such schools being recognised up to March, 1920, but of these only three have been provided by local authorities. During the last twelve months the Education Committee of more than one town has been offered as gifts suitable and substantial buildings for use as nursery schools. Owing to the fact that the Board of Education would be required to contribute annually their proportion of the cost for carrying on the school, the Board has refused to approve the acceptance of buildings for nursery school purposes.

"GRANT-AIDED" SECONDARY SCHOOLS.—"The primary need of the moment," the President of the Board of Education has declared, "is the multiplication of secondary schools." The total number of grant-aided secondary schools in England and Wales is 1,140, with places for about 308,000 pupils, and 206 other schools are recognised by the Board "as efficient." The comparative prosperity among

certain classes of workers during the war resulted immediately in an increasing demand for secondary education, a fact which refutes the middle-class contention that working-class parents do not appreciate the value of education. Secondary schools became rapidly filled to overflowing, with the result that thousands of would-be scholars, among them intending teachers, have to be refused admission because there are no places for them. In 1910 the London County Council arranged to establish a number of "central" schools with the object of providing advanced instruction for children over 11. At the end of 1921, there were fifty-one such schools in being, with accommodation for 17,000 children, and the Council proposed to extend the scheme so as to bring up the total number to 100 schools, with 40,000 places, but the scheme is held up with every other reform. The Board has found it necessary to suspend its rule limiting the size of classes to thirty-five pupils, and it is admitted that "the enforced stoppage of building" has caused serious overcrowding in the great majority of secondary schools. The clamant need for a large increase in secondary school accommodation is discussed in a later chapter.

The standard of accommodation and equipment required by the Board's Building Regulations in "grant-aided" secondary schools is higher than in elementary schools, as regards both class-rooms and playing-fields, but "higher elementary schools" and schools of the type of the L.C.C. "central schools" are required to "be planned in accordance with the principle applicable to an ordinary public elementary school."

The Law as to School Attendance.

WHOLE-TIME SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.—It is estimated that in 1919 the total number of scholars on the books of public elementary schools in England and Wales was 5,419,137, with an average attendance of 5,123,526 per day. The age-limits of compulsory whole-time school attendances are fixed by law, but these may be varied by local authorities to some extent. Section 8 (1) of the Education Act (1918), which has not yet, however, been brought into operation, requires that "no exemption from attendance shall be granted to any child between the ages of 5 and 14 years." Under the same section labour certificates must not be granted to children under 14, but the local authority may, if it pleases, raise the higher age limit of school attendance to 15. Further, the Board of Education may, on the application of the local authority, "authorise the instruction of children in public elementary schools till the end of the school term in which they reach the age of 16, or (in special circumstances) such later age as appears to the Board desirable." Thus there is nothing in the terms of the Act to prevent school authorities from providing education for children up to 16. Children over 15, it is true, cannot be legally compelled to attend school, but parents may be persuaded to let them remain. Not

merely does whole-time school attendance up to 16 exempt young people between 16 and 18 from part-time attendance at continuation classes, but local authorities are empowered to provide allowances for maintenance in the case of children over 12, so that there need be no hardship to poor families from the loss of children's earnings. The payment of fees in public elementary schools, which was the practice until recently in some voluntary or "non-provided" schools, was finally abolished by the Education Act of 1918.

Unfortunately, however, the Education Act of 1918 is in a state of suspended animation. The Act comes into operation on a day appointed by the Board, different days being appointed for different purposes. For the purpose of raising school age it was laid down that "the appointed day shall not be earlier than the termination of the present war." Month after month the Board refused to take action, pleading in excuse the long delay over the Turkish settlement. Now, however, that the termination of the war has been officially proclaimed, the Board can no longer hide the fact of its ignominous surrender to the pressure of reactionary forces. The baby has been thrown to the wolves, and there seems no immediate prospect of a change of policy. Meanwhile, the earlier law remains in operation. Under previous Education Acts, local authorities are obliged to make bye-laws regulating school attendance for children between 5 and 14. In London, there is compulsory attendance up to 14, but local authorities can and do grant "labour certificates" to children over 12 who have reached a certain standard in school, or children over 11 in agricultural areas, exempting them from whole-time or part-time attendance. The consequence is that a number of promising young scholars who would benefit greatly from another year of schooling leave school at 13. It is significant of this tendency that the number of children between 13 and 14 on the books of public elementary schools is only about two-thirds of the number in the age-group from 12 to 13. Nor is the Board relieved from responsibility by the passing of the Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act, 1920, which prohibits a child under 14 from employment in "an industrial undertaking." The term covers mines and quarries, factories and workshops, works of construction and transport, excepting transport by hand, but children over 12 may be employed in shops, domestic service, agriculture and in casual occupations, and the effect of the new industrial legislation may be merely to prohibit their employment in a regular trade. Pending action by the Board, local authorities would be well advised to make bye-laws enforcing whole-time school attendance on children between 5 and 14. This measure would be preparatory to raising the higher age-limit to 15, when the Education Act of 1918 comes eventually into operation.

Special Regulations for Infants.—Children under 5 cannot be obliged to attend school, but under the Education Act of

1918 local authorities may provide education for children over 2 and under 5 in nursery schools or nursery classes. The number of children under 5, however, attending elementary schools in England and Wales does not amount in all to over 200,000, and all progress is effectually checked for the time being by the lack of school accommodation. In the case of children under six, the local authority may make a bye-law relieving parents from their obligation to cause the child to attend school, but regard must be had to "the adequacy of the provision of nursery schools for the area," and any ten parents of children attending public schools in the area may require the local authority to hold a public enquiry "for the purpose of determining whether the bye-law should be approved." It is usual for the infant class to break up in the afternoon half an hour or an hour before other departments, and there is some feeling among parents in comfortable home circumstances that children under seven should not be obliged to attend school in the afternoon. On the other hand, mothers with several young children and perhaps an infant in arms, would find it extremely inconvenient to have children under seven half the day on their hands, and would be thankful in most cases to send infants over two to a nursery school. Experience shows that children coming from poor and crowded homes may greatly benefit, not merely in training, but in health, from early attendance at school. In the case of children under seven, while local authorities should make proper provision, it seems desirable that a certain option should be allowed to parents in the matter of school attendance. The setting up of parents' committees—an experiment which has been made with success in Scarborough—deserves the attention of progressive school authorities.

PART-TIME ATTENDANCE AT CONTINUATION CLASSES.—Under the Education Act of 1918, it is obligatory on local authorities to organise a system of part-time education for young people between 14 and 16 (and after the lapse of seven years from the "appointed day" between 14 and 18) in their respective areas. The Act provides that young people of these ages shall attend continuation schools, at such times and on such days as the local authority may require, for 320 hours in the year, distributed as regards time and seasons as may best suit the circumstances of each locality. Within a period of seven years of the "appointed day" the number of hours can be reduced to 280, but only by a special resolution of the local authority. Further, attendance must take place between 8 a.m. and 7 p.m., and not on Sundays or on any customary holiday or half-holiday. In short, attendance must take place in working hours. A local authority may, if it pleases, recognise "works schools" as giving "suitable and efficient part-time instruction," but a young person cannot be compelled to attend a "works school" against his will. Nor is it a sound proposition that a school connected with a private commercial or industrial undertaking, and run

for business purposes, should be recognised by the local authority as a suitable place of education.

The Board intended originally to invite local authorities to draw up schemes of continued education, and to fix the "appointed day" for each area as the local authority was ready to carry out its duties. A few local authorities, including Manchester, began the organisation of a voluntary system of day continuation classes, while London set to work with a compulsory scheme, and the "appointed day" for the area was fixed as from January, 1921. At the end of a month 90 per cent. of the young people notified had enrolled under the scheme, but the experiment had hardly been tried when the Board decided to change its policy, and local authorities were advised to draw in their horns. In London, a one year's course has been substituted for a two years' course, the size of classes has been swollen beyond the limits, not merely of good teaching, but of ordinary discipline, and the scheme is not given a fair chance. Local authorities ought to act in advance of the Board, and invite young people between 14 and 16 to attend at continuation classes for at least 320 hours per annum, or else offer them the equivalent in some other and better form of secondary education.

The Scope of Elementary Education.

CHILDREN UNDER 7.—It is now generally recognised that in elementary education there are three distinct phases, the first covering the period of a child's life from admission to school to 7, the second the period between 7 and 11, and the third the period from 11 to 14, or so long as the child remains at school. The broad lines of the school curriculum are laid down in the Board of Education Code of Regulations, but these admit of considerable variety of interpretation, depending largely on the qualifications of the teaching staff and the nature of the school equipment. The tendency of recent years has been to abolish the system of examinations, and to give teachers as much freedom as possible in framing their curricula.

The period of school life up to 7 is spent in the infant school. According to the Code, the aim is to provide for the free development of mind and body, and for the formation of habits of obedience and attention. Physical exercises should take the form of games, or singing and breathing exercises rather than of set drill. Younger infants should be encouraged "to employ their eyes, hands, and fingers in suitable free occupations," to talk and to ask questions. The teacher should tell stories, leading the children to form ideas and to express them in simple language of their own. Older infants should be trained to listen carefully, to speak clearly, to cultivate their powers of observation, and to do simple things with their hands; they should begin to read and write, to count and to sing simple songs. In up-to-date schools an improvement has taken place in methods of teaching infants which amounts almost to a revolution in the last twenty years.

CHILDREN BETWEEN 7 AND 11.—At 7 the child usually passes into the main school. There are in towns separate departments for boys and girls, but departments are "mixed" in rural districts, and in some schools where all children are under 11. At 11 the normal child is supposed to be able to read and write fluently, and to be familiar with the simple rules of arithmetic. It is a matter of regret to some teachers that in this country, unlike in America, handwork, except in the form of drawing, receives too little attention during the four or five years between the infant classes and the upper standards, when the child is preparing to leave school for industry. There is, however, no question that the education provided in the junior departments of efficient elementary schools does reach a high level of excellence and produce admirable results. The quality of the instruction may be judged, not merely from the number of elementary school children who at the age of 11 win scholarships in first-rate secondary schools, and hold their own in competition with children who have far greater home advantages, but in the high standard of average intelligence. It is suggested in the Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places that some 75 per cent. of elementary school children in junior departments are intellectually capable of profiting by further whole-time instruction up to 16 or beyond.

CHILDREN OVER 11.—The instruction of children over 11 gives rise to more difficult problems. The child is now qualified to study a growing variety of the subjects which equip him for "the work of life." The Code requires that the curriculum should be developed in the direction of history, geography, literature, elementary science and nature study, and further it is incumbent on local authorities to make adequate provision in their areas, as part of the ordinary provision of elementary education, for practical instruction appropriate to the needs of the pupils and the circumstances of the schools. Teaching in the past has been often dull and perfunctory, but teachers are now keenly alive to the fact that the main value of instruction lies in the interest evoked as much as in the actual knowledge acquired. "There has," the London Education Committee reports, "within recent years been a distinct movement towards strengthening the appeal of literature, art, music and drama by an imparting of the spirit rather than an insistence on the letter. Instead of parsing Shakespeare plays, as was the practice a quarter of a century ago, the children now go to see them acted. Instead of listening to a recital of dry facts about Dickens and his writings they read "David Copperfield" and "A Tale of Two Cities." In many London schools, teachers in the upper standards are specialists in their own subjects, and scholars in their final year, more especially pupil teachers, are encouraged to concentrate on studies for which they have particular aptitude, and to work individually or in small groups at intensive courses. The L.C.C. has opened ten "home workrooms" as an experiment, so

that children from poor homes may have the opportunity for private study, and so successful is the venture that it has been decided to open ten more in the immediate future.

The practical side of education is largely inspired with the same spirit. Practical subjects may include handicraft, cooking, laundry work, housewifery, dairy work, gardening, and "all such subjects as the Board may declare to be subjects of practical instruction." In London over 92 per cent. of the accommodation necessary for practical instruction of boys over 11 has already been provided. The majority of the centres are for woodwork lessons, but about 20 are for metal work, some of these being furnished with power machines. In other parts of the country there have been successful experiments in using such crafts as printing and bookbinding. Gardening is mostly practised in rural areas. "The work of a rural school," the Board advises, "should centre round such practical subjects as are suited to the occupations of the locality, mainly gardening, handicraft and domestic economy, and associated with these should be subjects teaching the principles underlying the practical instruction, such as arithmetic, drawing, and rural science." *Practical instruction* which aims at developing intelligence by the use of hand or eye should not be confused with *vocational training*, the primary object of which is to fit the child for his adult occupation.

Nevertheless, it has long been felt by teachers and inspectors that all is not well in the upper part of the elementary school. Teachers are faced with the impossible task of crowding into three short school years instruction in a range of subjects which should properly occupy at least a five years' course. Even such extension of school hours as may be afforded by part-time continuation classes would relieve the congestion to some extent. For example, it has been proposed by the London Education Committee to simplify the teaching of history and geography, as these subjects "must be taught in future as subjects preparatory for higher work in continuation schools," a consideration which "applies in a less degree to the whole of the elementary school curriculum." Moreover, the ordinary elementary teacher, who is required to take a class through all or the greater part of the time-table, does not, as a rule, possess the wide grasp of a subject which would enable him to inspire enthusiasm in his pupils. Nor is there always the proper equipment for specialised work. The lack of equipment for practical work in many areas has been a serious hindrance to undertaking it.

The London Education Committee has proposed to attack the problem in two ways. The first proposal is to develop the system of "central schools," namely, schools providing more or less advanced instruction for selected children over 11, a proposal which has been held up for the time being by the practical embargo on building. The second proposal is to simplify the curriculum in the upper standards for children who remain behind in the ordinary elementary schools, and to specialise in practical work to a greater extent than

hitherto. Teachers would be encouraged by means of "refresher courses" to take up practical subjects, and so far as possible a practical workshop would be attached to each school. "If all the pupils," the London Education Committee observes, "capable of profiting by the more advanced courses of instruction associated with secondary and central schools are removed from the ordinary elementary schools, the problem of dealing with the remainder is greatly simplified and an opportunity is presented for breaking with many old traditions." The weakness of the scheme lies partly in the fact that it does not go far enough. Witnesses before the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places estimated that 75 per cent. of elementary school children are "capable of profiting by the more advanced courses of instruction associated with secondary and central schools," and the scheme does not propose to provide for more than 20 per cent. at most. Thousands of children will be given mainly practical diet, whose intellectual capacities demand stronger meat. Another serious objection to the scheme is that "central schools" do not offer, as a rule, genuine secondary education, but are provided "with a view of giving suitable pupils a course of instruction with a bias to some kind of industrial and commercial work." Educationists are now commonly agreed that education in adolescence should be solely determined by a child's capacity to profit by it, and not by the needs of his adult occupation.

The Scope of Secondary Education.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION.—Public elementary education, we are told by the Education Advisory Committee of the Labour Party, was originally established by the governing classes for the children of "the independent poor." It was designed as a special kind of education, suited to "the conditions of workmen and servants." It had no connection with secondary education, which was the education of the well-to-do, and there is still organised opposition from employers' bodies, such as the Federation of British Industries, to education "which would unfit children for employment they will eventually enter." Old artificial barriers are, however, breaking down before the pressure of social changes and modern conceptions of education. It is not only school authorities who are aware that the later years at the elementary school are largely wasted, but parents complain that between the ages of 12 to 14 a child is mostly marking time, while the child himself is sick of schooling. The Advisory Committee points out the essential futility of an elementary course which is not related to the laws of a child's natural development. It proposes to throw over the old pernicious doctrine that elementary education is "a special kind of education designed for the children of a particular class," and to substitute a system under which it would form "the preparatory stage in a course extending through childhood and adolescence."

This modern view of education is recommended by the Committee for adoption by the Labour Party as an essential part of a progressive programme. "The Labour Party is convinced that the only policy which is at once educationally sound and suited to a democratic community is the one under which primary education and secondary education are organised in two stages in a single and continuous process; secondary education being the education of the adolescent and primary education being the education preparatory thereto. Its objective, therefore, is the development of public secondary education to such a point that all normal children, irrespective of the income, class or occupation of their parents, may be transferred at the age of 11 from the primary or preparatory to the secondary school and remain in the latter till 16." The Labour Party holds that all immediate reform should be carried out with that objective in view and in such a way as to contribute to its attainment. In particular it regards all "central schools," "junior technical schools and part-time continuation classes" as at best transitional arrangements, which must on no account be allowed to conflict with "the creation at the earliest possible date of a system of free and universal secondary education." The general lines of the Labour Party scheme for giving practical effect to these views may be briefly indicated under the following headings.

THE CONTINUATION SCHOOL.—From the educational point of view, part-time attendance at continuation classes forms a miserably inadequate substitute for full-time secondary education. From another standpoint, non-labour members of the L.C.C. have declared that "the continuation school stops employment and ends discipline without adequate result," and that it would be more satisfactory to keep the children full-time until a later age. Similarly, parents protest that the loss of children's earnings is not sufficiently compensated by a few hours a week of instruction, or mere physical drill or dancing in an overcrowded class-room. Half a loaf is, however, better than no bread. Local education committees are advised by the Labour Party to extract what good they can from the Education Act of 1918, and to press forward voluntary schemes of continuation classes, but to keep always in mind that the ultimate goal of any scheme is whole-time secondary education. Not merely there should be provision for at least 320 hours per annum, but schools should be staffed and equipped up to the standard of "grant-aided" secondary schools. The curriculum should be framed on broadly humanistic lines, and narrowly vocational subjects should not be taught to children under 16.

HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.—By the mere practical necessities of the situation, local authorities have found themselves committed now for many years past to the organisation of some form of post-primary education, which they have tacked on to the elementary school under such names as "higher elementary schools," "higher

grade schools," "higher tops," "junior technical schools" or "central schools." The type of "central school" which in London is superseding the earlier forms of "higher elementary school" provides instruction of a comparatively advanced grade, the time-table including at least one foreign language. Nevertheless, in general academic standing, these schools fall definitely below the standard of a "grant-aided" secondary school, and are modelled on somewhat different principles. The general characteristic of the "central school" is inferiority to secondary schools in teachers' qualifications and salaries, in the ratio of staff to pupils, in school buildings and equipment, and in surroundings and playing-fields, while the curriculum is framed with a vocational bias and children do not generally remain at school after 15. "Central schools" are favoured by school authorities, partly because the vicious doctrine persists that a child's education should be determined by the needs of his adult occupation, but principally for the sake of cheapness.

"We have not yet gone so far," the Director of Education for Darlington has declared, "as to establish vocational schools for intending doctors, lawyers, and those who intend to take up the higher branches of engineering. A good general education is essential whatever calling a boy or girl proposes to follow." From a broad statesman-like point of view it is bad economy on the part of a local authority to provide schools of a type which offer merely a cheap substitute for secondary education, and would certainly have to be scrapped when the nation faces seriously the problem of education. As opportunity occurs, higher elementary schools should be remodelled on the lines of a true secondary school, and transferred to the proper authority, where separate local authorities are responsible for elementary and secondary education. The methods of staffing and equipment should be approximated so far as possible to the secondary school model, and the curriculum freed from a vocational bias. Pupils should be encouraged by means of maintenance grants to remain at school until 16.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL.—The Education Act of 1902-1903, by placing responsibility for secondary as well as elementary education in the hands of county and borough councils, made it possible for a child to pass on from the elementary to the secondary school, and in some rare cases from thence on to the university. The L.C.C. awards annually 1,700 junior county scholarships to elementary school children, tenable for three or five years, and there are similar schemes in operation elsewhere. A ladder of this kind is, however, reserved to children of exceptional talent and ability. It is estimated that something under 9 per cent. of elementary school children between 11 and 12—the normal age of transfer—pass on to secondary schools, and the majority of these children leave school before they reach 15. Fresh powers and new duties were conferred by the Education Act of 1918, and local authorities are under the obligation of using their powers in such a way that "adequate pro-

vision shall be made to secure that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education of which they are capable of profiting through inability to pay fees." For the first time the provision of secondary education has been made a statutory duty, and local authorities have to hold themselves responsible for the failure of suitable candidates to gain admission to secondary schools. The Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places has revealed that in all probability as many as 75 per cent. of elementary school children are intellectually capable of profiting by full-time instruction up to 16 or beyond. It is significant that in 1919-1920 over 8,000 children were refused admission to secondary schools because there were no free places, and over 9,000 children because there were no means of accommodation at all. Nor do these figures represent by any means the full extent of the demand. In hosts of cases a child does not apply for admission to a secondary school, for the simple reason that there is no such school within reasonable access of his home. And these are not the worst difficulties. Apart from the payment of fees, few working-class parents can afford to maintain children over 14 at school without hardship to other members of the family, and the present provision of allowances for maintenance is quite inadequate to the need. The total number of children who receive maintenance grants may be roughly estimated at 30,000, the average grant being about £8 10s. per annum. Further, there is a tendency for a higher standard of intellectual acquirements to be required from children of poor parents than from children of the well-to-do. The London Education Committee has made the amazing proposal that, "in the interests of the community," the children of fee-paying parents should be admitted to public secondary schools on easier intellectual terms than children who apply for free places, while a still higher standard should be required from children whose parents are so poor as to claim an allowance for maintenance.

For practical reasons it would be idle to suggest that the present shortage of secondary schools should be made good all at once. The Advisory Committee of the Labour Party has therefore put forward the very moderate proposal that local authorities should provide places for at least twenty children between 11 and 16 for every 1,000 of the general population in their areas. This is the standard laid down by the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places "as the basis of a reasonable development," and one which has been recommended for adoption in the scheme of the York Education Committee. From this basis the number of places could be increased each year until it covered all children capable of profiting by secondary education. The proportion among elementary school children has been variously estimated by educational experts as from 75 to 90 per cent. So as to make the most of existing accommodation, it is proposed that the preparatory departments of "grant-aided" secondary schools

should be abolished. These departments now provide about 10,000 places for fee-paying children under 10, and could be turned to the better use of providing for children over 11. The remodelling of higher elementary schools would be another means of providing further secondary school accommodation. In sparsely populated areas, where secondary schools are few and far between, a motor service could be organised for the conveyance of pupils to and from school. The normal age of transfer from the elementary to the secondary school would be 11, and children would norm ally remain at school until 16, but provision should be available for late developers up to the age of 14.

Students' fees in grant-aided secondary schools, under the Labour Party proposal, would be abolished straight away. Bradford has already taken this step, while Durham has prepared a scheme under which the number of free places would be systematically increased each year until all places would be free at a given date. There should be a generous system of allowances for maintenance. Children in need of this assistance should receive it as a matter of course, and the grants should be adequate in amount, the scale rising automatically with the child's age and growing expenses. Under the Education Act of 1918, local authorities have power to make grants for maintenance in respect of children over 12. Finally, there should be one uniform test of admission to "grant-aided" secondary schools, and children of poor parents should not be required to exhibit exceptional intellectual attainments. The central purpose of the Labour Party scheme is that secondary education, from being the privilege of a few specially intelligent or fortunate children, should become the right of every child of normal intelligence.

University Scholarships.—It would be premature to consider a general scheme for the development of public university education. Apart from special arrangements for ex-service students, the Board established in 1920 a scheme offering 200 university scholarships to students in grant-aided secondary schools in England and Wales, but this scheme is now suspended. Present holders of scholarships only are allowed to complete their course. There are other scholarships provided by local authorities for poor students at the universities and various places of higher learning, but the total provision is too small to affect seriously the problem of education for the general mass of young people.

Miscellaneous Provisions.

Size of Classes.—The excellent work of teachers in elementary schools is too often handicapped by the unduly large number of pupils in a class. The following table shows the number of adult teachers of various grades for every thousand scholars in average attendance for the year 1919-1920:—

	Head Teachers.	"Certificated" Assistants.	"Uncertificated" Assistants.	Other Adult Teachers.	Total.
London	3·7	24·3	·3	·3	28·5
County Boroughs...	4·0	19·0	4·6	·5	28·0
Boroughs	5·3	15·5	8·4	1·2	30·4
Urban Districts ...	3·8	19·4	4·8	·5	28·7
Counties	9·2	9·3	9·9	5·4	33·7
Total	6·0	15·8	6·3	2·3	30·4

These figures indicate that the average size of a class does not greatly exceed 30 pupils, but head teachers are not supposed to take a class in any but very small schools, so that the average size of classes is larger than the figures would suggest. Nor do the figures refer to the number of children on the register, but to the number in average attendance, and the attendance on full days would be considerably above the average. Further, the average is reduced by the inclusion of small rural schools. In urban areas the size of classes is considerably above the average. On the other hand, the proportion of "uncertificated" or supplementary teachers in village schools is nearly twice as large as for the country as a whole.

The Board's Code of Regulations requires that the number of scholars on the register of any class, or group of classes, under the instruction of one teacher should not exceed 60; while "in no case will a staff be considered sufficient if, in the aggregate, it is not at least equivalent for the average attendance of the school or department, measured by the following scale":—

Head teacher	35 children
Each certificated assistant teacher ...	60 ,,
Each uncertificated assistant teacher ...	35 ,,
Each student teacher	20 ,,
Each supplementary teacher	20 ,,

In the old-fashioned type of school, however, where class-rooms are built to seat as many as 80 or 100 pupils, local authorities are hampered in carrying out even the minimum prescriptions of the Code. The L.C.C. adopted a scheme in 1912 under which the size of classes in existing schools would be reduced at the end of fifteen years to the limits prescribed by the Council in new schools, namely, 40 children in senior departments, and 48 children in infant departments, and in the last ten years the number of classes with from 50 to 60 pupils has been reduced by about 200. Nevertheless, there were in London no fewer than 4,800 classes of this size in 1920. Meanwhile, the recent restrictions on building have caused a general suspension of new schemes, and there is already a noticeable tendency to discharge teachers and increase the size of classes. For example, Sheffield has proposed to economise by a general inflation of classes to a 50-60 standard, and also to relax the rule by which the head teacher is relieved from the ordinary duties of teaching.

In the spring of 1922 it was stated in the House of Commons that, out of 150,000 classes in elementary schools in England and Wales, 39,000 classes had between 40 and 50 pupils, 31,000 classes between 50 and 60 pupils, and nearly 7,000 classes over 60 pupils.

Classes in "grant-aided" secondary schools are subject to special rules. The Board prescribes a limit of 30 pupils, but, owing to the present lack of accommodation, it has recently been decided to raise this limit to 35. There are no special rules as regards higher elementary schools, but, broadly speaking, the ratio of pupils to teachers is greater than in secondary schools, but not as great as in an ordinary elementary school. By swelling the size of classes beyond their proper proportions, so that teachers and pupils alike find that their best efforts are discouraged, local authorities do not achieve economy, but merely a waste of public time and money. Moreover, teachers in elementary schools should not be required to teach under conditions which would not be tolerated in other schools. Local education authorities would be well-advised to reduce the size of classes in elementary schools to at least the standard of a "grant-aided" secondary school.

Special Classes for Backward Children.—In a report by Mr. Cyril Burt to the London Education Committee, it is estimated that about 10 per cent. of elementary school children, though not mentally defective, may be classed as backward. For children of this type it is necessary to provide either special classes, or special schools. Mr. Burt is in favour of special classes, on the ground that there is no hard and fast line in the case of backward children, who ought not to be completely segregrated from their normal school-fellows. Backwardness in many cases may be traced to underfeeding, illness or similar physical cause, or merely to perpetual "migration" from one school to another, so that there is no continuous education. Many backward children develop later so as to reach the full normal standard. Mr. Burt advises that classes for backward children should be limited to 30, and that the curriculum should be predominantly manual in character, and for older children adapted to their probable future employment. For children of limited intelligence there seems an actual advantage in early vocational training. It is observed that backward children are by no means deficient in æsthetic appreciation, and may be keenly susceptible to music and drama.

Physical Training.—The Code of Regulations requires that children should be afforded every opportunity for the healthy development of their bodies, not merely by training them in appropriate physical exercises, but by encouraging them in organised games. Instruction and practice in swimming may be included in the time-table. For the proper encouragement of organised games the London Education Committee advises that additional playing-fields inside and outside the county are badly needed, and it is most desirable that more use should be made of the royal parks and the

parks belonging to the L.C.C. and the Borough Councils. The Committee has in view proposals for the provision of additional school swimming baths, these classes being most popular among the pupils, but the Board's present policy of economy has thrown back every development in this direction. In some areas organised games have been restricted to one hour instead of four hours a week, so that all the time is taken up in going to and from the playing-fields, and organised games are practically cut off altogether. Itis not necessary to believe that "Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton" in order to realise the importance of physical exercises and games for growing boys and girls.

THE "PREFECT" SYSTEM.—"It is incumbent on the school," the London Education Committee states in a memorandum on the "prefect system," not only to see that the child has every opportunity for full development as a child, but to see also that the training shall be a real preparation for future duties and responsibilities, social, utilitarian and cultural. Perhaps one of the greatest needs of the time is the development of a social conscience and a keen sense of corporate life in the schools. "With these ends in view older pupils are invited by enterprising school authorities to take an active part in the good government of the school. Prefects are appointed by the head teacher in some cases, but in schools where the tone and discipline are of a higher order it is preferred that prefects should be selected by the scholars within certain limits on a democratic basis. Each school has to work out its own scheme, but there seems unanimity of opinion as to the educational value. "One head teacher after another," the Director of Education for Warwickshire has stated, "tell of its marvellous results: how it has made manly boys and womanly girls of children who, at the best, had kept their good to themselves, how the whole school has easily responded; how swearing and foul talk and smoking have disappeared, or nearly so; how manners in the street and road have been metamorphosed by the new code of honour which has appeared; how the parents have risen up and blessed it; how corporal punishment has nearly gone; how new activities of school life have appeared spontaneously; how the whole relationship of teachers and children has been changed."

SCHOOL LIBRARIES AND PICTURES.—"There is," the London Education Committee reports, "great need for the establishment of a really good library in each school, for nothing is likely to have a real influence on the older children than to place at their disposal a wide range of stimulating literature." Something has already been done by the Committee in developing a system of circulating libraries. Sets of carefully chosen books are circulated among the schools, the sets being so arranged that each child in each class has three or four books every term, and there are now about two million volumes in circulation under the scheme. In Sheffield and in some other boroughs and districts there is useful co-operation

between the school libraries and public libraries, and teachers act as vouchers and advisers to boy and girl readers. There seems room for further development in this direction.

Teachers interested in stimulating a child's natural love of beautiful things attach a great importance to the educational influence of school decoration. Reproductions of famous pictures and statues may be purchased at a comparatively low cost. In Buckinghamshire the local authority has recognised a voluntary organisation, which will lend pictures to a school in return for a small annual subscription. The pictures are changed each year, so that a child may become familiar with a wide variety of styles during his school life.

School Journeys.—According to the Code, "time occupied by visits paid during school hours to places of educational value and interest, or by field work or by rambles" may be reckoned as school attendance, and academic teaching in art and science may be supplemented by this means from living experience. The London Education Committee puts aside habitually a certain sum each year for expenses of this sort. Children have been taken in school term for journeys in the country, extending in some cases for a fortnight, so that they may have experience of camp life. They have visited museums and picture galleries and been taken to the theatre. Elementary school children have formed some of the most enthusiastic audiences of the classic performances at the "Old Vic," and the Committee assisted recently in organising in various parts of London special performances of Shakespeare plays. The latter expense, however, was subsequently disallowed by the District auditor. The matter was referred to the Courts, which upheld the auditors' decision, and the judge further questioned how far a child's attendance at the performance of a play in a theatre could be brought within fair interpretation of the term "visits to places of educational value and interest." Children may derive from good drama, not merely exquisite delight, but keen stimulus to imagination and intellectual activity; and this unfortunate judgment, together with the policy of stringent economy preached by the Board, has resulted in a real deprivation to London children. The L.C.C. has decided to cease its expenditure on school journeys for the coming year, thereby saving a round sum of £13,500. It is left to the enthusiasm of the teachers to raise a voluntary fund and to keep the system going.

The Supply of Teachers.

The Shortage of Teachers.—On the supply of teachers depends the future of education. There are in England and Wales something over 166,000 adult teachers of all sorts in elementary schools. The supply of qualified teachers is already insufficient for present needs, and the general shortage would be immediately apparent under conditions of normal development. In the event of the Education Act of 1918 being brought fully into operation,

it is estimated that there would be a deficiency of at least 20,000 teachers. Even before the war teaching was, in fact, a "decaying trade," the number of entrants each year being too few to replace the normal wastage caused by death and retirement. It is significant of the present tendency that the number of persons recognised by the Board of Education for the first time as intending teachers was 9,614 in 1908, but had declined to 6,088 in 1918. The falling-off in numbers since 1914 can no doubt be partly attributed to war circumstances. At all events, there was a certain recovery after the Armistice, so that the figure was raised to 6,604 in 1919, but this reversal of the general tendency may have merely a passing significance. Meanwhile, the shortage of teachers has had disastrous effects, not merely in hindering natural development, but in giving countenance to the employment of unqualified persons, and dragging down the standard of the service. At the present moment nearly one-third of the total adult staff in elementary schools are "uncertificated" or supplementary teachers. In London the proportion is only about 2 per cent., but the figure rises to nearly one-half in rural areas. Under healthy conditions, it should be as impossible to employ an "uncertificated" teacher as an unqualified medical practitioner.

In secondary schools there is not quite the same acute problem. The superior conditions of service attract, not merely a good proportion of university graduates, but the cream of students from State-aided training colleges—further depleting the supply of elementary teachers. It is, however, obvious that a multiplication of secondary schools would depend on the multiplication of secondary school teachers, and the present supply would have to be largely increased so as to meet the needs of a reasonable rate of progress. The causes of the present decline in the supply of elementary teachers may be grouped under two heads according to whether they relate to difficulties experienced by candidates during the stage of preparation, or to the ultimate prospects of the profession.

Training of Elementary School Teachers.—The system of training elementary school teachers, as it stands to-day, cannot be said to exhibit any definite unity of plan. Rather less than one-half of the teachers in elementary schools have undergone a course of instruction in a training college beginning at the age of 18 or over, while about one-third have received the Board's certificate without going through a training college. The remainder are composed of persons who have only passed an examination of inferior grade, and are known as "uncertificated" teachers, or they belong to the anomalous unqualified class which goes by the name of "supplementary" teachers.

There are, broadly speaking, three types of training college, namely, residential colleges provided by private initiative and having mostly a religious and denominational character; day colleges

attached to a university ; and residential or day colleges provided by local authorities, either as independent institutions or in connection with a university or other place of higher learning. The students' fees amount to about £30 per head per annum, impecunious students being usually assisted by their local authority in this respect. These fees are supplemented by grants from the Treasury, and colleges have to conform to certain requirements laid down by the Board. For example, half the places in a denominational college must be open to students not belonging to the denomination of the college. At the head of each college there must be a responsible principal of university standing, and at least two-thirds of the teaching staff must consist of persons holding academic qualifications approved by the Board. The principal of a woman's college should be a woman, and a woman vice-principal should be appointed where there is a woman's department. Students are still partly recruited from pupil teachers who have had considerable practice in teaching, but whose general education has been, as a rule, incomplete and unsatisfactory. The majority, however, have now received a substantial period of secondary education. Thus, the training college has to perform a double function. It has to continue the general education of students as well as to train them in the principles and practice of teaching. There is normally a two years' course, but a limited number of students reading for university degrees remain for a third or fourth year ; or an extra year may be allowed for a special course at a school of art or science, or for foreign travel. Further, a small number of "certificated" teachers or university graduates take a one year's course of professional training. The Board's final examination is normally taken at the end of a two years' course, and students who pass are recognised as "certificated" teachers, but university degrees and various university examinations not necessarily leading up to degrees are accepted by the Board as equivalent to the "certificate" examination. Men students receiving grants from the Board are required to pledge themselves to serve for seven years as teachers in a "grant-aided" school within a period of ten years following training, and women for a term of five years within a period of eight years.

The system of training for elementary teachers has undergone important changes in recent years, and facilities have been largely increased since the Education Act of 1902. There are, however, wide gaps which still remain to be filled. Most serious of all is the lack of secondary school accommodation. Though the majority of free places in "grant-aided" schools are occupied by prospective teachers, there are not nearly enough places to go round. The Board has made certain proposals for the attendance of rejected candidates at pupil teacher centres or at higher elementary schools, but cheap makeshifts of this sort do not take the place of true secondary education. It is clearly undesirable that intending teachers should be confined through childhood and adolescence

within the close atmosphere of the elementary school, where they expect to remain as adults, and the whole system of boy and girl pupil teachers should be completely abolished. A generous provision of secondary school accommodation is the preliminary step in a sound system of training, and incidentally would act so as largely to increase the supply of potential teachers.

Other defects of the present system are due to the limitations of the training college, which has to perform the double function of providing both higher education and professional training within the limited space of two years. The curriculum has been lately remodelled, so as to give opportunity for a more liberal course of study to two-year students than had previously been allowed, but the mere fact of so short a course practically prohibits the average student from undertaking advanced studies in special subjects. The number who do so falls admittedly below the needs of the schools. So far back as 1846 it was the intention of the Education Department to provide a normal course of three years, but this ideal has never been realised for any but a small minority of students. The time seems already overdue for establishing a minimum three-years' course, and encouraging the rank and file of students to read for university degrees. Students who are intellectually not up to the university standard should not, as a rule, be admitted to the teaching profession. Further, there are defects of training due to the isolated circumstances of intending teachers. It has been recognised by the Board for many years past, in principle if not in practice, that a system which segregates students for two years in a residential training college tends to develop an unduly narrow and professional outlook. It was, in fact, realisation of this defect which led to the movement for establishing day training colleges attached to a university. For the first time students were privileged to take part in the general social and academic life of a university, where they were brought into touch with teachers who were men of eminence in their subjects, and capable of kindling intellectual enthusiasm, as well as able to secure passes at examinations. Day training colleges have, however, been found wanting in other respects. Apart from the difficulties of students who live at a distance from the college, young people living at home, or in cheap lodgings, do not enjoy the privacy and facilities for uninterrupted study which are afforded in a residential college. Another serious danger which threatens municipal training schemes is the danger of excessive provincialism. It is not good that teachers should have been brought up, educated and trained within a single county or borough, and for this reason some local authorities arrange to draw part of their school staff from outside areas. There is, indeed, no royal road to training so long as higher education is closed to students capable of profiting by it, and the immediate need is for a generous provision of university scholarships. Under an efficient system young people would not be called upon to decide

on a profession, but would pass on as a matter of course from the preparatory school to the secondary school, and from thence on to the university, intending teachers mixing freely at every stage with students of all types. The training college would be reserved to graduates who required a period of professional training at the end of the academic course. It is the survival of the old pernicious doctrine that elementary education is a special kind of education designed for the children of a particular class which is the root of all trouble. The training of elementary school teachers should, in fact, not differ substantially from that of secondary school teachers, who are already largely drawn from the universities. It is a condition of progress that the student of to-day shall be trained so as to teach in the school of to-morrow.

TEACHERS' SALARIES.—In comparing the various hindrances to a proper supply of teachers, the Board has expressed its opinion that by far the most important and fundamental of these have arisen from insufficient ultimate prospects. The slight increase in the number of candidates since 1919 is principally attributed to the fact that "substantial progress has been made in the direction of improving these prospects by the provision of more adequate salaries, and better pensions and disablement allowances." A Standing Joint Committee, composed of representatives of the various associations of local education committees on one side and of the National Union of Teachers on the other side, was appointed in 1919 under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham. A national agreement was drawn up, prescribing scales of salaries for elementary school teachers, which was unanimously adopted by the Committee and approved by the Board. These scales are as follows :—

Scales for Certificated Assistant Teachers (Two Years College Trained) in Elementary Schools :—

Scales.	MEN.			WOMEN.		
	Minimum.	Annual Increment.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Annual Increment.	Maximum.
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
Standard Scale I. ...	172 10	12 10	325 0	160 0	12 10	260 0
Standard Scale II...	172 10	12 10	340 0	160 0	12 10	272 0
Standard Scale III.	182 10	12 10	380 0	170 0	12 10	304 0
Standard Scale IV.	200 0	12 10	425 0	187 10	12 10	340 0

Scales for Uncertificated Assistant Teachers in Elementary Schools:—

Scales.	Men.				Women.			
	Minimum.	Annual Increment.	Maximum.		Minimum.	Annual Increment.	Maximum.	
			Appointed on or after 1st April, 1914.	Appointed before 1st April, 1914.			Appointed on or after 1st April, 1914	Appointed before 1st April, 1914.
	£ s.	£ s.	£	£	£	£ s.	£	£
Standard Scales I. & II.	103 10	7 10	160	204	96	7 10	150	164
Standard Scale III. ...	109 10	7 10	180	228	102	7 10	160	182
Standard Scale IV. ...	120 0	7 10	200	255	112	7 10	170	204

The scales vary according to the district, Scale I. relating to rural areas, and Scale IV. to London and the extra metropolitan areas. Certificated teachers who have completed a three-years' course of training, or are university graduates, receive one increment in addition, or two increments in the case of four-year students. An assistant teacher who is appointed as head teacher, or a head teacher who is promoted to a higher grade school, retains his or her existing salary, and receives in addition a "promotion increment" of £20-£25 for men and £15-£20 for women. The maxima for head teachers vary again with the size of the school, Grade I. including schools with not over 100 pupils, and Grade V. schools with over 500 pupils.

Maxima for Head Teachers in Elementary Schools:—

Scales.	Grade I.		Grade II.		Grade III.		Grade IV.		Grade V.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Standard Scale II....	374	300	408	328	442	356	476	384	510	412
Standard Scale III.	418	335	456	366	494	397	532	428	570	459
Standard Scale IV.	467½	374	510	408	552½	442	595	476	637½	510

Corresponding scales were drawn up by a second Standing Joint Committee for teachers in "grant-aided" secondary schools, viz.:—

Scales for Assistant Teachers in Secondary Schools:—

	Men.		*Women.*
Graduate assistant teachers	£240—£500	...	£225—£400
Non-graduate assistant teachers	£190—£400	...	£177 10s.—£320

In the case of secondary school teachers, there is an addition of £50 for men, and about £40 for women, who are employed in and about the London area, and certain other additions for teachers with special qualifications. Owing to the variety in the type of school and differing local conditions, there is no fixed scale of salaries for head teachers in secondary schools, but it was agreed by the Committee that the minimum commencing salary should be £600 for a head master and £500 for a head mistress.

Teachers were notoriously underpaid before the war, and the new scales when agreed did little more than compensate the rise in the cost of living. The scales were, in fact, only accepted by the teachers' side of the Standing Joint Committee in the expectation of an immediate fall in prices, and it was agreed by the Committee, with the approval of the Board, that salaries should not be revised until September, 1925. It would be in the highest degree unfortunate should the new economies to be effected by the Board now hinder in any way local authorities from observing their part of the agreement. Not merely a grave injustice would be done to the present generation of teachers, but so gross a breach of faith would have disastrous and far-reaching effects on recruiting.

The Departmental Committee on Teachers' Salaries which considered the question of "equal pay" for men and women teachers rejected the proposal as impracticable. The Committee took the view that a salary which would attract a woman would not necessarily attract a man with similar qualifications, owing largely to the fact that, under existing social and fiscal conditions, financial liabilities fall on a man in connection with his family which do not fall on a woman to the same extent, and that a difference between the scales of men's and women's salaries is inevitable. The War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, after considering this report, advised that, "in order to maintain the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' where it is essential to employ men and women of the same grade and capacity, but where equal pay will not attract the same grade, it may be necessary for the State to counteract the difference of attractiveness by a payment for the services rendered to the State in connection with the continuance of the race, or, in other words, by the payment of children's allowances to married men." It seems worth while to give the proposal a trial, provided that women's salaries are levelled up to the men's standard, and not men's salaries levelled down to the women's standard. It is, however, important that local authorities should be under no temptation to prefer unmarried teachers. For this reason the whole of the additional cost of the children's allowances should be borne by the Treasury. The practice of discharging women teachers on marriage, though admittedly fit for their work, has been universally condemned by women teachers and all women's organisations as socially unjust and economically unsound. It cannot be urged too strongly that this practice should be discontinued, and women teachers receive the same allowances as men for dependent children.

The Regulation of Children's Employment.

RESTRICTIONS ON EMPLOYMENT.—Children's employment is regulated under the Factory Acts, and by various special legislation. Under the Women, Young Persons and Children's Act (1920), a child under 14 may not be employed in "an industrial undertaking." The latter term covers mines and quarries, factories and workshops, works of construction and transport, excepting transport by hand. Further, children's employment is restricted by the law of school attendance, and local education authorities have wide powers of regulating conditions for children of school age not coming under special industrial legislation. Under the Employment of Children Act (1903), the local authority may prescribe for children employed in any occupation the age below which employment is illegal, the hours between which employment is illegal, the maximum number of hours to be worked per day or per week, or may prohibit employment in a specified occupation. There are certain statutory requirements. A child under 12 may not be employed for longer than two hours on Sunday, or for longer than one hour before and one hour after school on any day when he is required to attend school. Also, a child under 14 must not be employed between the hours of 8 a.m. and 6 p.m., or in street trading, or in public performances without a licence from the local authority. It is these statutory requirements which form the basis of local bye-laws, but local authorities may exercise a wide discretion over and above the statutory minimum. In London and in most large towns, local authorities have used their powers to prohibit children's employment in the sale or delivery of intoxicants, in lathering or similar processes in barbers' shops, and have taken advantage of their option to prohibit street trading for girls up to 16. Children's employment is prohibited in different localities, in such various occupations as billiards or bagatelle marking, the sale of programmes or shifting of machinery in theatres and cinemas, working in hotel and restaurant kitchens, acting as messenger, tout, or agent to bookmakers, soliciting for the letting of apartments, sorting rags or refuse, and cleaning door-steps.

The weakness of the Employment of Children's Act lies in its mainly permissive character. Backward local authorities, not only neglect to make suitable bye-laws, but seem unable to enforce such legal restrictions as exist. Moreover, the reports of school medical officers reveal that any employment out of school hours, beyond the lightest errand work, tends to impair the child's physical development. The obvious remedy would be that a child under 14 should be unconditionally prohibited by law from employment for wages. The simplicity of such an enactment would give it the further advantage of being comparatively easy to enforce. During a recent revision of local bye-laws by the L.C.C., some members interested in education brought forward a proposal to the effect that "a child shall not be employed on any day when the school is open," but the motion was defeated by the reactionary parties. It has not been

clearly established in the courts that local authorities have power to make a general order prohibiting children's employment, but they may achieve practically the same result by prescribing the strictest limits to employment, and by a rigid enforcement of bye-laws.

The need for raising the age of school attendance, and for abolishing labour certificates in the case of children under 14, have been discussed in a previous chapter.

CHOICE OF EMPLOYMENT.—Under the Choice of Employment Act, 1910, local education authorities have power "to make arrangements, subject to the approval of the Board of Education, for giving boys and girls under 18 years of age assistance with respect to the choice of suitable employment, by means of the collecting and communicating of information and the furnishing of advice." About 600,000 boys and girls leave the public elementary schools each year, and of these a large and increasing number seek help, either from local employment committees acting as sub-committees of the local education authority, or from juvenile advisory committees appointed by the Ministry of Labour. Unfortunately, however, the existence of this dual authority has led to conflicts between the Ministry of Labour and local authorities, which have seriously jeopardised the success of the service. Young people between 14 and 18 are in a period midway between the educational life of the child and the industrial life of the adult. It is necessary to consider their interests from both points of view, and the alternative is, either a system of local administration by local education committees, reinforced by assistance from the Ministry of Labour, or a centralised system where the Ministry of Labour is the supreme authority, acting in co-operation with local education committees. Following the Chelmsford Report, the most recent proposal is that local education authorities should within a specified period declare, whether or not, they will undertake in their areas the duties under the Choice of Employment Act. If a local authority decides not to act, then the Minister of Labour can, and presumably will, take action instead. The policy is that there should be an organisation of some kind in each area, but it has always been recognised by the authorities on both sides that "the employment of juveniles should be primarily considered from the point of view of their educational interests and permanent careers rather than from that of their immediate earning capacities." Local education authorities neglect a great opportunity who do not make efficient use of their powers under the Choice of Employment Act.

UNEMPLOYMENT.—"When there is unemployment among adults," the Labour Party has laid it down as a general principle, "the entry of juvenile workers into industry should, as far as possible be arrested, provision being made by means of adequate system of maintenance allowances to prevent the family suffering from loss of earnings." The opposite effect has, however, been achieved by the policy of the present Government in holding up the Education Act

of 1918 regardless of the growing volume of unemployment. It is a common practice among employers in some industries deliberately to discharge adult men or women in preference to young people who are content with low wages. The Labour Party proposes that powers of emergency should be conferred on local authorities to raise whole-time school age from 14 to 15 (this being the highest age-limit under the Education Act of 1918), at times of acute unemployment in their areas. Further, local authorities should open special training centres, and provide suitable instruction and maintenance for unemployed young people.

The Cost of Education.

Precise figures as to the actual expenditure on education from central and local funds are not available for any recent year. The following summary figures are computed from the published estimates of the Board of Education and the local education authorities as to their expenditure in the year ending March, 1922. They are, of course, approximate only.

ESTIMATED PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN THE FINANCIAL YEAR ENDING MARCH 31ST, 1922.

A.—*Elementary Education.*

1. Net Expenditure of Local Education Authorities:
   - (*a*) Salaries of teachers £43,795,000
   - (*b*) Other expenditure £19,853,000
   - Total £63,648,000
2. Grants from the Board to Local Education Authorities: £36,900,000
3. Grants from the Board to other Bodies: £98,000

B.—*Higher Education.*

(Including Secondary Schools, Technical Schools, Training Colleges, etc., but not Universities).

1. Net Expenditure of Local Education Authorities £13,469,000
2. Grants from the Board to Local Education Authorities £6,647,000
3. Grants from the Board to other Bodies ... £2,130,500

C.—*Total of* A *and* B.

1. Total Net Expenditure of Local Education Authorities £77,117,000
2. Grants from the Board to Local Education Authorities £43,547,000
3. Other Grants to Local Education Authorities (Local Taxation Grants, etc.) £950,000
4. Difference to be met by Local Education Authorities from rates £32,620,000

D.—*Other National Expenditure on Education.*

1. Pensions to Teachers	£1,575,000
2. Grants to Students—ex-Service Students ...	£2,248,000
Other Students	£192,000
3. Expenditure on Universities	£1,500,000
4. Other Expenditure by the Board (Museums, Administration, etc.)...	£722,000

E.—*Total Public Expenditure on Education.*

	1913-14.	1921-22.
1. Grants from the National Exchequer	£15,320,000	£53,400,000
2. Local Rates	£16,190,000	£32,600,000
Total Local and National Expenditure	£31,510,000*	£86,000,000

* Actual expenditure.

Between the years 1913-14 and 1921-1922 there was an increase of 168 per cent. in the total sum of public expenditure on education. The rise is most acutely marked in the amount of national grants, the national exchequer bearing at present a substantially greater proportion of the total expenditure than before the war, but the figures taken as a whole do not represent an excessive rate of advance. They err rather on the side of moderation. Apart from special items of expenditure in the estimates for 1921-1922, such as provision for ex-service students, and a fall of at least 100 per cent. in the value of money, there has to be taken into account the necessities of growth in an undeveloped but vital public service. Broadly speaking, it is true to say that the progress of a nation in civilisation may be measured by the sum of its expenditure on education.

The primary need of the moment, Mr. Fisher has told us, is the multiplication of secondary schools. The Labour Party scheme, put forward as "a basis of reasonable development," would involve a net additional expenditure of about £15,000,000 per annum. This estimate, which takes into account the corresponding saving on elementary schools, would cover the abolition of fees in grant-aided secondary schools, places for at least 20 children between 11 and 16 for every thousand of the general population, and maintenance grants for children over 14. The immediate cost would be a comparatively small one, and there is no better time than to-day to undertake this and other schemes entailing the building or rebuilding of schools. There are at the time of writing as many as 150,000 building operatives out of work, and at least a part of the outlay on building would be compensated by a corresponding saving of public money on unemployment benefit and poor law relief. For this reason building schemes undertaken immediately

should be generously financed by the Treasury. Nor is it desirable on other grounds that fresh burdens should be thrown on local rates, which are so high in some poor localities that local authorities find their best activities paralysed. Not merely "the poor pay for the poor" in working class areas, but rents have been forced up to a point which practically prohibits the provision of decent working-class dwellings. Under the present rating system, local rates amount virtually to a single tax on housing, which presses necessarily more heavily on the poor man than on the rich man, and with the utmost severity on large families. A further rise in local rates would be the cause of grave injustice and hardship to hundreds of thousands of poor tenants. There is an overwhelming case that further expenditure on education should be met by increased grants from the national exchequer. The London Labour Party has proposed that at least 75 per cent. of the cost of education should be borne by the Treasury, and the proportion seems a fair one. In respect of measures directly undertaken for the relief of unemployment, the proportion of national expenditure should not be less than 90 per cent.

For the time being, however, forces of reaction are paramount in Parliament. "Education," Lord Inchcape has told us, "is an excellent thing in its way, but there is a limit to its economic usefulness." Hence, the Geddes Economy Committee, of which Lord Inchcape is a member, advises the Government to cut down the education estimates for the coming year by no less a sum than £16,000,000, or nearly one-third of the total national expenditure on education. The Committee makes no attempt to discriminate between one public service and another, and would cut down the education estimates by about the same proportionate amount as the swollen army estimates. Its members view apparently with complacency the total exclusion from school of children under 6 regardless of home convenience, enlarging the average size of classes in elementary schools to 50 or 60 pupils, a drastic curtailment of the school health services, a breakdown of the scholarship system, so that the number of children who now pass from the elementary school to the secondary school or to the university would be still further diminished, together with the wholesale discharge of teachers and a general reduction of salaries contrary to the "Burnham" agreements. And this saving of money on public education the Committee proposes to devote to the purpose of relieving taxation on private incomes. In short, the business man's idea of national economy is to shift the burden of paying for the war from off his own broad back on to the shoulders of the poor man's child!

The signs of unexpected public indignation at the ruthless attack on the people's education, together with the prospect of a general election, seem to have had their influence on the Government, which has rejected the more sensational of the Geddes proposals. The reductions foreshadowed in the education estimates for

1922-1923 do not exceed £6,000,000. The outlook is nevertheless a sufficiently grave one. Working-class opinion has so far been conciliated that children between 5 and 6 are not to be excluded from school without their parents' consent, but there are to be economies where staffing is on a lavish scale, and a number of teachers are to be discharged. This method of economy is preferred by the Government to a reduction of teachers' salaries. Pensions are to be placed on a new contributory basis, but the Burnham scales are to be maintained intact. In spite of unemployment, school feeding must be kept within normal limits, and necessitous children referred to the Poor Law. Similarly, the quality of entrants into secondary schools is to be narrowly watched, and there is practically an end to progress. The general policy of the Board is, however, not to make specific proposals for cutting down of this or that branch of the educational services, but to ration local authorities up to a fixed maximum grant in aid of local expenditure. The policy of percentage grants which was condemned by the Geddes Committee as a "money-spending" device, has been referred by the Government to a separate committee for further consideration, but seems in effect to have been already abandoned. Local authorities will be obliged either to cut down their expenditure or else to raise local rates, and so spare the taxpayer at the expense of the ratepayer.

There is, of course, a limit to "economic usefulness," in education as in everything else. It is a question of degree, and the first step towards a sound system of economy is a proper sense of economic values. The product of education is "brains," which from the most commercial point of view are the nation's most valuable asset. To save on education, while vast sums are spent on less "excellent" things, such as tobacco, drink, or armaments, which are not conspicuous for "economic usefulness," or money is lavished on mere wanton luxury, this is not economy but waste.

The business man has, however, his own axe to grind, and he is not such a fool as he seems. The manner of his attack on the workers' education and his desperate anxiety to thrust it back within the old limitations "suited to the conditions of workmen and servants," suggests, indeed, that he appreciates its significance for himself, not too little, but too well. Education is a double-edged tool. It makes good servants but bad slaves, and capital is afraid of losing its hold over labour. It is possible that a reactionary Government may succeed in cutting down the people's education so that the effects would be felt for a generation or longer, but this is not the political broom which will sweep back the rising tide of democracy. For men do not wait to seize power merely because they may not be "fit to govern." The danger which threatens democracy is that radical social and economic changes may take place unaccompanied by a forward movement in the schools.

SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS.

I. School Premises.—Local authorities should proceed at once with their schemes for the building or rebuilding of schools in accordance with the Board's Building Regulations and the requirements of the Education Act of 1918. These schemes should make provision for a proper number of nursery schools and for increasing the number of secondary schools. The provision for building in the coming year should be at least equivalent to the average achievement in the five years before the war.

II. School Attendance.—Pending the operation of the Education Act of 1918, local education committees should enforce whole-time school attendance for children between 5 and 14, and the higher age-limit should be raised to 15 as soon as the new Act comes into force. Nursery schools, or nursery classes, should be available for children between 2 and 5, but a certain option should be allowed to parents as regards the attendance of children under 7. Local authorities should forestall action on the part of the Board of Education and invite young people between 14 and 16 to attend continuation classes for at least 320 hours per year, or offer them an equivalent in some other and better form of secondary education.

III. The Scope of Elementary Education.—As regards children under 11 the curriculum should be framed in accordance with the Board's Code of Regulations. For children over 11, there should be provided advanced courses of instruction of the type generally associated with secondary education. It should be the ultimate goal of local education committees that all children of normal intelligence should pass as a matter of course from the elementary school to one type or other of secondary school about the age of 11. Provision should, however, be available for late developers up to the age of 14.

IV. The Scope of Secondary Education.—Local authorities should immediately provide secondary school accommodation for at least 20 children between 11 and 16 for every thousand of the general population in their areas, the number of places being increased each year until all children of normal intelligence are provided for. Meanwhile, continuation classes and higher elementary schools should be developed so far as possible on the lines of true secondary education, and vocational subjects should not be taught to children under 16. Students' fees in grant-aided secondary schools should be abolished, and adequate maintenance grants provided for children over 14.

V. Miscellaneous Provisions.—(1) The size of classes in elementary schools should approximate so far as possible to the standard of secondary schools and be limited to 30 pupils. (2) Special classes

should be arranged for backward children, and instruction in their case given a practical bias. (3) Playing-fields should be enlarged and public parks opened so as to encourage children in physical exercises and organised games. (4) Increased attention should be paid to school libraries and pictures. (5) The prefect system should be encouraged in senior departments. (6) Increased facilities should be given for school journeys and visits to places of educational value and interest.

VI. The Supply of Teachers.—The supply of teachers may be encouraged (*a*) by increasing the facilities for training, and (*b*) by improving the ultimate prospects of the profession. Training schemes should provide for full-time secondary education up to 18 and a three years' course in a training college, or preferably at a university, to be followed by a period of professional training. Teachers should be assured against any breach of the agreements of the Standing Joint Committee in respect of salaries, and the present scales should be gradually raised so as to compare not unfavourably with earnings in other learned professions. The Standing Joint Committee should consider a proposal for "equal pay" to men and women teachers, to be supplemented by children's allowances.

VII. The Regulation of Children's Employment.—Pending an amendment of the law so as to prohibit children under 14 from employment for wages, local education authorities should make bye-laws restricting children's employment within the narrowest limits, and in every area should make efficient use of their powers under the Choice of Employment Act. At times of acute unemployment local authorities should be given power to raise school age from 14 to 15, while suitable training with maintenance should be provided for unemployed young people.

VIII. The Cost of Education.—The burden of fresh expenditure in order to meet the growing needs of education should not be thrown on local rates, but met by additional grants from the national exchequer. At least 75 per cent. of the total public expenditure on education should be borne by the Treasury, the proportion being raised to 90 per cent. in respect of measures undertaken for the relief of unemployment.

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1800-1877

By Mrs. L. BARBARA HAMMOND

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WILLIAM LOVETT

1800-1877

WILLIAM LOVETT was born at Newlyn, a mile from Penzance, in the year 1800. His father, a Yorkshireman, captain of a small trading vessel, was drowned before his birth. His mother, a Cornishwoman, left to her own resources, supported herself, the child, and her own mother by hawking fish and doing various odd jobs in Penzance. As a child Lovett showed no signs of the passion for learning that marked him in later life, for no dame's school in the town could succeed in teaching him to read, though he consented finally to learn his alphabet from his great grandmother, an old lady of 80. Later on he learnt at school "to write tolerably well, and to know a little of arithmetic and the catechism, and this formed the extent of my scholastic acquirements." His mother, an ardent Methodist, was kind and indulgent except where religious duties were concerned. The Sundays of his childhood were long remembered by Lovett with horror—three services at chapel, "the reading of texts, prayers, and portions of Scripture" in between the services filled up the gloomy day. One Sunday when the boy played truant and ran off to play with other boys on the sands he was unlucky enough to sprain his ankle. His mother, concerned for his body, but even more concerned for his immortal soul, pronounced it a judgment on him for breaking the Sabbath, but nevertheless sent for the doctor.

When he was about thirteen Lovett was apprenticed for seven years to learn ropemaking. During his apprenticeship he led a hard life, for his mother made a second and unhappy marriage, and he and his grandmother lived together on the five shillings a week he was paid, helped out by what little she could earn in the fishing season. His work was laborious and involved carrying great weights and, what he minded more, the walking along lonely roads by night, for the terror of his early childhood, the cry, "The press gang is coming," was now succeeded by an overwhelming fear of ghosts and goblins that lasted till London life made him a sceptic. Fond though he was of reading, he had nothing to read except "the Bible, and Prayer and hymn book, and a few religious tracts, together with fragments of an old magazine," and occasionally a nonsensical pamphlet about "giants, spirits, goblins, and supernatural horrors." There was no bookshop in the town and no opportunity for intellectual improvement, but the future writer of manifestoes and

addresses found some scope for his gifts in composing love letters for his young neighbours. His leisure was busily spent in making "gimcracks of every kind," boxes, birdcages, a machine for spinning twine, a turning lathe and so on, and he was allowed to play about and pick things up in the shop of a friendly carpenter, a privilege that ultimately proved of great importance, for at the end of his apprenticeship he found himself, at the age of 20, master of a skilled trade in which there was no work. Chains had begun to supersede ropes, and, except for a few weeks in the winter, there was nothing in Penzance for a ropemaker to do. For one season Lovett tried a fisherman's life ; the opening was promising, for he had the offer of succeeding to the fishing business of a great uncle, but he could not overcome his sea-sickness, which attacked him even before he got on board at the mere thought of the "short cross loping waves," and so when the season was over he renounced all thoughts of becoming a fisherman, and obtained work at a neighbouring carpenter's. But the regular apprenticed carpenters of Penzance objected, and he had to leave. In despair of obtaining employment of any kind at home, he determined to try his fortune in London. By making a lady's workbox with secret drawers and a pair of tea caddies he raised about 50s. ; another workbox paid for part of his passage money on a small trading steamer, and he found himself in London in 1821, aged twenty-one, with 30s. and some letters of introduction to ropeworks in his pocket.

Early Struggles in London.

In London the prospects of work seemed at first no brighter than in Penzance. The ropeyards needed no hands, and attempts to obtain employment in the company of some carpenters from the country were no more successful. His sailor's dress, as worn by the young men of Penzance, told against him. For weeks he was reduced to a penny loaf a day and a drink at the pump. Then he got one or two odd carpentering jobs, but when these were finished and the money they brought exhausted, the half-starved youth determined, in spite of sea-sickness, to take a situation as ropemaker on board an Indiaman. Before finally engaging himself he went to see his carpenter friend from Penzance, who, after failing in business, had come to London and obtained work in a carpenter's shop in Somers Town. This friend's master, seeing probably a chance of cheap labour, agreed to take Lovett on as well, and for several months employed him making furniture. Though the pay was poor, Lovett managed to provide himself with more conventional clothes and a few tools. Soon, however, the pay ceased altogether, and the master after being sent to the Fleet Prison for debt, and persuading his workmen to finish their work on the understanding that it would be paid for when sold, turned out to be a thorough rogue, and they never received a halfpenny of the six or seven pounds due to each of the three. Lovett was again in low water ;

he lived in a damp unhealthy back kitchen and fell seriously ill. When he recovered he tried in vain to earn a living by making and selling small bits of furniture, and when this failed decided to try his luck as a cabinet maker, in which line he had now some experience. He was fortunate enough to be given a job at a small repairing shop, where he met a Scotchman, David Todd by name, "one of the most intelligent, kindhearted, and best disposed men I ever met with." Todd urged Lovett to join the Cabinet Makers' Society, but the Society very naturally rejected him as he had not served the five years required by their rules. Todd then procured him a situation at a small cabinet maker's for twelve months at a guinea a week. Though it was not a Society shop, his fellow workmen threatened to oust him because he had not been apprenticed. Lovett thereupon called a meeting and put his case before them, and they agreed to let him stop on, charging him heavily for help in different parts of the work. Once started as a cabinet maker Lovett succeeded in getting employment at different shops, and after he had served the required five years was admitted a member of the Cabinet Makers' Society, of which he afterwards became President.

Intellectual Development.

When Lovett first came to town he was too much absorbed in attempts to earn his bread to have much leisure or energy for other things, though a fellow lodger, a kind old schoolmaster, helped him during this time by correcting his "provincialisms and bad English," and by advising the study of Lindley Murray's Grammar, a book which became his pocket companion. His first real intellectual awakening came after he was in regular work, when he was introduced by chance to a small society called "The Liberals," composed mostly of working men, who had a circulating library, and met twice a week in Gerrard Street for discussion. Lovett had never officially joined the Methodist connection, though for a short time under the influence of some female preachers he had become a "converted member" of an obscure sect called the Bryanites; but when he came to London he still thought that impromptu speaking, which he had never heard except in the pulpit, was a "kind of inspiration from God." To his astonishment, at the meetings of "The Liberals" he found the members making speeches, and good speeches, about the soul. He was at once fired by the desire to defend Christianity, and, with the help of David Todd, became a member of the society in order to study for this purpose. Political questions were also discussed at the meetings and roused his interest. "In short, my mind seemed to be awakened to a new mental existence; new feelings, hopes and aspirations sprang up within me, and every spare moment was devoted to the acquisition of some kind of useful knowledge. I now joined several other associations in its pursuit, and for a number of years seldom took a meal without a book of

some description beside me." The youth who had often wondered in vain in Cornwall about "the causes of day and night, the seasons and the common phenomena of nature," joined the Mechanics' Institute, and was soon discussing scientific theories. On other evenings he would attend the debates in coffee houses and listen to the heroes of past campaigns, such as Gale Jones and Richard Carlile. The vicissitudes of his love affair with his future wife stimulated his intellectual pursuits. She was a lady's maid, and he first saw her in Marylebone Church. He managed to make her acquaintance, and all went well till she asked him to take the sacrament with her. Lovett, whose religious views had been considerably affected by a year or two of London, explained that this was impossible for him. She then decided that she could not marry him and they parted, she returning with her mistress to the continent, he endeavouring to drown his grief in associations "literary, scientific, political." "And this means," he wrote later, "of diverting the mind from the object that preys upon it, I would venture to recommend to all those who may experience a similar heartrending disappointment." He resigned himself to a bachelor's life, but unnecessarily, for a year later the young lady relented, and after some "controversial correspondence" on the subject of the sacrament they were married on June 3, 1826, the various associations were given up, and for a time Lovett led a purely domestic life, devoting himself to his wife and interesting her in all his pursuits. He was firmly convinced that much of the unhappiness and failure of working class life came from the men's habit of expecting their women to be on a lower level of intelligence and omitting to share their intellectual interests with them. In his own case the opposite policy brought great happiness. "My wife's appreciation," he wrote later, "of my humble exertions has ever been the chief hope to cheer, and best aid to sustain me." All through his long life he retained the enthusiastic feminism of his early days. In 1856 he published a poem, written in 1842, called "Woman's Mission," of which the sentiments, though not perhaps the verse, are admirable. One stanza runs :—

> "Would man in lovely woman ever find
> His best adviser, lover, truest friend,
> . . . . . .
> He must at once his gothic laws annul,
> Fling back her dower, strive only for her love,
> And proudly raise her up all rights to share."

Owenism and Politics.

Lovett's studies in London led him to become an ardent Owenite. The accumulation of property in the hands of individuals seemed to him to be the root of all evil: community of property the key to human happiness. Owen and his followers were flooding the world with schemes for the regeneration of mankind. Of one of

these, the first London Co-operative Trading Association, founded during Owen's absence in America, Lovett became storekeeper in 1828. For two years after his marriage in 1826 he had been in good work at his trade ; he had then made an unfortunate venture in a pastrycook's business. On getting rid of his business, though not his debts, he accepted the storekeeper's post, at some financial sacrifice, but in the belief that "the gradual accumulation of capital by these means would enable the working classes to form themselves into joint stock associations of labour, by which (with industry, skill, and knowledge) they might ultimately have the trade, manufactures and commerce of the country in their own hands." But so far was the London Trading Association from fulfilling these expectations that it could not even pay Lovett's salary, and in a few months his wife was asked to take his place at half his pay. Lovett went back to his trade with his optimism undaunted, for he became hon. secretary of the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge. But these various co-operative societies only lasted three or four years, failing, according to Lovett, from want of custom, want of legal security, and from the over-strong meat provided in Owen's Sunday morning lectures, which alarmed "the religious portion of their members."

Lovett's Owenism did not prevent him from being critical of Owen the man and autocrat, or from taking part in Radical campaigns. Amongst these was the "Unstamped Agitation," described by him afterwards as "one of the most important political movements that I was ever associated with." At that time every newspaper was bound by law to have a 4d. stamp on it. Henry Hetherington, the protagonist of the movement, started publication in 1830, in defiance of the law, of an unstamped paper called the *Poor Man's Guardian*. The Stamp Office soon proceeded against the publisher and the booksellers who sold it ; volunteers then came forward for the work of distribution, some for love, others for the reward of a stock of papers and £1 a month during imprisonment. A "Victim Fund" was started for the sufferers, and Lovett became secretary of the Committee of Management. The campaign lasted five years. Over 500 persons in different parts of England suffered imprisonment. Hetherington himself when not in prison was "on the run," and his business was nearly ruined. In 1836, in consequence of the agitation, the 4d. stamp was reduced to 1d. Curiously enough, the *Poor Man's Guardian*, over which the battle had been fought, was finally declared by Lord Lyndhurst to be a strictly legal publication.

In the years before the passing of the famous Reform Bill of 1832 there were three schools of opinion amongst advanced working class thinkers about the question of reform. First, there were Owen and his followers, who despised political action, believing that mankind would be saved by other means. Secondly, there was the group of Radicals, who believed that universal suffrage (by which

they meant, as a rule, adult male suffrage), and nothing less than universal suffrage, was the necessary preliminary to all social improvement. This school was joined by many Owenites, who came to believe that democracy must precede communism, and gradually dropped their communistic dreams. Thirdly, there were the Radicals like Francis Place, who believed in taking the Bill as it stood, or with such amendments as were possible, and treating it as an instalment of a larger measure.

Lovett belonged to the second group. His conversion from Owenism to political reform was no doubt hastened by his acquaintance with Henry Hunt, the veteran reformer, whom he first met about 1828. For some years he continued working for the two movements side by side: one day he would be discussing the founding of an incipient community on the plan of Mr. Thompson, of Cork; another day he would be helping to found the Metropolitan Political Union, to obtain effectual and radical reform in the Commons. Not content with these activities, he became "greatly interested in the temperance question," and in 1829 drew up a petition for the opening of the British Museum on Sundays. "Your petitioners," ran the opening sentence, "consider that one of the principal causes of drunkenness and dissipation on the Sabbath is the want of recreation and amusement." All the time, too, he was working at his trade of cabinet making. By 1831 his Radical convictions were so strong that on being drawn for the Militia he refused to serve or to pay for a substitute on the ground that he was unrepresented in Parliament. The authorities seized his little stock of household furniture, which his wife suffered to go "without a murmur"; but the protest had its effect, for discussion on the subject in the House of Commons and fear of an epidemic of "the no-vote no-musket plan" brought the balloting system to an end. Lovett had become a public character.

The Reform Bill.

In 1831 Lovett joined the newly founded National Union of the Working Classes and Others, which, amongst other objects such as "the repeal of all bad laws," aimed at "an effectual reform of the Commons House of Parliament." When the Whig Reform Bill was produced Lovett and Watson drew up a declaration of the principles of the National Union, headed by a quotation from Thales, calling for nothing less than adult male suffrage, voting by ballot, the abolition of property qualification for Members of Parliament, and annual Parliaments, thus comprising four of the six points of the future Charter. The National Union was an active body; besides holding many small meetings for discussion under class leaders, it held public meetings, of which those at the Blackfriars Rotunda were the most important, and from these meetings its adherents were often called "Rotundanists." It attracted some

violent spirits: "could the violence and folly of the hot-brained few," wrote Lovett later, "have been restrained, a far larger amount of good might have been effected. But, as in almost all associations that I have ever been connected with, our best efforts were more frequently directed to the prevention of evil by persons of this description than in devising every means and in seeking every opportunity for the carrying out of our objects." But whilst Lovett was blaming the "hot-brained few," Place was blaming Lovett and his friends. Place and those who thought with him formed a society called the National Political Union, with the object of supporting the Whigs in carrying their Reform Bill. They were bitterly opposed by the Rotundanists, who objected to being made the "tools" of the middle classes. Both sides tried to mobilise working class opinion. Lovett moved a universal suffrage amendment at the first public meeting of the National Political Union, but it was drowned by the "noise and clamour" of the opposing side, though a later proposal that half the Council should consist of working men was carried. The Rotundanists, however, found themselves pitted against a past master of strategy and intrigue in Place, who managed to secure for the Council the election of "respectable" working men untainted with Rotunda heresy.

Another blow to the Rotundanists was the proclamation of their proposed public meeting to ratify the declaration drawn up by Lovett and Watson. In vain, Lovett, Watson and the secretary waited on Lord Melbourne to assure him of their peaceable intentions. Lord Melbourne, receiving them with a barrier of chairs in front of him and a posse of police in the next room, assured them that their meeting was illegal, and that attendance at it would be high treason. The meeting was abandoned.

It cannot be said that the National Union of the Working Classes, or Rotundanists, were conciliatory in their methods. When the Government ordered a general fast for the cholera in March, 1832, the National Union, on the grounds that the cholera was largely due to underfeeding, decided to celebrate the day by providing a good dinner for their members, to be preceded by an orderly procession through the streets, headed by Lovett, Watson and Hetherington. The police interfered with the procession, using their bludgeons freely, and a few days later Lovett, Watson and the veteran and violent Benbow were arrested and charged with having "made a great riot, tumult and disturbance . . . . and caused great terror and alarm." All three were triumphantly acquitted by the jury, but Lovett and Watson withdrew from the Committee of the National Union as a protest against what they considered Benbow's unscrupulous conduct in connection with the expenses of the trial.

In spite of the efforts of the Rotundanists, the Reform Bill was passed in June, 1832. The National Union of the Working Classes and Others continued to exist for a time, but Lovett took little part in its activities, though a police spy did his best to entrap him into

attending a meeting of whose objects he disapproved. The agitation for the "unstamped press" was absorbing his energies.

The twenties, thirties and forties of last century produced a bewildering procession of organisations and associations. The National Union of the Working Classes and Others was succeeded by the remarkable though short-lived movement known as the Grand National Trades Union of 1833-1834, a movement due largely to the reaction amongst the working classes against political intervention after the Reform Bill, and described by Mr. Hovell as "militant Owenism." The object of the Grand National was to obtain better conditions of life by means of combinations and strikes. Lovett joined it, and tried in vain to make it declare in favour of universal suffrage. By the end of 1834, after a series of unsuccessful strikes, it was dead.

In 1834 Lovett left his trade and made a second venture in business. He opened the premises of one of the defunct Co-operative Stores as a coffee house. Its conversation room and debates were well attended, but its financial side was a failure. After struggling with it for two years at a loss, Lovett gave it up. Opposite the coffee house was a school for poor music boys, opened by Mazzini, with whom Lovett became acquainted.

London Working Men's Association.

It was in the year 1836 that Lovett did the most important work of his life, the founding of the London Working Men's Association. What kind of a man was he at this time? Place, a critical friend, described him as "a tall, thin, rather melancholy man, in ill-health, to which he has long been subject; at times he is somewhat hypochondriacal; his is a spirit misplaced." To his upright character and to his gentleness, all his contemporaries bear witness. Place wrote to Lovett urging him to overcome his melancholy, and to be less troubled by the miseries of mankind. "When youth and strength and flow of spirits," answered Lovett, "have been wasted in unrequited toil and poverty, and when after years of great physical and mental exertions, after a life of sobriety and industry, you find yourself losing your physical energies (so necessary for those who have to depend on their labour), and getting more and more involved in difficulties inextricable, and having the cares of a family in whose welfare is your highest hope, you need not be surprised if my tone and manner correspond with my situation. Perhaps the scenes I have had to encounter in my journey may have increased my sympathies for my fellow men; and while I believe with you that this is the best world of which I have any hope, yet when I feel conscious of how much could be done to make it a comparative paradise of happiness instead of the hell of toil, of poverty and crime we find it, I cannot help lamenting that the wise and intelligent few do not carry their views of reformation beyond making

comfortable slaves of the many to pamper and support the few." Lovett had only one child, a daughter, a second daughter having died in infancy.

Fifteen years experience of London life and political campaigns had brought a certain disillusionment. He no longer pictured his fellow workmen as waiting eagerly for opportunities of study and regeneration. They were more inclined "to croak over their grievances with maudlin brains, and to form and strengthen their appetites for drink amid the fumes of the tap room" than to put Lindley Murray's grammar in their pockets. But their shortcomings were due to the "circumstances and constitution of society, and not to the organisation of man." Salvation, he felt convinced, must come not from above, but from the workers themselves. They must cease to look up to leaders, they must educate themselves. He complained that "a lord, a M.P., or an esquire was a leading requisite to secure a full attendance and attention from them on all public occasions"; this must cease, and they must develop "discrimination and independent spirit in the management of their political affairs." With this object the London Working Men's Association was started. Its membership was confined "as far as practicable" to the working classes: it aimed at mental improvement as well as at equal political and social rights. The ideal of the founders was expressed in an address as follows: "Imagine the honest, sober and reflecting portion of every town and village in the kingdom linked together as a band of brothers, honestly resolved to investigate all subjects connected with their interests, and to prepare their minds to combat with the errors and enemies of society—setting an example of propriety to their neighbours, and enjoying even in poverty a happy home." Political rights were not to be aimed at as an end in themselves; "when we contend for an equality of political rights, it is not in order to lop off an unjust tax or useless pension, or to get a transfer of wealth, power or influence for a party; but to be able to probe our social evils to their source, and to apply effective remedies to prevent, instead of unjust laws to punish."

The London Working Men's Association exercised an influence on public affairs out of all proportion to its membership. Quality, not quantity, was aimed at. Between its foundation in June, 1836, and 1839 only 279 members were admitted, in addition to some 35 honorary members. But missionaries were sent into the country, and a hundred and fifty kindred associations sprang up elsewhere. Lovett, who was secretary of the London Association, found full scope for his passion for drafting addresses and manifestoes. Attention was not confined to domestic affairs, urgent though these might have seemed; the importance of international affairs was fully recognised. The workers of Belgium were sympathised with over the persecution of Jacob Katz; in the course of an exhaustive view of foreign politics the working classes of Europe, and especially the Polish people, were assured that it is "the ignorance of our brethren

which generates and fosters the despot"; the Canadians were encouraged in their opposition to Whig coercion: "It gives us great pleasure to learn, friends, that you are not so easily scared *by proclamation law*—by the decree of a junta against a whole nation. Surely you know and feel, though Governor Gosford may not, that 'A NATION NEVER CAN REBEL'"; the Americans were congratulated on their republican institutions and on the heights of political liberty to which they had attained, but were asked the searching question, "Why, after sixty years of freedom, have you not progressed further?"

A long address on education, a subject dear to Lovett's heart, contained a scheme of schools of various grades to be provided by public money and managed by local school committees elected by universal suffrage, and ended with an appeal to Christians to rise above sectarian jealousies in the matter of religious education. An address on "The Rotten House of Commons" gave a scathing description of the personnel of the existing House, and urged on working men the duty of demanding equal political and social rights so that they might send working class representatives to Parliament.

The Charter.

But the most important work of the Association was the preparation of the Charter, with its famous six points. At a public meeting at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, on February 28, 1837, a petition to Parliament was adopted embodying the six points: (1) universal suffrage, (2) the ballot, (3) payment of members, (4) annual Parliaments, (5) equal electoral districts, (6) the abolition of property qualifications for M.P.s

The petition was entrusted to Roebuck for presentation, and he suggested enlisting the support of other Radical M.P.s. A joint meeting of eight members of Parliament and various members of the Working Men's Association accordingly took place. The Radical members of Parliament, fresh from the chilly atmosphere of the House, showed little enthusiasm, and were taken severely to task by Lovett, who charged them with thinking more of their seats than of their principles. O'Connell retorted that Lovett was impracticable. The result of this and of a later meeting was the formation of a committee, consisting of six members of Parliament and six members of the Working Men's Association, to draw up a Bill embodying the six points, to be known as "the People's Charter."

This committee was hardly appointed when William IV. died, Parliament was dissolved, and the members disappeared to their constituencies. The business of drawing up the Bill was in consequence postponed for several months. Lovett's pen was busy in the interval with an Address to Reformers on the elections and with an Address to Victoria on her accession. This latter Address

the Association proposed to present in person by a deputation of six, but they were deterred by the necessity of appearing in Court dress. "With every respect for those forms which make personal cleanliness and respectful behaviour necessary qualifications to approach her Majesty, we have neither the means nor the inclination to indulge in such absurdities as dress swords, coats and wigs," wrote Lovett to Lord John Russell. If Victoria ever read the Address she must have been somewhat bewildered by the exhortation contained in it to distrust alike Whigs and Tories, who "have for many years past succeeded in making Royalty a mere puppet of their will," and to instruct her Ministers to prepare a Bill for universal suffrage.

When Parliament reassembled the committee of twelve appointed Roebuck and Lovett to draw up the proposed Charter. Roebuck was too busy with Canadian affairs to help, so the task fell to Lovett. In such leisure as his trade left him he compiled a rough draft which he then submitted to Place, who suggested alterations. In the first draft of the Bill provision was made for women's suffrage, but it was afterwards decided to omit this on the ground that it would "retard the measure," a decision that Lovett regretted. In a composite document the question of authorship is a nice one, and both Place and Lovett afterwards claimed to have composed the Charter. Place's were not the only amendments, and the physical work of writing and rewriting the document several times—no light task—was Lovett's. It was finally published in May, 1838, accompanied by an address composed by Lovett, in which he characteristically dwelt on self-government as a means to "enlightenment." "When a knowledge of their rights and duties shall have taught the people that their own vices and ignorance are the chief instruments by which they are bowed to the dust, titles, privileges and wealth will lose their potency to enslave them."

The Charter itself had nothing simple or popular about it except its name. It was a long and complicated Bill entering into the minutest details about arrangements for registration and elections. Never has so dull a document had such sensational effects. Within twelve months over a million persons had signed a petition in its favour, and the middle classes were quaking at the very name of Chartism.

The Charter was published at a crucial moment, and succeeded in focussing heterogeneous movements of discontent. (1) The Birmingham Political Union, which had done yeoman service for the Reform Bill of 1832, had lately been revived under the leadership of Attwood, described by Disraeli as "a provincial banker labouring under a financial monomania." Attwood's panacea for the ills of society was the creation of unlimited paper money, but he and his followers were ready to press for suffrage reform as a means to this end. The Birmingham Association drew up what came to be known as the National Petition, and the Working Men's

Association agreed to adopt it as the petition for the Charter. It was from the Birmingham Association, too, that the suggestion came of a General Convention of the Industrious Classes, which was to create and extend public opinion in favour of the principles of the People's Charter, and present the monster petition to Parliament. It was decided to hold the General Convention next year, and meanwhile to procure signatures for the Petition.

(2) The agitation in the North in favour of Factory Reform and against the new Poor Law was also all swept into the stream of Chartism. The audiences which had acquired the habit of being lashed into frenzy by Oastler, Stephens, and O'Connor had now a fresh object for excitement and enthusiasm. The Charter was to be the cure for economic evils. "Universal Suffrage," said Stephens, "is a knife and fork question, a bread and cheese question." "Six months after the Charter is passed," declared O'Connor, "every man, woman and child in the country will be well fed, well housed, and well clothed." "The furious appeals to the passions of the multitude"; "the violent ravings about physical force," as Lovett called them, were now transferred to the Chartist campaign. Henceforth, though Lovett and his friends may have launched the boat, the new crew controlled her course. The *Northern Star*, O'Connor's organ, which shrieked out denunciations week after week, was a brilliant success with a huge circulation, "a melancholy tribute," it has been called, "to the low intelligence of its readers." (Hovell, The Chartist Movement). On the other hand, the *Charter*, started in London by the intellectuals of the movement, was a dismal failure and died early, leaving debts behind it.

No two men could have been more antagonistic to each other than Lovett and Fergus O'Connor, who now began to play an important part in the Chartist agitation; O'Connor, the born demagogue with his unscrupulous appeals to the emotions; Lovett, the composer of innumerable addresses directed to the reason of his fellow men. "We are of opinion," wrote Lovett, "that whatever is gained in England by force, by force must be sustained: but whatever springs from knowledge and justice will sustain itself." O'Connor preferred to rouse his audiences by vague threats of "fleshing swords to the hilts," though when opportunity offered he showed no disposition to draw the sword from the scabbard. The two men had already had a bitter encounter over the Committee on the Combination Act, a Parliamentary Committee appointed early in 1838 largely as the result of attacks on Trade Unions by Daniel O'Connell. O'Connor falsely accused Lovett and the Working Men's Association of engineering the appointment of the Committee out of hostility to Trade Unions. In reality, Lovett had been appointed by the Trade Unions to watch over their interests in connection with it. In his answer to O'Connor's attack, he showed that it was not only the Northern demagogues who could use vituperation. "You tell the country," he wrote, "that you

alone have organised the Radicals of London"—and tell the Londoners the wonders your genius has performed in the country. You carry your fame about with you on all occasions to sink all other topics in the shade—you are the great "I AM" of politics, the great personification of Radicalism—Fergus O'Connor."

The Convention.

To avoid prosecution under the infamous Six Acts of 1819, it was necessary to elect the delegates for the proposed Convention at public meetings. These meetings gave ample opportunity for the mob orators of the North to exercise their gifts. At the London meeting the speakers were specially warned by the Working Men's Association, but warned in vain, so far as O'Connor was concerned, to avoid "every abusive or violent expression which may tend to injure our glorious cause." The moderates were already suffering for the ebullitions of the physical force party in the alienation of middle class opinion. "But the meeting of the Convention," wrote Lovett afterwards, "was now fast approaching, and so strong was the hope reposed in that meeting by the Chartist body, that the great majority of them manifested the strongest desire to sacrifice their peculiar feelings and convictions for the sake of union. A few hot-brained enthusiasts, however, were not so patriotic; union was naught with them compared with their own blustering harangues about arming and fighting; these and their daily invectives against everything bearing the resemblance of moderation, preparedness, or intellectual and moral effort, served to create constant irritation in our ranks, and ultimately to cause distrust and disunion."

The Convention met in London on February 4, 1839. It was composed of 53 delegates, a few of whom never sat. It met in an atmosphere of wild hopefulness combined with a certain vagueness as to its objects. Lovett was appointed secretary, a post from which O'Connor, who was not present at the election, tried in vain to oust him. His literary facility and business-like ways made him the obvious choice. As the first business of the Convention was to promote the Petition, missionaries were sent out to procure signatures from districts hitherto untouched. In the meantime the Convention showed an unlimited capacity for discussion of topics like "the suffering in the manufacturing districts," "the new Rural Police Bill," "the factory system." Outside, its supporters grew restive; one association declared "that if the Convention did its duty the Charter would be the law of the land in less than a month." Inside, O'Connor and his party became so violent in their language and methods that in March the Birmingham delegates and others of the moderate party seceded from the Convention. By May 6 the great National Petition was ready to be taken to Attwood for presentation to Parliament. It contained 1,283,000 signatures, was nearly three miles long, and was escorted to his house by the members of the Convention, marching two by two.

The presentation of the Petition was postponed by the dissolution of Parliament, and meanwhile the Convention on May 13th moved to Birmingham, in hopes of securing immunity from arrest and more sympathetic surroundings. The question of what was to be done if Parliament rejected the Petition became acute, for rejection seemed only too probable. Discussion of this question produced the famous "Manifesto of Ulterior Measures," drawn up by Lovett from notes of the conclusions arrived at in an unofficial meeting of delegates, and formally ratified by the Convention after they reached Birmingham. The manifesto contains probably the most violent language that Lovett ever penned. "I believe that I did an act of folly in being a party to some of its provisions," he wrote in later life. Ignorance of the world outside London and close association with men who claimed to speak for multitudes ready to rise seem to have made him for a time almost a convert to physical force. At any rate, he pressed for the adoption of the manifesto on the grounds that the Convention ought to give a lead to its followers. (Hovell, p. 149.) "Shall it be said, fellow-countrymen," runs the manifesto, "that four millions of men, capable of bearing arms, and defending their country against every foreign assailant, allowed a few domestic oppressors to enslave and degrade them?" "We solemnly believe that the Radical Reformers are the only restraining power that prevents the execution of an outraged people's vengeance." "We have resolved to obtain our rights, 'peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must'; but woe to those who begin the warfare with the millions, or who forcibly restrain their peaceful agitation for justice—at one signal they will be enlightened to their error, and in one brief contest their power will be destroyed." After these threats the methods suggested for enforcing the people's will read rather like an anti-climax. "Simultaneous public meetings" are to be asked if they are prepared (1) to draw out their money from the banks, (2) to convert their paper money into gold, (3) to give effect to the proposed "sacred month," that is, to have a general strike and to "go dry" for a month. They are further asked (4) whether "they have prepared themselves with the arms of freemen" according to their old constitutional rights, (5) whether they will provide themselves with Chartist candidates at the next election and treat them as M.P.s if elected by show of hands, and (6) deal exclusively with Chartists, and finally (7 and 8) work for the Charter and obey the Convention.

A few days after adopting the manifesto, the Convention adjourned till July 1st, and the "simultaneous meetings" were held during Whitsuntide. Thanks to the wisdom of General Charles James Napier, who had been put in command of the Northern district, the demonstrations were peaceful. The Convention had tried to leave the decision as to "ulterior measures" to the people, but when it met again it was clear that the "simultaneous meetings" had given

no lead. What was to be done? Were the "arms of freemen" to be used or only kept in the background? How were the workers to be supported during the "sacred month"? Lovett proposed that as a preliminary test one or two trades should be called on to stop work and a fund be raised to support them. Benbow, one of the wilder spirits, talked of "the cattle upon a thousand hills" as the best strike fund. The aim of the Convention was described by a Scottish delegate: "We must shake our oppressors well over hell's mouth, but we must not let them drop in." Whilst plans for the shaking were being discussed, a serious blow was dealt at the Convention by the arrest of Lovett.

During the agitation for the Reform Bill of 1832 Birmingham reformers had been in the habit of meeting in the Bull Ring. When the Chartist agitation began the Bull Ring was again used as a place of meeting. These Chartist meetings were prohibited by the magistrates, some of them ex-reformers of 1832. The Chartists took no notice of the prohibition or of the spasmodic arrests, and continued to meet. The Birmingham authorities thereupon sent for police from London, who proceeded on their arrival to attack a peaceful crowd in the Bull Ring. The crowd, exasperated, tore up the railings from a neighbouring churchyard, and ugly retaliation on the police was only prevented by the intervention of two members of the Convention, Dr. Taylor and Dr. McDouall. Dr. Taylor was arrested by the police. Next morning the Convention received an appeal from some of the frequenters of the Bull Ring. Lovett, whose personal courage never failed, drew up three resolutions condemning the police, which the Convention passed unanimously, ordering them to be placarded throughout the town. The first and strongest resolution declared "that a wanton, flagrant, and unjust outrage has been made upon the people of Birmingham by a bloodthirsty and unconstitutional force from London." "Characteristically enough, Lovett insisted that his own signature alone should be attached, so that the Convention should run no risk. Characteristically enough, the Convention was quite willing to sacrifice him." (Hovell, p. 157.) On July 6th, when the placards appeared, Lovett and Collins, who had taken the draft to the printers, were both arrested.

Lovett and Collins were committed for trial at the next assizes, and though bail was fixed at £1,000 each, the magistrates made great difficulties about their sureties, and detained them in prison for nine days. During those nine days they were subjected to great indignities, which Lovett made the subject of a petition to both Houses of Parliament. Stripping, dirt, infection were among the things complained of, and the House of Lords was moved to merriment by the idea of Lovett's hair being cropped by a common felon, merriment that Brougham very properly rebuked. On the day on which the two prisoners were released on bail, there was another more serious riot in the Bull Ring, the culmination of a succession

of collisions between police and people. Shops were burnt and the military called in, and though Lovett and Collins had nothing to do with the affair, the weapons used by the rioters were produced, to their prejudice, at their trial.

Two days before the riot, on July 12th, the long-expected debate on the Petition had taken place in the House of Commons. Attwood, supported by Fielden, proposed that it should be taken into consideration. Forty-six members only voted for him, 235 voted against him. The Petition's parliamentary career was over.

The later history of the Convention, from which Lovett was, of course, absent, is soon told. They reassembled in London, and blew hot and blew cold about "ulterior measures." August 12th was fixed on as the day for beginning the "sacred month," but further enquiries showed that most of the would-be strikers had no work to strike against. The "sacred month" was abandoned, and after some futile recriminations the Convention was dissolved on September 6th, 1839.

A successful popular agitation in England uses physical force as an ally in the background, but is careful not to produce the ally for too close an inspection. The more violent Chartists made the mistake of parading their ally till his weakness was apparent to everyone. The abortive rising in November at Newport, when twenty-eight soldiers successfully routed what was called a Chartist army, was a final proof of the futility of their threats. One after another the leaders had been clapped into prison, and the first Chartist agitation had collapsed.

Trial and Imprisonment.

On August 6th Lovett was tried before Mr. Justice Littledale, at the Warwick Assizes, for publishing a "false, malicious, scandalous and seditious libel" on the police. Four persons had previously been condemned to death for the second Bull Ring riot (the death sentence was afterwards commuted to imprisonment through the exertions of Joseph Sturge), and Collins had been tried and found guilty the day before. Collins was defended by counsel, Sergeant Goulbourne, a Tory, who, to Lovett's disgust, regarded it as "a glorious opportunity of having a slap at the Whigs." Lovett defended himself in an able speech, pleading justification, and appealing to public opinion. The resolutions, he argued, were true and not malicious, they were public censure of a public act. "My lord, it is for directing public attention to a flagrant and unjust attack upon public liberty that I am brought as a criminal before you." His condemnation was a foregone conclusion; two of his jury had been heard to wish that all Chartists were hanged. He and Collins were sentenced to twelve months imprisonment in the county gaol.

During his imprisonment Lovett suffered severely, both physically and mentally. A diet of gruel with blackbeetles in it disgusted him with his food and gastric trouble set in. The society of companions,

one of whom planned the robbery of his own mother and the division of the spoils with a fellow prisoner shortly to be released, whilst another described how he had thrown down a woman and kicked her on the face and eyes, was torture to a sensitive man. The chaplain and the doctor seem to have been caricatures of their type in fiction, the former consigning men to the refractory cell for coughing in chapel, the latter depriving the prisoners of half their scanty allowance of meat because it made the soup too rich. None of the ordinary privileges of political prisoners were granted the two Chartists. Application to the visiting magistrates was referred to the Secretary of State: application to the Secretary of State was referred to the visiting magistrates. It was with the latter that the power really lay, but Lovett and Collins had prejudiced their case by exposing the way in which they had been treated before trial, an exposure which had obliged the magistrates to provide sheets and more hygienic bathing arrangements. Ultimately, though other privileges were withheld, pen, ink, and paper were given to the two prisoners, and Lovett, with the help of Collins, set about writing a book called "Chartism, or a New Organisation of the People." Lovett and Collins were offered the remission of the last three months of their sentence if they would be bound for good behaviour for a year. This they refused to accept, considering it to be an admission of past guilt. By the end of their year the portly Collins had become a thin man, and the thin Lovett a weak emaciated wreck.

Lovett and Collins were released in July, 1840. Lovett was too ill to attend most of the festivities arranged in their honour, and after one public dinner in London set off for Cornwall in hopes of regaining his health. Funds for the journey to Cornwall were provided by friends, who had also supported Lovett's wife and daughter whilst he was in prison. It would be interesting to know whether his Chartism or his scepticism about the supernatural excited more surprise in his native place, where his visit was preceded by that of a ghost, who walked about without a head. After some months of rest he returned to town, and being still too weak to work at his trade, opened a small bookseller's shop in Tottenham Court Road—his third venture in business, and, like the other two, unsuccessful.

Knowledge Chartism.

Lovett's views on policy had undergone some modification after his experiences in the Convention and his imprisonment. Now, as always, an enlightened people was his ideal, and the enactment of the Six Points the means to that end and not an end in itself. But the Six Points seemed more difficult to achieve than in the early days of the Convention, and he began to lay greater stress on a preliminary enlightenment of the people as the means by which the Charter itself would be won. The Charter itself when won would in its turn be the means to "political and social reform."

It was the same idea of education at which the Working Men's Association had aimed, but Lovett had now given up the idea of a purely working class movement, and appealed to "the wise and good" of all classes to unite and to "labour and reason together to work out the social and political regeneration of man." They must "redeem by reason what had been lost by madness and folly," and the middle classes must not stand "apart from the name and principles of the Charter" because of "the intolerant and mischievous conduct" of certain Chartists. The workers, whilst "labouring to obtain the Charter," should be "instructing themselves, so as to realise all its advantages when obtained," and no longer "be engaged, as reformers have heretofore been, in periodically arousing the public mind to the highest state of excitement, suddenly to sink into apathy, *with* or *without* the attainment of their object . . ."

This ideal was to take practical shape in a "National Association of the United Kingdom for Promoting the Political and Social Improvement of the People." This Association was to work for the Charter, and it was also to subsidise missionaries, circulating libraries, tracts, public halls and schools—a vast programme with an Owenite ring about it. As for funds, Lovett suggested that if each signatory to the petition for the Charter gave a penny a week, this would bring in £256,000 a year, of which £240,000 could be used for the erection of 80 halls or schools at £3,000 each, and the rest be spent on the libraries, missionaries, tracts, &c.

Lovett had outlined this scheme with Collins' help in the thesis on "Chartism" that he wrote in jail and smuggled out to Place, with the request that it should be published on the day of his release. Place, thinking the scheme grandiose and impracticable, threw cold water on it, and hence publication was delayed—a delay that Lovett resented bitterly. After his release he and Collins published the book, following it up in March, 1841, with an address setting out the plan for the National Association. Many leading Chartists signed this address, but when the plan came under the ban of O'Connor, who attacked it with virulence in the *Northern Star*, some of the signatories withdrew their signature; the second edition of the book failed to sell, and by the time the National Association actually came into being, in October, 1841, the scheme was foredoomed to failure. O'Connor, as an ally, might have made success impossible, but as an enemy he made success equally impossible.

Working class support, such as it was, lay behind O'Connor and the National Charter Association, a body formed in July, 1841, in Manchester, to restart the agitation after its ignominious collapse. This body Lovett refused to join, though he disclaimed all hostility to it. Its illegal constitution was given as the reason for his refusal, and by the time the constitution had been amended his relations with O'Connor were too bitter to make co-operation between the two men possible.

Complete Suffrage Movement.

As his scheme fell flat, so far as working class support went, Lovett was driven more and more to the middle classes, and he took a prominent part in the attempt in 1842 to amalgamate the middle class and the working class movements for suffrage reform, known as the Complete Suffrage Union, and associated with the name of Joseph Sturge of Birmingham. Lovett, unlike O'Connor, was a Free Trader, but he thought the suffrage more important than the repeal of the Corn Laws, which were "only one of the effects of the great cause we are seeking to remove." Hence he resented the anti-Corn Law agitation as side-tracking enthusiasm for the Charter. Sturge, who belonged to the anti-Corn Law League, came to a similar conclusion, and in April, 1842, he organised a conference in Birmingham of middle-class democrats, including John Bright, drawn largely from the ranks of the anti-Corn Law League, together with working class representatives such as Lovett and Collins. To everyone's surprise, complete unanimity was reached on the Six Points, and the substance of the Charter was adopted, though its name was studiously avoided. Its name had now too many sinister associations for the middle class delegates to allow its use. Lovett pleaded hard for a motion that the actual Charter should be considered at a future meeting, but the question was shelved, the Conference agreeing to a resolution that "any documents which embody the necessary details" should be considered. Meanwhile, on Lovett's motion, the Complete Suffrage Union was formed.

The future looked promising enough for the new body. Local associations sprang up: a petition promoted by the Union was discussed in Parliament, and though it obtained only 67 votes as against 226, all the Radicals and Free Traders voted for it, including Cobden, and, of course, Bright. But, again, O'Connor's ban was on the project, and he threatened to swamp the coming Conference. To checkmate him, and to keep discussion off the tabooed subject of the Charter, the middle-class members of the Council resorted to what seemed to Lovett a piece of sharp practice. They drafted a new Bill, called the Bill of Rights, containing the Six Points, but avoiding the name of Charter, and this Bill they presented to the Conference as the basis of discussion. This rejection of the actual Charter, the symbol for which men had fought and suffered and died, roused Lovett's indignation, and drove him to make common cause with O'Connor. He proposed a motion, seconded by O'Connor, that the People's Charter should be discussed. It was carried by 193 to 94, but the middle classes thereupon withdrew from the Conference and co-operation was at an end. Lovett's lip was said to have "curled in scorn," whilst O'Connor poured flattery on his ally. It was the only occasion after the 1839 Convention on which the two men worked together, and their co-operation did not outlast the day.

Whilst Lovett was working for the Complete Suffrage project, the National Charter Association had occupied itself in promoting another monster petition to Parliament. This second petition, six miles in length, with over three million signatures, was presented in the House of Commons in May, 1842. The activities of its "physical force" members, which usually found scope only in breaking up meetings of the anti-Corn Law League and other societies, a policy abhorred by Lovett, were given a real opportunity in the summer of 1842, when a series of strikes spread through the North and the Midlands. It was a chance for the Chartists to dominate the situation. An attempt was made to call on the workers to remain on strike till the Charter was won, but not only was the response half-hearted, but the "physical force" Chartists themselves were in two minds about it; O'Connor disavowed the action, and the Government promptly packed away most of the leaders in prison. Lovett, during the strike, had issued a characteristic address urging the strikers to avoid violence.

One more effort was made to close up the ranks and produce co-operation between Lovett and O'Connor. When O'Connor diverted the Chartist agitation to his ill-fated land scheme, Lovett was asked, in 1843, to become its secretary. He refused, and published his letter of refusal, with its bitter indictment of O'Connor and of the mischief he had done. "Previous to his notorious career there was something pure and intellectual in our agitation. There was a reciprocity of generous sentiment, a tolerant spirit of investigation, an ardent aspiration for all that can improve and dignify humanity, which awakened the hopes of all good men, and which even our enemies respected. He came among us to blight those feelings, to wither those hopes. . . . . By his great professions, by trickery and deceit, he got the aid of the working classes to establish an organ to promulgate their principles, which he soon converted into an instrument for destroying everything intellectual and moral in our movement."

Lovett made a last effort in 1845 to induce the Chartists to change their ways, and to eschew "violence and folly." "Be assured," he wrote, "that those who flatter your prejudices, commend your ignorance, and administer to your vices, are not your friends. 'Unwashed faces, unshorn chins' and dirty habits will in nowise prepare you for political or social equality with the decent portion of your brethren. . . . . Empty boastings, abusive language and contempt for all mental and moral qualifications will rather retard than promote your freedom." Using his favourite phrase about a combination of "the wise and good," he urged them once more "to rise into vitality and strength." But his appeal fell on deaf ears. After the failure of the Complete Suffrage agitation, Lovett had, in fact, become a publicist and not a politician. He continued to compose addresses, including appeals to the working classes of France and America against war, and could organise a successful

meeting of protest in 1844 against the reception in England of that "active, scheming, wily tyrant," Nicholas of Russia, but he had no following, and the societies he tried to found, such as "The General Association of Progress" and the "People's League" were failures. After 1846 he became for a time publisher of *Howitt's Journal*, which he used as a vehicle for fresh manifestoes.

Later Life.

Henceforth his main work in life was as an educationalist, fostering those "mental and moral qualifications" which he felt to be the basis of all improvement. The National Association, though it failed to fulfil the dreams of the writer of "Chartism," and sometimes seemed to exist only to afford him a platform from which to address the public, had managed in 1842 to open one, though only one, of the proposed National Halls. The hall was in Holborn, where a music hall now stands. It started in debt, and it remained in debt, and much of a testimonial of £140 given to Lovett by friends in 1848 went in payments connected with it; but, though a constant source of pecuniary worry, it gave opportunities for educational experiments; a Sunday school was opened there in 1843, at which Lovett taught; and in 1848 a regular day school was started under Lovett's superintendence. Later on, in 1851, he began to do most of the teaching himself.

It cannot be said that he was a disappointed man. Few men who have led movements have cared less for leadership. His denunciations of the evils done by relying on leaders were sincere. He neither possessed nor desired the gift of swaying multitudes. That one man should influence others, except by helping them to use their own reason, seemed to him a vicious thing. The work of education was congenial to him—his whole life had been an attempt to help the working classes to educate themselves—and he threw himself with as much zest into writing elementary school books on anatomy and physiology as he had shown for his studies in his early twenties. At the age of sixty-four he was engaged on a text book about vertebrated animals, but found the subject so important that he "determined to treat of the invertebrated animals also." Nor can a man be called disillusioned who, after Lovett's experiences, could at the age of fifty-six seriously send a petition to the House of Commons, urging the need for a higher intellectual and moral standard for members of Parliament, to be obtained by a compulsory examination for all candidates, or could advocate that the clergy should be turned into an instrument of progress by inducing them to teach elementary astronomy on Sundays. But he was a sad man, as, indeed, he had always been, and it was a sombre old age. The closing of the National Hall, and, in consequence, of his school in 1857, was a heavy blow. He taught elementary science at other schools afterwards, and continued writing text books, which some-

times found and sometimes did not find a publisher, but he could not support himself, and was forced to accept help from a generous friend. "Such kindness, indeed," he wrote, "has been rarely witnessed towards a stranger as that which I have received from my noble-hearted friend. Bnt while I know that all this kindness is extended towards me, freely and ungrudgingly, it does, however, jar upon my feelings to think that, after all my struggles, all my industry, and, I may add, all my temperance and frugality, I cannot earn or live upon my own bread in my old age."

As an old man he lived with his devoted wife and his grand-daughter, the only child of his daughter, and wrote his "Life and Struggles," a book in which he strung together the addresses and manifestoes of his earlier days, adding long comments on later events. He died on August 8th, 1877, aged seventy-seven, and was buried at Highgate.

Fabian Tract No. 200.

THE STATE IN THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

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By HAROLD J. LASKI

With a Note by EDWARD R. PEASE dealing with the history of the Fabian Tracts, on the occasion of the issue of No. 200 of the series.

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FABIAN TRACTS.

FABIAN TRACT No. 1 was printed in 1884, a few months after the foundation of the Society; the publication of Fabian Tract No. 200 in 1922 affords an occassion for some reflections on the series. Probably no other organisation, certainly no other English political society, has ever before issued a continuous series of Tracts, all in the same format, with a total of two hundred spread over a period of thirty-eight years. Very few of the little group which prepared Tract No. 1 are still alive, and the present writer is the only one of them who is still an active member of the Society. But the work started by that little group has been carried forward chiefly by others who soon joined it, and has accomplished more than its founders anticipated.

Fabian Tracts have been the instrument of much of the activities of the Fabian Society. After the first and enduring success of "Fabian Essays," we have achieved but little by larger publications. Our members have written innumerable books, but the Society has had but little to do with them. It is as a producer of Tracts that the Society will be remembered.

The two hundred Tracts are a miscellaneous collection. The largest class deals with the application of the principles of Socialism to particular subjects, Education, Poor Law, Agriculture, etc. Another class describes the organs of local government, Parish Councils, Town Councils, County Councils, and explains how their powers can be used for social amelioration. Our "best seller" was a penny pamphlet describing the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1896. Trade Unions bought it by the thousand to distribute amongst their members. A good second is "Facts for Socialists," first published in 1887, and still selling vigorously in its twelfth edition.

The number of Fabian Tracts issued to the public between 1890 and 1922 is 2,775,000. For a short time we gave away propaganda leaflets, but the cost of this soon proved prohibitive. Apart from the copies of new publications supplied to members, the above figures represent sales. Pamphlets, unless by Prime Ministers, are not a commercial proposition, but Fabian Tracts have on the whole nearly paid their way. Their success may be attributed in the main to two causes, the use of a single format enabling sets to be bound in a volume, and each number in the series to advertise the others; and in the second case, to the great care exercised by the Executive Committee that a high standard of literary excellence, and extreme vigilance for accuracy in statements of fact should always be maintained.

Some of the early Tracts are still in print in new and often revised editions, but very many are altogether out of date for the excellent reason that the legislative reforms which they recommended have long ago become law.

EDW. R. PEASE.

THE STATE IN THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER.

THE English political scene has always changed its perspective after a crisis in the national fortunes. The civil wars of the fifteenth century produced the centralised despotism of the Tudors. The sense of national confidence gained from the victory over Spain led the Puritans to resist the Stuart attempt at further usurpation; and the ultimate result of the Great Rebellion was to put the Crown in fetters. War always transforms the foundations of national thought, and the scale of our last experiment has been vast enough to leave no institution or doctrine untouched. It is clear already that its onset marked a new and pronounced epoch in our affairs. Just as the Napoleonic struggle freed the commercial classes from the last remnants of aristocratic control, so, in the long run, it is probable that the main result of the recent conflict will be to bring the working classes to a new position in the state.

The emergence, indeed, of the Labour Party as the main Parliamentary Opposition is not the least important index to the new temper. It means that the Third Estate has ceased to associate the idea of government with the ownership of property. Exactly as the main consequence of the Reform Act of 1832 was the destruction of those political privileges which separated the middle classes from the seat of power, so, it may be suggested, the result of the Reform Act of 1918 will, in the background of war-experience, be the slow destruction of those economic privileges which prevent the access of the workers to the moral assets of the state. It is not, of course, likely that the process will be either logical or straightforward. The English people is not accustomed to make a direct highroad to its intellectual goal. The national method is rather to mitigate the evils we have than fly to obvious benefits of which doctrine can demonstrate the substance. But, based upon the reforms of 1832, the ultimate character of nineteenth century legislation in England was to make a world in which the profits of business men were economically possible and legally secure. So upon the basis of the reforms of 1918 it will be the tendency of legislation in our own day to make a world in which men who have no commodity to sell save their labour will share in a fuller way in the riches that civilisation can offer.

The directions in which that effort will be made are already becoming clear. There is abroad, however half-heartedly, a new sense of the significance of education. If the democracy is to be master in its own house, it must be adequately equipped for its task. Control of the sources of knowledge is the one sure road to power; and it is evidence of high import that the workers themselves are foremost in demanding an educational system which gives them access to that control. Hardly less urgent is the feeling that basic monopolies, coal, power, transport, land, must be directly managed by the people themselves. Nationalisation is a word that has manifold interpretations; but nationalisation, in some form, of the obvious basic monopolies is an inevitable corollary of democratic government. Not less certain, as the future expands, will be the conference upon the workers of definite institutional security against the tragedy of unemployment. That the resources of the state must be used to safeguard its citizens against the hazards of trade is already a commonplace; and since the principle was admitted in the Insurance Act of 1911, it is rather with its administrative application than its legislative substance that the next age will be concerned.

Second only in importance to education, and in large part dependent upon it, is the growth of industrial self-government. It has become intolerable that the mass of men should be the mechanical recipients of orders they are compelled to execute without scrutiny. It has become finally clear that the release of individuality—after all, the ultimate purpose of the state—is utterly impossible so long as the control of industry is confided to a small number of men whose decisions need not take account of the wills of those who work under them. It may be admitted that the transformation of industrial control presents immense difficulties. The mass of the workers has not been trained to work that is instinct with responsibility. The capitalist régime has sought not the men who think but the men who obey. It has subordinated to the acquisitive impulse whatever spirit there is of service and creativeness in those who are subject to its dominion. It has obscured the processes by which it governs. It has so divorced the actual work of production from the business of direction as to leave the industrial pattern unintelligble to those whose lives are dependent upon its right arrangement. So complex have its mechanisms become that no single formula—guild socialism, consumers' co-operation, the multiplication of small peasant proprietorship—has any but a limited application. In the discovery, therefore, of institutions which enable the industrial worker to be something more than a tender of machines it is inevitable that there should be hazardous experiment; and the corollary of experiment is failure. But that feeling of unfreedom which Mr. Justice Sankey discovered among the miners, which interferes with the quantity and quality of their work, is typical of labour as a whole. It demands, as is now recognised, channels of response which will minimise its intensity.

These are, of course, predominant currents of effort in their largest outline. There is no aspect of our social life which remains

unaffected by the impact of new desires. The Industrial Revolution turned urban England into a slum, and since Mr. Sartorius, ably seconded by Sir Alfred Mond, shows no sign of abdication, he is destined, sooner or later, to be supplanted by a community at last awakened to its responsibilities. Housing is the bedrock upon which the health of the nation depends. Parallel with its improvement, there is certain to be a realisation that the development of the medical services is a vital public concern. What are now half-casual and half-starved amenities, the public libraries for instance, are bound, as education developes, to be regarded as charges upon the public income not less fundamental to the general well-being than the army and navy. Nor can such amenities be adequately enjoyed unless the working-day is adjusted to meet their claims. The worker cannot respect the obligations of citizenship if he is simply and solely an unreflecting unit in the productive system. It is, moreover, becoming probable that the centre of importance for most men in the future will be the period of leisure rather than the period of work. In that aspect, the limitation of the hours of labour is fraught with deep consequence to them at a vital point. Nor can the substance of our civilisation remain unaffected by the changing prospects of women. Marriage for most has meant a position akin to that of a trusted servant in an upper-class family, with the added right to frequent the sitting-room, in the rare cases where there is one, when the day's work is done. But women have not only invaded industry in wholesale fashion ; they have also come to see that they may make of marriage a career as significant as the bar or the church. They have thus come to regard it in a sense very different either from the faded spinsters of Cranford or the genteel harpies of Jane Austen. What influence their views will have upon our social economy we cannot yet tell ; it is clear only that it will be profound and decisive.

Nothing of all this implies either that such changes are immediately impending, or that their path will be easy and straightforward. Their consequences go too deep into the fabric of the state for most of them to be welcome. They involve an assault upon tradition which will invoke the resistance of all the forces of conservatism and inertia. They imply a change in the property-relation so vast as to alter in their implication the very purpose of the state. They will have to proceed piece by piece, advancing here, there suffering defeat, until most of them become in turn traditions. Then, perhaps, in typical English fashion, because they have become institutions to which we have grown accustomed, we shall regard them as the necessary foundations of society. They will, in part, be dependent upon the possibility that we can avoid revolution, on the one hand, and foreign warfare upon the other. If we recognise sufficiently the inevitable basic infirmity in all human institutions so as to be convinced that with all its slowness the path of reason is preferable to the path of violence, that the inadequate good of peace may be preferable to the cost of ideal good attempted by war, an atmosphere of constructiveness may emerge from the present reaction. But only upon the condition of peace. For it is clear that the resources

now at the command of conflict may, if utilised, destroy any possibility of civilisation. If force should triumph over reason in the next age, ideas such as these may well pass into dim memories; and, as in Mr. Wells' dramatic picture, some ancient survivor of the struggle may seek to explain them to grandchildren who do not understand even the primary notions of civilised life.

But if we may count—it is a large assumption—upon a peace as long and as extensive as that given to England in the Victorian age, we may be confident that social theory will undergo a radical transformation. A new world will arise from the ashes of the old; and a new political science will be necessary to the statement of its meaning. Already, it is possible to discern some at least of the elements that will go to its making. It is likely, in the first place, to be far more complex than the old. The sanction of our institutions will not be divine right, as with the Royalists of the seventeenth century, or fear, as with Hobbes, or the facile simplicity of direct and omnipresent consent, as with Rousseau. It is likely to come from the slow development of a social psychology based upon inductions about human nature far wider than in any previous time. It will take account of the magistral demonstration by Marx that political power is the handmaid of economic power; and it will therefore insist as integral that the existence of great wealth and widespread poverty in the same state are incompatible with the attainment of social good. It will seek to discover the largest way commensurate with national efficiency of associating the creative energies of men with the actual business of government. It will realise that the main reason why social systems have decayed in the past is their inability to make adequate response to the primary impulses of men. For the onset of revolution does not mean the existence of a will to wrong in the people. It is they who always, and most deeply, are the sufferers from disorder. Revolution never comes from the effort of chance conspirators or malevolent ideas. It is the outcome always of wrongs that have become too intolerable to be borne; and the moral judgment it involves is decisive against the government which has failed to see in reform the only real safeguard against it.

The coming of the democracy to power involves a change in the purpose of the state. It means placing the riches of civilisation at the disposal of that democracy. But, still more, it means a change in the methods by which that effort is made. In the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution, it was believed that the conflict of private interests would result in a well-ordered commonwealth. The duties of government were the duties of a police force. The atmosphere of the courts—always the surest index to the temper of the governing class—was mainly an insistence that in nothing was the public welfare so essentially protected as in the safeguarding of industrial private rights; and the classic case of *Mogul Steamship Co.* v. *McGregor*[1] was evidence that restraint upon freedom of action in

[1] (1888) 21 Q.B.D. 544; [1892] A.C. 25.

the name of public policy was regarded as a definite evil. It was somehow assumed that since every person is, in the main, the best judge of his own happiness, the larger the boundaries of freedom of contract, the greater would be the happiness of the nation. It was not understood that there is a difference between judging what is for one's happiness, and having the means to effect it. Freedom of contract only begins, as Mr. Justice Holmes has said, where equality of bargaining power begins; and there is no real equality of bargaining power, so far as the means of adequate subsistence are concerned, unless there is approximate equality of property. When Bentham and his disciples set an individualistic perspective to the theory of the state, what in reality they did was simply to put that state at the disposal of the owners of political and economic power. The second half of the nineteenth century was mainly occupied with the effort to relax the rigours of an individualistic régime, while retaining an active and profound faith in its main assumptions. Such measures as Factory Acts, Employers' Liability Acts, Housing Acts, were, at bottom, concessions made to humanitarian sentiment which shuddered at the cost of *laissez-faire*. They did not involve a belief that it is the business of the state to see that the citizen realises the full power of moral development which is in him.

Until, roughly, 1870, Benthamism held practically unmitigated sway over the English mind. From then onwards, T. H. Green and the Oxford idealists wrought something akin to revolution in the English theory of the state. Trained in a Platonism sharpened by contact with Hegel, they recognised that the Benthamite opposition between state and individual was at once artificial and dangerous. The individual was a citizen, and he therefore had no meaning apart from his citizenship. Unless, then, the state could guarantee to each man the powers without which he could not realise himself, it became devoid of ethical content. The state was, for them, an instrument through which and in which its citizens realised themselves; and it was thus its main function to secure to each such rights as would achieve his full moral development. There can be no doubt of the high service rendered by the idealist philosophy in destroying the notion that state-intervention is, in its nature, an evil thing. Unfortunately, the failure of idealism lay in its inability to differentiate between state and government. It did not with any sharpness disentangle the acts of principal and agent, with the result that it confused the temporary acts of the latter with the permanent purpose of the former.

The idealist philosophy of the state so highly exalted its power that individuals and societies obtained their meaning, and, therefore, their rights, only by its permission. It was so occupied with the theoretic purpose of the abstract state that it hardly, T. H. Green apart, regarded the actual achievement of concrete states. It did not see that a purpose abstractly noble may, in the hands of human agents, be stripped of every whit of moral splendour. By insisting that every institution was the incarnation of a spiritual principle dealism failed to develop a theory of moral values, and was therefore

unable to distinguish between degrees of right. It thus provided no solution for the situation where social obligations conflict. It so confounded the actual motives of social agents with the ideal purpose by which they ought to have been informed, that it detected the existence of benevolent progress where none in fact existed. It beatified Imperialism, for example; and the noble picture of the white man's burden blinded the eyes of its devotees to the natives who were in fact bearing it. It did not help a miner called upon to choose between his union and the Prime Minister to be told that the latter represented an institution whose abstract end was good. It afforded no real direction to a Quaker who believed in the moral wrong of war to be informed that war might be exalted when the state undertook it. Idealism, in short, tended to beatify things as they are. It was too occupied with abstract ends to be sufficiently critical either about the time-factor in the process of their achievement, or the methods by which they were effected. It asserted, and with justice, that right and truth ought to prevail; but its actual result, in the hands of its chief exponents, was to identify right and truth merely with the decisions of the governmental authority legally competent to make them. It did not penetrate beyond those decisions to the sources from which they were derived.

It was possible, in the years before the war, to see that idealism as a political creed was rapidly losing ground. It had become a commonplace that the authority of the state, neither in its forms nor in its achievement, justified the allegiance it demanded. Socialism came in its varied guises to offer proof that the state did not secure either the freedom or the happiness of its members. Churchmen like Figgis came to see that its assumed pre-eminence might deprive voluntary organisations of powers necessary to the fulfilment of aims not less noble than its own. Lawyers like Maitland urged that the state was merely one form of human association, and that it could make no moral claim to sovereignty other than that which it could prove on the ground of moral achievement. The survival of its power, especially in the background of European revolution, has become dependent, in part upon the national inertia of men, in part also upon its ability to respond to new wills and new demands that had, before the war, been hardly organised or articulate. It is true, of course, as Mr. Barker has said, that the state being with us, we must make the best of it. But what has moved into the hinterland of doubt are the motives which underlie its institutions and the forms they use for their expression.

The society in which we live is organised upon the basis of property. Ownership confers rights, and rights are legally unrelated to the performance of service. The society towards which we are moving will be organised upon the basis of functions, and the rights it will confer will be dependent upon the functions we perform. For it is obvious to anyone who scrutinises the present social order that the one thing it has secured is a continuously larger production. It has not regarded equity in the distribution of the product. It has not achieved even a minimum level of decent existence for the mass

of the producers. It has never, above all, sought to stimulate at their highest level the creative energies of men. But the test of social institutions is the extent to which they develop those creative energies for social ends. If we assume a moral ideal that is capable of being aimed at by the state, each individual is clearly entitled to those rights which enable him to contribute to its attainment; he must be enabled, that is to say, to fulfil his moral vocation as a man. But the outstanding feature of the present society is that most men have, substantially, no rights at all, while those who do possess them are not bound to the service that they ought to involve.

The consequence may be seen in the absence of a common purpose binding men together in the state. There is, of course, common dependence in the sense that if an employer secures orders, his men secure work; and that he, in turn, depends upon their labour for the fulfilment of his contract. But the absence of any principle in the method of distribution leaves the partition of the product simply to the pressure of opposing forces, and the result is what is called the class-war. So long as that social disharmony persists, the currents of social activity can never so flow together as to converge into a single channel. Nor can any institution which is touched by that disharmony really attract the motives which promote civilisation. For the absence of principle at the root is bound to affect the upper branches of the tree. If we start, not from the assumption that property has rights because it is property, but that socially valuable functions require rights in order that the individuals fulfilling those functions may achieve their end, in proportion as those ends are realised, the foundation of disharmony disappears. We then move to the conception of a minimum basis of civilisation secured to each individual in order that his citizenship may be possible. Beyond that, because the interest of the state in the happiness of its members is equal, we attempt the maximisation of equal opportunity. We do not, that is to say, associate opportunity with a status that is mainly economic, but with the mere fact that the individual, as a member of the state, must be given the fullest chance to prove his worth.

It is perhaps worth while insisting that this is not an effort after identity. Equality of opportunity is simply the admission that unless each citizen has an equal access to the heritage of the state, the persistence of disharmony, with the internecine warfare it entails, is certain. It is, moreover, clear that men will very variously avail themselves of the equal opportunities conferred. Their tastes are not the same. Some are by nature leaders; to others, the temptation to inert acceptance of direction is irresistible. In particular, it does not seem probable that the increase of interest in politics will be as intense as is usually supposed. The social nature of men must always be carefully distinguished from the political nature of some few. The average member of Parliament, even, is not there because he has a love of state-building. He is there, like Sir Frederick Banbury, to defend an economic interest threatened from within, or, as in the case of many retired business men, because

the House of Commons is an avenue towards certain social distinctions that are prized by their class. Equality of opportunity will undoubtedly multiply the number of citizens fit for polical function. But the two important possibilities it opens are, first, that the state becomes informed by a common purpose, and, second, that it is enabled to utilise the reservoir of talent that, with the present disparity, is bound to remain largely undiscovered.

Nor does this doctrine involve the abolition of property as such. It simply limits the rights of ownership by insisting that they shall be conditioned by the performance of service. It must, of course, further limit those rights by organising social institutions in such a fashion that they leave each citizen who desires the sense of freedom in their working to perform, where he has the capacity, responsible functions. It involves, that is to say, the democratisation of industrial control, and the decentralisation of political control. It means for the mines such a form of organisation as that, for instance, which Mr. Justice Sankey has depicted. There, at least, in pit, in district, and in the industry as a whole, the abolition of private ownership would remove barriers which now stand in the path of service and achievement. The miner who could convince his fellows that he was competent to direct their labours could test his powers in an increasingly wider field. So, too, in another sphere, with local government. At present, the amenities the latter can secure are limited by parliamentary enactments devised at every point in the interest of ratepayers and ground-landlords. If, apart from the need of general reorganisation, a compulsory minimum were fixed centrally, and the degree of effort beyond that minimum left to the local authority, many of the shadows that now lie across the face of English life would disappear. For the truth is that, in the eyes of property owners, extravagance is not the sin of Poplar, but the desire of its councillors to make the lives of their constituents less empty of the aids to well-being that Belgravia can afford. It is the notion of using the national resources for the purpose of promoting equality against which the defenders of the present system are adamant. Yet, whether in industry or politics, democratisation tempered by *expertise* is the only path to creativeness.

In any philosophy which seeks the grounds of national co-operation, a thorough grasp of the significance of such equality is fundamental. The miners who went on strike in 1921 knew not less well than other citizens that they imperilled by so doing the foundations of the economic security afforded by the present system. But because that system was unequal in its operation they had the less interest in the maintenance of its stability than those who, owning it, denounced them. Just as, during the war, the system of rationing produced better health in the nation because the food consumed, though less in quantity and quality, was more fairly distributed, so in the general organisation of social life, men who feel that the product is equally available in return for equal service will be willing to serve gratefully and in full measure. Let it be added, too, that equality implies a higher standard of knowledge and effort than can

now be secured. Democracy, it is obvious, has as much need to test the standards of its performance as the chemist to test the accuracy of his balance. Equality must always be conditioned by the establishment of criteria of qualification for the performance of functions. But these criteria will not be resented where they bear equally upon all. Where they are destructive of social solidarity is in their inequality of operation. The son who inherits his father's business because he is the accident of an accident, the nobleman who becomes a company director, the judge's son who becomes clerk of assize, are examples of the acquisition of status without qualification which imperil the co-ordination of effort. The average working-man does not begrudge the standards of entrance to the civil service; but he rightly resents the inequalities of an educational system which, practically speaking, prevents his children from being able to attain that standard. The absence of an equal interest in the assets of the state inevitably begets an inferior interest in the maintenance of its foundations; and it is the obvious lesson of our experience that the inferior interest of the many is the active hatred of the few. No state can long survive in which a group of citizens aim, through profound moral conviction, at its overthrow. That is why the movement towards equality is the one sure safeguard against revolution.

It is doubtful, indeed, if ends such as these can in any full measure be attained through the classical institutions of representative government. We have evolved the great society without any real effort to see that our political methods keep pace with the changes in social and economic structure. No one who examines the large outlines of the English governmental system can point to any capital discovery in the past fifty years. The emergence of the Labour Party has altered the general perspective of their effort. The transference of the centre of importance from the House of Commons to the Cabinet, the consolidation of that pre-eminence given by Mr. Gladstone's long career to the office of Prime Minister, a superb improvement in the quality of the civil service, these, and things like these, have an importance beyond denial. But the normal assumptions which, for example, Bentham had in mind in the prophecies he made for the future of the representative system have ceased to work. The private member is a pale ghost of his former self. Debate has become utterly unreal; and divisions merely register mechanically decisions the real grounds of which are rarely determined in the House of Commons. The old system of party government has lost its mainspring; and the suspicious inertia of those who are not active in the machine itself is a commonplace. Nor is all this true of England alone. In France, in Italy, and in the United States, the same disharmony between political method and the social process may be detected. The legislative assembly is not merely overburdened by the pressure of its work; it is, in its classic form, unfitted to carry out the functions for which it exists.

It is, of course, possible to improve the actual machinery we have. Members of Parliament could be given direct contact with the business of administration by the creation of committees to watch

the work of each department. They might be in part organs of consultation, and in part an effective and necessary *liaison* between the bureaucrat and the House of Commons, The transformation of the present committee-stage of bills into a process akin to the working of committees upon municipal bodies would not only destroy much deliberate obstruction, but it would also ensure to the private member a more real understanding of the measures upon which he votes, and a more real consideration than he now receives. A reduction in the size of the Cabinet has become clearly essential to the vital habit of corporate decision ; and it is at least equally clear that there does not exist in the civil government any body whose business it is to undertake the investigation and research that are necessary to the proper working of policy. Nor are the functions of the different departments allocated upon any coherent principle. Until each department has before it a properly organised field of activity, there is bound to be waste and confusion. At present, there is overlapping and cross-division to a degree that makes officials surrender to contests for control with other officials time that should be given to creative work. No one can doubt that the serious consideration of political institutions could result in inventions for their improvement of capital importance.

Yet even if these and similar changes were effected the modern legislative system would be inadequate to its task. That there are many functions, the provision of law and justice, the maintenance of the national health, the provision of public education, defence and foreign policy, which require an undivided communal organ for their general direction, is clear enough. But when we pass from functions such as these, which concern men as citizens rather than men as producers, analysis makes it obvious that the simple formulæ of representative government do not apply. What we need, then, is to take the services that have to be performed and devise institutions for their government. We have so to devise them that we may secure to each function the rights without which citizenship is impossible, and, within the boundaries of that limiting principle, to free the general legislative assembly from the task of intimate and incessant supervision. It is not, in any case, fit for such a task ; for, as Mill long ago pointed out, a popular assembly is in its nature unfitted to administer or dictate in detail to those who control administration. Here it becomes necessary to depart from the narrowly geographical habit of our political thinking. We must learn to think of railways and mines, cotton and agriculture, as areas of government just as real as London and Lancashire. They are relatively unified functions which need, just as much as geographical units, organs of administration. Clearly, of course, it is easier to give a simple form of institutionalism to an industry like mining, which is susceptible of immediate nationalisation, than to a industy like cotton-spinning, in which the formulæ of nationalisation are far more dubious. But, granted the conference of powers to a representative assembly for the cotton industry, granted, also, the principles of citizenship within which it must work, it is not difficult to imagine mechanisms

through which a constitutional system of government might work there. As with the mines, it is necessary to give representation in such a functional assembly to interests which need special protection —the consumer, the technician, allied industries in a special sense related to cotton. It is necessary, also, to use such associations as the trade unions and the employers' federations as the basis upon which selections of personnel must be made. Nor should any barriers be put in the way of joint consultation between industry and industry. Whether a national economic council is implied in such a scheme as this it is very difficult to say. The problem of its constitution is extraordinarily complex; and the solution of general industrial questions is, as a rule, really the solution of problems of citizenship which come within the scope of Parliament. Their administration is almost always a special problem of a particular function, and is better left to the function for settlement. When the German Economic Council has had a longer life we shall be better able to judge the possibilities it involves.

It may be useful at this stage to indicate the institutional pattern implied in a social philosophy of this kind. We visualise a Parliament with the taxing power, which lays down fundamental rules, and administers, through the Cabinet, the matters of general citizenship. Below it would be territorial and functional institutions. The one would be concerned with the normal subject matter of local government; and, under the revised areas of control, they would possess that greater complex of powers characteristic of the first-class German municipality, rather than the narrow delegation inherent in the British system. Each industry would possess an industrial council in which management and labour, technicians and the representatives of allied industries, together with the representatives of the public, would take their place. Such a council would have as its business the application to the industry it controlled of the minimum basis of civilisation we have suggested as now fundamental. It would consider all questions affecting industrial relations within its scope of reference. It would issue decrees, perhaps of the nature of provisional orders, where it was desired to go beyond the principles of the national minimum. It would undertake research; and it would have a special costings and audit department of which the task would be to secure complete publicity upon the details of the business process within the trade. It is possible, also, that a National Industrial Council would be required; but it is doubtful whether it is possible to build it, and uncertain whether the questions it would seek to resolve are not, in fact, problems with which the ordinary Parliament is better able to deal.

At the back of all this lies an implied insistence upon education as the main channel of hope in our ultimate relief. For if the object of the state is to enrich the social heritage through the enlargement of individual personality, then individual personality must be given that power of adequate expression which comes through knowledge to make its needs known. At bottom, therefore, the problem is the instruction of individual wills, and the building, as

in our institutional pattern, of channels through which those wills can flow. It is not suggested that wills can or should function equally, since abilities are unequal. But it is suggested that the general environment in which these wills function must be at a certain minimum level. It follows, therefore, that the charges of maintaining and raising that level are the first national burden to be borne; and the whole concept of property must undergo a radical change to that end. For, ultimately, the real implication of a national minimum is the replacement of the spirit of acquisitiveness by the spirit of service. That may not mean destroying the legal notion of property; but it does mean spiking its guns.

If we approach in this way the central problem of the state we make it, as Plato made it, that notion of justice which is the right ordering of human relationships. It involves the view that each citizen has an equal claim on the common good in respect of equal needs; and the corollary is therein implied that differences in response to claims are differences that the common good itself requires. This would, in all likelihood, rule out any rigorous scheme of communism on the ground that it leaves no room for the recognition of the social importance of individual differences; though we must ceaselessly remember that the tribute paid to those differences has its marginal utility. It would also allow the payment of a monopoly-rent to ability only when we can be certain that a social need can be satisfied in no other fashion. Broadly, then, justice implies equality where human beings are equal in their needs. But justice must function in that psychological atmosphere in which we get the best out of our ablest men. The principle of the payment for service, the standard, therefore, by which property can be justified, is a measure of remuneration which harmonises individual interest with the common good. It ought here to be emphasised that the importance of profit-making as a motive has been greatly exaggerated, and that experiment with its replacement could not effect other than benefit. The state owes to each of us the opportunity of useful service; but it does not owe us the occasion to spend the substance of other men's lives.

We are seeking to visualise a state in which the individual citizen is entitled to an effective voice in collective decisions. Admittedly, of course, the power he can have is limited by the inherent needs of large-scale organisation. But it ought still to mean that the ordinary man can help to select his rulers and to get himself elected if he can. It ought to mean his right to unfettered criticism. It should involve the right to be informed of all important decisions and the consequent opportunity to revoke, in concert with his fellows, the mandate to government. So, in the economic sphere, every capable individual must have a right to work, with, of course, the corollary that it is his duty to work well. Within the limits of social requirement, he ought to have the opportunity, as few now have, to choose and to vary his occupation. If he has merit, he ought to be able to advance by it. If he has initiative, he ought to be able to exercise it through the structure of his function. He should be able by his

work to purchase a reward of service that meets all material needs; and from the accidents of unemployment and sickness, as from the cares of old age, he should be protected. This, at least, is what the state in substance means; and if its institutions have so far failed to give content to that meaning, it seems to follow that they stand in need of change.

The political science of the next generation will be mainly occupied, if it is to be fruitful, with the explorations of channels through which this end may be attained. It will seek to discover ways in which the individual may be made significant. It will have to remember that he is not absorbed by the state; within the mind of every man there are reserves into which organisation does not, and ought not to, enter. Society is the harmony of a system of selves, not a harmony over and above them. It is the *milieu* in which they live; it is not itself the life. Control is social because individuals act directly upon each other, and it is necessary, therefore to have criteria of right action. Here, we have argued that control must not lie in any vocation, or area, or rank, but in the citizen-body as a whole. For, otherwise, the lives of the many lie at the disposal of the few; and they are used, as history makes evident, not for the common good but a perversion of it. Our business is to give to the common man that access to his inheritance of which he has hitherto been deprived. Of that inheritance he has become aware; and the future most largely depends upon the response we make to his awareness. Our complex civilisation is being tested by men who do not judge it by the thought and effort that have gone in its making, but by the happiness it brings to ordinary men and women. It is only by endeavouring to meet their desires that we shall be able to await their judgment with confidence.

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To-day we see the Labour Party with about four million affiliated members, being at once the poorest and quite the largest political organization in the land; locally organized in all but half a dozen out of the 600 constituencies in Great Britain; placing some 10,000 elected representatives on the various municipal and other local councils; proclaiming not only principles but also a definitely formulated comprehensive programme over the whole range of home and foreign affairs; placing this programme before the electors in over 400 Parliamentary seats; polling in them alone four and a quarter million votes, being only a million or so fewer than the victorious Unionist Party in the whole country; returning just upon a quarter of the House of Commons; and becoming officially recognized as "His Majesty's Opposition," prepared to form an alternative Ministry whenever called upon to do so. And in the seven months that have elapsed since the General Election, the Labour Party has, in all the contested Bye Elections, increased its aggregate vote by ten per cent., and gained two seats. Those who are curious in statistics may be interested to compute that a continuation of the rising curve of Labour votes from the 62,698 of 1900,

through the 323,195 of 1906 and the 505,690 of January, 1910, the 2¼ millions of 1918, and the 4¼ millions of 1922, would produce a clear majority of the total votes cast in Great Britain somewhere about 1926. This forecast it is that we have now to make good.

THE TASK BEFORE US.

For our long and detailed programme at the last General Election—more specific, precise and unequivocal than that submitted by any other political party—of which some 15 million copies were printed for distribution to every registered elector in the 416 constituencies in which a Labour candidate was in the field, we polled, in November last, one-third of all the voters in Great Britain. In order to secure such a decisive majority of the whole House of Commons as will make it necessary for the Leader of the Opposition to be entrusted with the duty of forming a Labour Government, we have practically to transform our present one-third of all the voters into two-thirds. We have therefore to convince the bulk of the electors, not that the present Unionist Government is failing to deal successfully with the very grave problems, economic and social, domestic and international, with which the country is confronted, for that is obvious enough; but that these problems can be satisfactorily solved on the principles that we preach. It used to be objected that, however sound might be its principles, the Labour Party was, from inexperience and lack of education, unfit to assume the responsibilities of office. Whatever may have been the case in past years, this is not an accusation that would nowadays be made by any instructed person of candour. In the present House of Commons, comparing parties as wholes, I venture to say that, whilst there are differences of dialect, and sometimes of phraseology, I see no superiority whatever on the Unionist benches in economic and political knowledge, or even in the essentials of courtesy and good manners. In acquaintance with the facts of life, and in appreciation of the actual effects of governmental action, the Parliamentary Labour party is, I think, on an average, considerably ahead of the other parties. It habitually takes, as it seems to me, longer views, and aims at a larger expediency than either Ministers or the rank-and-file on the Government side. It is true that the members of the Labour Party, unlike so many Liberals and Unionists, have seldom to their credit years of success in the making of profit. It is not usually remembered, on the other hand, how extensive has been the experience of at least half of the Labour Members, and how valuable the business training thereby afforded, in the administration of the vast and ever-growing Consumers'

Co-operative Movement, and in the highly complicated work of the great Trade Unions. As for knowledge and experience of public administration, it might easily be calculated that the Labour Members have an average of far more years of service on municipal and other local councils than the members of either the Liberal or the Unionist Party. It is, indeed, time that the insolent gibes at the Labour Party for ignorance or incapacity were given up. In my brief experience of the House of Commons it is from the Unionist benches that I have heard the most numerous and the most egregious blunders in Political Economy. And certainly not even the most partial of its supporters would claim that the Treasury Bench has this year distinguished itself, either in finance or in law, in knowledge of international affairs or in that instinctive wisdom that we call statesmanship. It is common ground that the nation's public life appears at the moment barren of political genius of the first rank. But speaking merely as a lifelong student of Government, I have no hesitation in saying that the Parliamentary Labour Party will be able, when the time comes, to take over the responsibilities of office at least as competently as the majority of Ministers of different parties whose public administration during the last forty years it happens to have been my particular business to scrutinize and study both from inside their offices and from without.

THE IMMORAL TREATIES OF PEACE.

Let us turn now to the grave problems with which the nation is confronted. At the root of all our present troubles is the state of warlike tension from one end of Europe to the other, which is plainly the outcome of the unsatisfactory treaties by which the war was ended. The historian of the future cannot fail to record that Paris, in 1919, was a factory of international inefficiency on a quite calamitous scale. To-day this inefficiency is patent to all men. Nearly five years have elapsed since the Armistice. But the necessary complicated economic organization of Europe as a commercial whole has not yet been restored; food surpluses and raw materials in one part can only with the utmost difficulty be exchanged for the products of labour in other parts; indeed, all sorts of additional barriers to the free movement of goods, persons and communication have been set up; we have not yet got even anything like a unified system of transport across the political frontier lines that have been so fantastically drawn across the map of Europe; among the peoples penury and privation almost universally prevail; even the mere material damages to the fields and factories of France have not been made good. Never perhaps in all history has

there been so impressive a failure as that of the statesmen to whom the world of 1919 entrusted the task of making a real peace. What was the cause of this failure? It has been said, with a great deal of truth, that the blunders embodied in these treaties, were the direct result of what is termed in theology an invincible ignorance. In spite of all the knowledge and wisdom with which their official subordinates provided the "Big Four," these great men apparently could not divest their minds from the idea that they were free to choose, irrespective of the hard facts of the situation, what they presumed to think was politically the best for their several countries or for themselves. Certainly, we of the Labour Party hold that the treaties failed because, almost from end to end, they ignored, on the one hand, economics, and on the other hand morality. I confess to the simple faith that morality, like economics, is actually part of the nature of things; and, in great matters and in small, whenever we fail to take into account the nature of things, our calculations and arrangements are inevitably brought to naught. But where the world itself went most wrong in 1919, and I think that all countries must share the blame, and the great majority of their citizens, was in the spirit with which the problem was approached. We can all see now that Europe could no more be rebuilt upon the passion of hate, the passion of greed, and the passion of fear than upon anger and violence. And neither hate nor greed, neither fear nor violence is brought more into accord with the requirements of economics or of ethics merely by being national instead of individual.

I say to-day that we ought as a nation to come out of our nationalist illusions of this kind. It is high time that we based our foreign policy, not on what we presume to think our rights, but on what we can discern to be in the common interests of the world; not on national hatred, national greed or even national fear, but on a sense of brotherhood with all men; not on what we may hope to make out of other nations to our own profit, but on how, with our peculiar gifts and special opportunities, we can best serve humanity as a whole. And as all the nations now discover they are in a very real sense members one of another, we shall find that brotherhood in whatever best serves humanity as a whole will be, in the long run, most conducive to the interests of each. What the Labour Party stands for is a policy of mutual service, as contrasted with a policy of the deliberate pursuit of profit for self—it matters not whether the self to be profited be the individual at the expense of other individuals, or the nation at the expense of other nations.

Such a foreign policy would promptly assert for this country that leading position in the concert of Europe which the present Government has abandoned. It would tell France plainly that we will go no step further with her in what seems to us a fatal policy of aggression, arising, as it seems, from what the psycho-analysts would call a "fear-complex" unworthy of a great nation. It would accept with cordiality the willingness of the German people, provided the claims to extravagant war indemnities are withdrawn, to make good, up to the limit of economic capacity, the material damage inflicted on the mines and buildings of France and Belgium, and to compensate the civilian victims of bomb or torpedo. It would, for the sake of a general settlement, waive all further claims, and press for a universal cancellation of inter-governmental war debts. It would convert the League of Nations into an organization absolutely world-wide, seeking to make it in its own sphere as continuously effective as is the International Postal Union. Such a policy would aim persistently and wholeheartedly at the earliest possible restoration to economic prosperity of all the nations of the world, including, as a matter of course, those with whom we were lately at war. It would make continuously for an ever-progressing common limitation of armaments. In my view, it would inspire our advocacy, within the League of Nations, of the establishment of some practicable international currency and some uninterrupted machinery of international remittances, possibly by the intermediation of the International Postal Union itself. It would work towards a universal suppression of customs and passport barriers; or at least their subordination to the far superior interest of unhampered intercommunication; and, assuming that the political particularism of the different states forbids at present a European Customs Union, at least for the establishment of a completely unified railway and canal administration from Astrachan to Algeciras, with undisturbed and untaxed passage of all goods and passengers merely in transit. And along with such an economic policy, there might be urged upon the Governments of Europe the adoption of a common policy of education in internationalism, in elementary schools and universities alike, in substitution for the ludicrously false history and economics still inserted, in the supposed interests of patriotism, in the school books of the world.

I am not sure that there may not be some truth in the suggestion that it is not so much national particularism as the private interest of international Capitalism that is to-day the main obstacle to such a foreign policy as I have outlined. Certainly, if we turn to our own domestic problems we must, I fear, agree that it is essentially the determination of those who are wealthy to hold to their riches, and to their power over other people's lives, that is standing in the way of social reform. What is going on around us, often unconsciously to those concerned, is, fundamentally, a struggle as to who shall be financially the losers by the war, those who live by owning or those who live by working; and among those who do participate in industry, between those who do the initiating, directing and managing, or those who contribute the manual and routine mental labour. This it is that lies at the back of the almost universal attack upon wages of the past two years, which has extended to establishments and industries that are admittedly making large profits. This attack has already cost the wage-earners something like 700 million pounds a year, or nearly twice the whole of the payment this year in Income Tax. The employers' determination to pull down what they called the "swollen wages of war time" was, indeed, more than once openly avowed in 1919-20, though the opportunity came only in 1921-22. But we see the same thing elsewhere. There is, in all industrial and economic problems and reform projects, a very distinct "ruck up," even among those who were formerly inclined to philanthropy. Whether it be Housing or Education, the Trade Boards Act or the Shop Hours Act, provision for maternity and infancy or provision for the feeble-minded, there is a very decided check to any progress, almost avowedly on the ground that in face of the terrible taxation no more money can be spent without actually lessening the total net income available of the well-to-do class. One public-spirited local administrator put the case quite simply to me. If the County Council, he said, established the new institutions that were required, the increase in rates would compel him to give up his orchid house. This, of course, means that it is the feeble-minded and the mothers and infants, the children and the slum dwellers, the workers in the sweated trades, and generally all the wage-earners, who are to be made to bear the burden of the war debt. This was not the idea, let us say in justice to Mr. Bonar Law, of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of 1917. It is not the idea of the economists. It is certainly not the idea of the Labour Party, which must go on asserting that there can be no financial security, and indeed no complete

restoration of industrial prosperity in this country, so long as one million pounds have to be taken out of the product of labour each working day, before either wages are paid or profit is made, merely to defray the interest on the war debt. A War Debt Redemption Levy, on fortunes exceeding £5,000 in graduated proportion to the ability to pay, sufficient to redeem the main bulk of the debt, stands as the indispensable step to any stable economic order in this country.

THE INTELLECTUAL CHALLENGE.

There are three dominant features of the economic life of to-day peremptorily demanding the consideration of every statesman, and challenging every political party. There is the almost complete supersession, by subtle forms of trust and monopoly, of that free competition among capitalist enterprises which used to give the consumer at least some guarantee that prices would oscillate closely around the necessary cost of production. This problem, I find, reduces the candid statesman of either of the older parties privately to despair. He sees no solution. There is in the next place, that equivocal influence, if not sinister dominance, in all important issues of government, in the newspaper press, and even in educational and social organization, of the private interests of the owners of great masses of wealth. In the form in which it exists to-day, this is a new feature. I do not find that such Liberal or Unionist members of the House of Commons as I have talked to on the subject, even when they recognize its danger, have any idea of how to prevent this illegitimate dominance. And the third of these outstanding economic problems—into which, as it seems to me, both the others enter—is that of Unemployment; not so much in its present magnitude, which is exceptional and transient, but in its persistence and universality.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE "GOVERNING CLASS."

It would, I suppose, be very rude of us to "butt in" at the domestic recriminations of the conferences of either section of the Liberal Party—or to intrude on those more shrouded interchanges of counsel among the influential personages of the Unionist Party—with any peremptory challenge as to the substance of their respective policies. I fear that neither Liberalism nor Unionism would abide our questioning. But I may at least put the inquiry before this Conference. What has the Liberal Party—what has Mr. Asquith or Mr. Lloyd George—what has the Unionist Party under Mr. Baldwin—to propose to the consumer by way of protection against the now continuous profiteering of the various capitalist combinations that dominate prices? How does

either of these statesmen suggest that the illegitimate and almost limitless power of private wealth in the newspaper press and in public administration can be checked? Finally, does either of these parties or these statesmen believe that the British wage-earners will go on acquiescing in the common refusal to deal adequately and systematically with the tragedy of nation-wide unemployment? It is, I venture to say, in the failure of political leaders even to apply their minds to these three fundamental economic problems, still less, to permit them to appear in their political programmes, that stands revealed to-day the bankruptcy of both Liberalism and Conservatism.

LABOUR'S HOME POLICY.

The Labour Party at least grapples with these problems in all their ramifications. Where the candid Liberal or the honest Unionist admits that he sees no way out, the inquirer who comes to the Labour Party finds that it has principles, directly applicable to the very questions about which he is puzzled. And what has become unusual in political parties, the Labour Party has not only principles but also a practical programme worked out in considerable detail; and a programme which flows out of its principles, and is consistent with these. This consistency between party principles and party programme is indeed a luxury! Nothing strikes me with greater astonishment than the unabashed way in which Ministers, whether Liberal or Unionist, whenever they are compelled to grapple with a pressing evil, adopt, not an individualist solution, which is what, in my innocence, I used to expect from them, but always and inevitably a Collectivist solution. The policy that they continue to profess is, of course, violently Anti-Collectivist. But whenever they have actually to do anything in their several departments it is always a Collectivist line that they follow. Naturally, because along this line they lack both faith and knowledge; they make a botch. The nation will sooner or later see the wisdom of calling in those doctors who both understand and believe in what they prescribe.

Now, it is not my business here to expound once more the principles of the Labour Party; nor even to recite the titles of the Bills and pamphlets in which its practical programme is embodied. Any non-member who sends threepence to the Party Secretary at 33, Eccleston Square, will receive by return of post *Labour and the New Social Order,* in which he will find a comprehensive statement of what the Party stands for. I can best utilize my present opportunity by emphasizing for your own consideration certain general features of our position to-day.

"GRADUALNESS."

First let me insist on what our opponents habitually ignore, and indeed, what they seem intellectually incapable of understanding, namely the inevitable gradualness of our scheme of change. The very fact that Socialists have both principles and a programme appears to confuse nearly all their critics. If we state our principles, we are told "That is not practicable." When we recite our programme the objection is "That is not Socialism." But why because we are idealists, should we be supposed to be idiots? For the Labour Party, it must be plain, Socialism is rooted in political Democracy; which necessarily compels us to recognize that every step towards our goal is dependent on gaining the assent and support of at least a numerical majority of the whole people. Thus, even if we aimed at revolutionizing everything at once, we should necessarily be compelled to make each particular change only at the time, and to the extent, and in the manner in which ten or fifteen million electors, in all sorts of conditions, of all sorts of temperaments, from Land's End to the Orkneys, could be brought to consent to it. How anyone can fear that the British electorate, whatever mistakes it may make or may condone, can ever go too fast or too far is incomprehensible to me. That indeed, is the supremely valuable safeguard of any effective democracy.

But the Labour Party, when in due course it comes to be entrusted with power, will naturally not even want to do everything at once. Surely, it must be abundantly manifest to any instructed person that, whilst it would be easy to draft proclamations of universal change, or even enact laws in a single sitting purporting to give a new Heaven and a new Earth, the result, the next morning, would be no change at all, unless, indeed, the advent of widespread confusion. I remember Mr. Bernard Shaw saying, a whole generation ago, "Don't forget that, whilst you may nationalize the railways in one afternoon, it will take a long time to transform all the third-class carriages and all the first-class carriages into second-class carriages." Once we face the necessity of putting our principles first into Bills, to be fought through committee clause by clause; and then into the appropriate administrative machinery for carrying them into execution from one end of the Kingdom to the other—and this is what the Labour Party has done with its Socialism—the inevitability of gradualness cannot fail to be appreciated. This translation of Socialism into practicable projects, to be adopted one after another, is just the task in which we have been engaged for a whole generation, with the result that, on every side, fragments of our proposals

have already been put successfully into operation by town and county councils, and the national government itself, and have now become accepted as commonplaces by the average man. The whole nation has been imbibing Socialism without realizing it! It is now time for the subconscious to rise into consciousness.

INCREASING RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACT AND WORD.

Let me add a word in passing about our position as a party in this matter. The Labour Party, after more than twenty years' strenuous work, has now attained the position of the Official Opposition, holding itself out to the electors as the Alternative Government, prepared to take over the whole administration of the nation as soon as it is called upon to do so. The Party must remember this position, and rise to its responsibilities. We have, from now onward, to work and speak and act, under the sense of the liability, at any moment, to be charged with putting our plans and projects in operation. This does not mean, I suggest, that we should abandon our investigations and researches whether individual or departmental, which have proved of the greatest value in putting us ahead of the other political parties, or give us refining and enlarging our ideals, or as individuals, cease the expounding of inspiring visions of what the future might and should unfold. But it does mean, I suggest, that we should not lightly commit ourselves as a party—and we should not even seek to commit the party as a party—to new or additional projects, or to the details of reforms, if these belong more appropriately to a stage of greater freedom and less responsibility.

THE FUTILITY OF VIOLENCE.

This brings me to the suggestion that surely every citizen of our own land must see, in the experience of the past decade, an overwhelming demonstration of the fact that violence is, and must be, always accursed, injuring both him who does and him who suffers it, and futile to both. Violence persuades no one, convinces no one, satisfies no one. Thus, it may produce death, or the acquiescence which is the death of the mind—that is to say violence may destroy, but it can never construct. Moreover, in our practical British way we can see that, by the very nature of the case, violence can be much more easily and effectively applied on the Conservative side—to keep things as they are, because this requires only acquiescence—than on the side of change, because every change requires the active participation of the citizen, the adoption of new methods of life and work, or at least the

formation of new habits. What has happened in the United States on the one hand, and in Italy on the other, where property, in small holdings as well as great, has successfully used violence against the popular cause, are but examples of the general proposition that when it comes to the brutalities of physical force, reaction easily goes one better than the revolutionary mob. It is when the decision is arrived at by counting heads, not by breaking them, that we get the nearest approach to Government of the people, by the people, for the people. At any rate it is in this faith that the Labour Party is rooted.

THE ABUSE OF AUTHORITY.

Let me add that in my judgment it behoves us to weigh our words when we voice our intuitive objection to the authority of government. We must, of course, be outspoken in our denunciation of every form of governmental tyranny, whether "white," "red," black or any other colour, at home or abroad, in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe and America. The public opinion of the civilized world—for which in this matter the Labour Party has largely the responsibility—has a real influence, slow moving though it be, even over the most obdurate of authorities. We have need to exercise the greatest vigilance to detect and at once oppose every instance of the illegal exercise of power, to which all governments, whether democratic or monarchical, municipal or national, are perpetually prone. Even in the land of Habeas Corpus, as recent instances show, we have by no means yet recovered all the liberties that we lost during the war. The strenuous and ultimately successful fight against the Home Secretary's arbitrary Irish deportations, which was maintained by the Labour Party, in the House of Commons, in the constituencies and in the Courts of Justice, will, I hope, be repeated whenever fresh cases occur.

THE MEANING OF GOVERNMENT.

But whatever is done to safeguard individual liberty, and to safeguard it, also, against economic and social as well as against governmental tyranny, let us always remember that it is not against government itself that we are protesting. For government is, after all, only another word for that deliberate co-operation of citizens in a common task which lies at the root of all our proposals. The alternative to government is not freedom. It is the very anarchy of competition, unrestrained and unregulated, from which the world is still suffering; it is, in short, fighting, whether between individuals, between groups, between classes, or between nations; fighting which, even when limited to what

we blandly call economic weapons, is inevitably destructive of personal liberty on a far greater scale than any governmental tyranny can be. When this fighting takes the form of war we see that it destroys civilization itself. The only alternative to the struggle expressed by the sinister maxim, "Every man for himself, and the Devil take the hindmost," is, let us remember, exactly that deliberately arranged co-operation among citizens in social tasks that we term government. To-day, I make bold to say, what the world needs is not less government but more. This need for a perpetually increasing co-operation in social functions, in place of individualist anarchy, springs inevitably from the ever-growing complexity of the social life of crowded populations, in which this very co-operation is the condition under which alone individual liberty can be maximized. We enjoy actually greater freedom on the highways because there is a Rule of the Road, than we should if everyone drove as the whim of the moment dictated. It is because we want more government internationally (and thereby a wider measure of national freedom in any real sense) that we support the League of Nations, and seek to render it both more democratic and more and more effective as an instrument of world control. At the other end of the scale we ask perpetually for greater powers for our Town Councils, and other local authorities, and we look to their obtaining an ever-widening sphere for their beneficent administration by which the freedom of the mass of the people to live their own lives is so much increased. And even at Whitehall, though we grumble at bureaucracy, it is not a diminution but an increase that in the name of freedom the Labour Party demands in the functions exercised, for instance, in connection with mines and railways, shipping and insurance, health and housing or the conditions under which ninety per cent. of the people have to work and live. What we have always to insist on is that government should, at all points, be effectively democratized; that it should be, wherever practicable, entrusted to the local representatives of the community, rather than to the necessarily centralized departments at Whitehall; that in every branch the widest possible sphere should be assigned to the voluntarily associated Consumers' Co-operative Movement, which, be it remembered, is, to the Socialist, an integral part of Socialism itself; and that everywhere the necessary supervision and control to be exercised by Parliament and the Central Government should be supplemented by a steadily increasing participation in management by the vocational organizations of all grades of workers concerned. How difficult it is to make the academic philosophers, not to mention Lord Chancellors, understand that vocational organization

is itself an indispensable part of democratic government—that political democracy without industrial democracy is a sham! But subject to these improvements in governmental machinery—improvements which, I admit, are of the essence of the case—I repeat that, in my opinion, what the world needs to-day—what Britain needs to-day—what even the Labour Party needs to-day is, not less government but more.

THE SPIRIT THAT GIVETH LIFE.

Finally, let me remind you that there is a higher need even than government, whether it be the government of a city or the government of our tempers or the government of our tongues. It is not upon its plans or its programmes—not even upon its principles or its ideals—that a political party is ultimately judged. It is not upon them or any of them that its measure of success in the continuous appeal to the judgment of the average citizen finally depends. The success of the Labour Party in this country depends, more than on anything else, upon the spirit in which we hold our faith, the spirit in which we present our proposals, the spirit in which we meet our opponents in debate, the spirit in which we fulfil our own obligations, the spirit in which, with inevitable backslidings, we live our own lives. We shall not achieve much, whatever changes we can bring about, unless what we do is done in the spirit of fellowship. For we must always remember that the founder of British Socialism was not Karl Marx but Robert Owen, and that Robert Owen preached not "class war" but the ancient doctrine of human brotherhood—the hope, the faith, the living fact of human fellowship—a faith and a hope reaffirmed in the words of that other great British Socialist—William Morris—in *The Dream of John Ball.* "Forsooth, brothers, fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell; fellowship is life, and lack of fellowship is death; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them; and the life that is in it, that shall live on and on for ever, and each one of you part of it, while many a man's life upon the earth from the earth shall wane."

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ENVIRONMENT AND HEALTH

BY

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Environment and Health

DURING the past fifty years medicine has done infinitely more to constitute itself a science than in all the previous ages. This has been mainly due to the flood of light thrown upon the specific etiology of many diseases by the epoch-making discoveries of Pasteur, and the stimulus those discoveries have given to other workers. Previous to this almost nothing was known of the agencies concerned in the onset of any diseases, except those of purely mechanical origin. Of such widespread and prevalent disorders as the surgical infections, enteric fever, tuberculosis, diphtheria, syphilis, malarial fever, pneumonia, and many others, the causes were entirely unknown, the speculations and theories as to their origins were various—"Quot homines, tot sententiae"—and their treatment was entirely empirical. All disease was a mystery. A great deal of it is no longer a mystery. Approximately one-half of the diseases with which we are acquainted are now known to have their origin in infection by living organisms belonging either to the plant or to the animal kingdom, and the probability is that the list is not yet nearly exhausted. Besides this it has been computed that nearly half the deaths that occur annually are traceable to the same cause.

With the emergence of medicine from the mysterious, no less a revolution has occurred in the practitioner of medicine. While a good bedside manner is still a valuable asset and will so remain in so far as it connotes a sympathetic and human attitude towards the sick and suffering, and while from a business point of view a good shop front no doubt has its value, no longer are the doctor's brains assessed by the sheen of his tall hat or the length of his frock-coat. Like medicine, the doctor has become less mysterious, less aloof from and superior to his fellow men. Knowing more he has become less omniscient. Standing on surer ground he has become less pretentious. The medical priestcraft, reminiscent of a time when the medicine man was more priest than physician and more charlatan than either, has disappeared or is disappearing. This is all to the good, and tends to a more enlightened confidence between doctor and patient.

Again, so much relating to the discoveries and advances in medicine nowadays finds its way into the lay press that the general public has, apart from its technical aspects, a broad knowledge of the progress medicine is making, and is alive to its new developments. This is again to the good. A strong opposition is always an incentive to good government. The advent of a wide-awake and informed public tends to keep the profession up to the mark.

It adds nothing to the dignity, not to mention the security, of the doctor to be questioned by his patient on some new treatment or phase of a disease he has never heard of, but with which he finds his patient has more than a bowing acquaintance.

It was a natural sequence of the elucidation of the causative agent in many of the infectious diseases that scientific effort should be directed to two main objectives: first, to the discovery of means of producing an artificial immunity similar to the active natural immunity which it was a matter of common knowledge resulted after recovery from an attack of many of them; secondly, to producing immunity reactions which should have the effect of neutralizing the toxic products of the invading organisms during an attack. In both of these directions remarkable results have been achieved, both by what is known as vaccine prophylaxis and therapy, and antiserum prophylaxis and therapy.

The most completely successful example of *vaccine prophylaxis* is that of vaccination against smallpox, introduced by Jenner in 1798. This remarkable discovery was the result of shrewd observation and logical deduction. It was nevertheless empirical; the principle on which it rested was not understood until the work of Pasteur more than half a century later. In countries where vaccination is twice practised, small-pox has practically ceased to exist, and its sporadic outbreak from time to time is a warning to the public of neglect of the means to prevent it. In typhoid and paratyphoid fever, by measures along the same lines, immunity lasting for a period of one or two years can be secured, and has greatly reduced the incidence of these diseases both among civilians and soldiers.

Again, the mortality from rabies has been reduced from 16 per cent. to a fraction of 1 per cent., an active immunity being capable of being produced here after infection has already taken place, owing to the lengthy incubation period of the disease. *Vaccine therapy*—that is, the production of active immunity after attack by a known micro-organism—so ably advocated by our own countryman Sir Almroth Wright, has given very beneficial results in staphylococcus infections, skin affections, etc. Of *anti-serum prophylaxis* the best example is that obtained in tetanus. The mortality following Fourth of July injuries in America has ceased to exist owing to its use, and no less life-saving results were obtained by the same means in the great war. The most familiar and the most successful instance of *antiserum therapy* is that of diphtheria, which has reduced the mortality from 40 to 10 per cent., and, if used on the first day of the disease, to almost *nil*.

These are veritable triumphs of strictly scientific medicine. In other diseases more or less success has been achieved. But closer investigation has shown that there are many factors requiring elucidation which undoubtedly influence the result—such as choice of route, recognition of different types of the same disease, etc.—and it will certainly take many years of patient endeavour before the ultimate possible results in securing immunity are obtained. In many instances prophylaxis or cure has eluded us, and the

results have proved disappointing. The above may be termed the result of scientific effort, either preventive or curative, directed towards the individual.

There are other diseases, which have been attacked from a totally different angle—namely, by studying and combating conditions which favour the growth, dissemination, and virulence of the infecting organism, by so altering environment and increasing natural resistance, whatever that may precisely mean, that many diseases which have been very prevalent and very fatal in the past have almost or entirely ceased to exist, and are no longer of any account. Let me give you one or two very familiar examples.

Take typhus fever. During the last century it prevailed in all the large cities of Great Britain and the Continent. So late as 1875 in England and Wales there were 1,499 deaths from the disease. During recent years the name "typhus" has seldom appeared in the Registrar-General's returns. It is a disease essentially dependent on filth and overcrowding. Bad as these conditions are even now in our large industrial centres, the disappearance of this disease is evidence of an improvement as compared with half a century ago—an improvement in environment and an improvement in natural resistance, owing to better living conditions, sufficient to have caused its disappearance altogether. After the peace of 1815, following a long and exhausting war, when the economic position was somewhat similar to that existing at the present time, typhus fever and relapsing fever, which occurs under similar conditions to typhus, were rife in England and Ireland. No such catastrophe has accompanied the economic depression following the last great war.

Take, again, typhoid fever. It is a water-borne disease. Bad drainage and a contaminated water supply are the factors favouring its distribution. Its prevalence or the reverse in a community is the measure of their sanitary intelligence and enterprise. Filth, overcrowding and bad ventilation are factors conducing to its prevalence, by lowering natural resistance. The marked decline in typhoid fever is again the result of an improvement in environment. Typhoid fever has declined from 375 per million in 1870 to 25 per million at the present time. In Portsmouth typhoid fever, quite prevalent in the town when I came here thirty years ago, has almost ceased to exist.

These are examples of diseases which have disappeared, or are disappearing, owing to action following an intelligent study and comprehension of the conditions and environment favouring their distribution.

Now, "environment" is obviously a very wide term. It embraces living conditions generally. The amount and quality of food and water, the presence or absence of domestic hygiene, the supply or not of good drainage, the furnishing or not of healthy conditions in factory and workshop, the prevalence or not of smoke and fog, the provision or not of adequate open spaces, playgrounds, and recreation grounds, access or not to sound education—these and many others are all factors in environment. And it is satisfactory

to note that these matters are receiving from governments and local authorities some of the attention which all of them deserve. But I propose to-night to consider for a few moments the special environmental factors governing the slum areas of our great industrial centres—the lack of fresh air and sunlight, and the cramped and penalizing conditions to health, both moral and physical, owing to overcrowding; and to inquire what bearing these factors have upon four out of five of the most formidable endemic scourges which afflict all northern civilized peoples to-day.

The five scourges I allude to are Cancer, Tuberculosis, Rickets, Venereal Disease, and Alcoholism. Tuberculosis and rickets account for most of the cripples we see about us; cancer, tuberculosis, venereal disease, and alcoholism account for most of the deaths; venereal disease and alcoholism account for most of the misery and moral degradation of our race.

We may dismiss cancer at once from the count. The humiliating confession must be made that we know very little about it. That it has some relation to civilized environment seems evident from the fact that it is a comparatively rare disease among primitive races, and that it is certainly making rapid headway among all civilized peoples. But of the nature of the environment favouring its activities we are in complete ignorance. It is neither foul air nor fresh air, neither hardship nor indulgence, neither poverty nor riches. Cancer like death—

> "Aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
> Regumque turres."

The only things we know about it which are worth knowing are its age incidence, its relation to chronic irritation, and the fact that it is in its beginnings a local disease, and that therefore it can be cured by early removal in those situations where removal is possible.

This is practically all we know about cancer. I wish to make only two comments. The first is that this knowledge is not enough. In an age which has yielded the secrets of so many diseases it is a point of honour with the medical profession not to rest content till this pressing problem has been solved. With the public it is not only an obligation but, from the point of view of their own interest and safety, a vital necessity to furnish the financial means of solution, and to see to it that research is not crippled or stinted by any niggardly parsimony.

The second comment I make is this: The most important fact we know about the disease is that in its beginnings it is local, and that its course is a centrifugal spread from its local point of origin. Is that knowledge anything like as productive as it might be? Undoubtedly it is not. Notwithstanding the fact that cancer has been cured over and over again by modern operation—a fact which in itself proves that it is curable—yet I believe patients come no earlier to the doctor with it than they did thirty years ago, though time is the very condition of the only cure we possess for it. Many medical men, and I confess I am one of them, are of opinion that there is considerable room for improvement in this direction.

Without resort to any sensationalism some obvious steps could be taken to spread the knowledge of a few very simple facts about cancer. This would give a by no means unwarranted ray of hope to the public and would enable some of the victims of this terrible disease to apply in time to have, at all events, a chance of cure or freedom from recurrence, whichever you like to call it. This by the way.

I pass on to the consideration of the other four scourges—tuberculosis, rickets, venereal disease, and alcoholism.

Tuberculosis first. We know the cause; it is the tubercle bacillus. We know also the prime and essential conditions of its cure; they are fresh air and sunlight. These are not only the essential conditions of its cure, but are almost the sole conditions. Those of you who are interested in the subject will have an opportunity of visiting the establishments at Alton and Hayling Island, under the able administration of Sir Henry Gauvain, where the cures are fresh air and sunlight. Dr. Rollier of Leysin read a most instructive paper at the Glasgow meeting last year, and quoted many instances of cures, and lasting cures, by these agencies in all regions of the body. It is foreign to my purpose to discuss to-night the method or supposed method of their action, or the method of their application. If, then, these agencies, fresh air and sunlight, are, as we know they are, so powerfully antagonistic to tuberculosis—whether by directly controlling the activities and virulence of the tubercle bacillus itself or by fortifying the natural resistance and so enabling the human organism to establish an immunity to it (it matters not, the result is the same)—are we not justified in the converse conclusion, that the breeding ground of this disease, the environment most encouraging to its activities, are the sunless, airless, overcrowded, and insanitary slum areas of our great cities, where houses are built forty or more to the acre, and stand back to back, and side to side, like any jig-saw puzzle, so that fresh air and sunlight, the proved destructive agents of the tubercle bacillus, can never enter? Is it a sound economic proposition to equip and maintain, at the cost of millions of the taxpayers' money, sanatoriums for the so-called cure of tuberculosis, while we guard intact the very preserves of this disease by the exclusion of fresh air and sunlight, which cost nothing, and maintain in our midst a soil which can breed more tuberculosis in a week than all our sanitoriums can cure in a year? Dr. Rollier says:

"Housing has played an immense part in the genesis of child and adult tuberculosis: the community bears the responsibility of the waste of human lives through insanitary houses."

The industrialization of Sweden since 1870 has been accompanied by a high adolescent mortality due to pulmonary tuberculosis. Sandberg, commenting on this, says:

"The cause of this difference between earlier and more recent times seems to us to be in the fact that formerly the adolescent boy and girl remained at home for a longer time—nowadays one goes more frequently and at an earlier age to the city or factory. The new conditions of existence bring, in many cases, increased dangers to health and life, dangers which, especially in the case of women, often lead to tuberculosis."

In 1885 the tuberculous gland cases admitted to the Alexandra Hospital for Sick Children, Brighton, constituted 6.5 per cent. of all admissions. In 1899 they were 3.5 per cent.—a reduction of nearly 50 per cent. Between 1885 and 1899 Brighton has swept away most of its insanitary areas. Numbers of similar instances could be quoted. It is no unwarrantable assumption that by permitting—and that is all we have to do—the sun and fresh air into our slum areas we should see a very marked general decline in the incidence of tuberculosis.

Consider next Rickets. Its etiology is unknown. There are two opposing theories as to its origin—the dietetic and the hygienic. There are those who positively assert that it is a deficiency disease; that it is due mainly to lack of fat-soluble A. There are others who as stoutly deny that diet has anything to do with it. We may leave the theorists to settle their differences and turn our attention to certain facts about it which have long been established, and certain other facts which have recently come to light. It never occurs among races living under natural conditions, and is especially prevalent among the poor in Europe and America living under so-called civilized industrial conditions—in other words, the thoroughly bad hygienic conditions of overcrowding and absence of fresh air and sunlight. Among the well-to-do it is practically unknown. In India, on the other hand, as recently shown by Hutchinson, it is a disease of the rich. It does not occur among the poor labouring class who live an open-air life, but is prevalent among the rich Mohammedans and Hindus, who are confined in airless and sunless rooms. Hutchinson discovered also this remarkable fact—that late rickets was restricted to females, who alone are confined, according to the purdah system of isolation as practised by the wealthy natives of India. Again, eminent observers in Glasgow, who have quite an exceptional acquaintance with rickets—it being, as you know, very prevalent in that city—have always associated the disease with overcrowding and lack of hygienic conditions and sunshine, which you also know are conspicuous features of that great hive of industry. According to Miss Fergusson, 50 per cent of the children in the poor quarters of Glasgow are rickety—a vastly smaller proportion in garden cities, such as Bournville. The prevalence of rickets, she says, is associated with close confinement in tenements. Most important of all, we have the recent experiments of the Lister Institute in Vienna. They prove conclusively that a deficient diet can only produce rickets in the absence of sunlight. If abundant sunlight be present a deficient diet is powerless to give rise to it. Lastly, we have the significant fact that the sun's rays without any other treatment whatever can cure it—an explanation of the oft-repeated dictum that anybody can cure rickets in the summer.

All this does not prove that the absence of fresh air and sunlight is the cause of rickets; but it does prove this—that in overcrowding, confinement, want of fresh air and sunlight, we have an environment conducive to the development of rickets, either by the supply

of conditions favourable to the activities of the virus, whether microbic or otherwise, or by lowering natural resistance to it. Conversely, that fresh air and sunlight and good hygienic conditions furnish an environment which is powerfully antagonistic to the disease; that they have either the power of damping down the activities of the virus, whatever it is, or that they can so alter the metabolism of the body as to provide an increased resistance and immunity to it. Whichever is the method, the result is the same. These facts appear to indicate clearly and unmistakably the way to the control of this crippling and dangerous disease. And, as Mellanby says, its eradication would do away with a great deal of the bone deformity, improve the physique, lower the infantile mortality, and, most important of all, improve the teeth of the people of this country beyond recognition.

Let me invite your attention in the next place to Venereal Diseases, which have figured so largely in the public eye during recent years, are discussed in every drawing-room, exhibited at every picture-house, and with regard to the most suitable methods of controlling which there are acute differences of opinion, both among medical men and the lay public. They are the diseases of immorality. The contributing environmental factor here is the indiscriminate admixture of the sexes of all ages, a necessity of their living conditions. It is not, of course, contended that by an improvement in housing immorality would be stamped out, but it is contended that the conditions of overcrowding, without regard to age or sex, which exist in our industrial centres make the practice of morality well-nigh impossible.

Let me put before you a few facts; they are taken from the report of Dr. Chalmers, the medical officer of health for Glasgow, for 1921. There is no intention to single out that city as a sink of iniquity, or an example of a condition of things peculiarly revolting to the conscience of civilized humanity, and I have very little doubt its case could be paralleled in our own borough of Portsmouth; but I have the facts for Glasgow, and I have not similar facts for Portsmouth. In Glasgow, out of a population exceeding a million, over 600,000 live in one-roomed or two-roomed tenements. Under the heading "Sex overcrowding in small houses," Dr. Chalmers gives the following appalling examples:

> "In a one-roomed house a father of 52 occupied the same bed with a mentally defective daughter of 24, who had an illegitimate child of 10. In another, with space for five adults, a father and daughter shared the same bed. In another a mother shared the same bed with two sons of 19 and 20 years respectively. In two-roomed houses, in one instance, a son of 19 and a daughter of 21 occupied the same bed; and in another a son of 19 and a daughter of 25, who was pregnant."

However revolting these facts may be, it is right that the public should be made aware of them. This, then, being an example of the state of affairs in our industrial centres, it may be confidently stated that a great deal, at all events, of immorality and its consequences, venereal disease, is the direct result of environment—that the conditions existing make either the teaching or practice

of morality impossible, and furnish the breeding ground for venereal disease.

Have we not, it may be asked, missed one phase of the problem, and are we not somewhat out of touch with the situation, with our societies for the prevention of venereal disease and for combating venereal disease quarrelling amongst themselves as to the best means of meeting the evil, and local authorities and the lay public equally divided, when conditions such as I have depicted are rampant in our midst? It is this aspect of the problem—the immorality and its consequence, venereal disease, which are the direct result of overcrowding without regard to age or sex—which I wish to lay particular stress upon here.

Consider, lastly, the abuse of alcohol. There is no doubt that, without anything in the nature of prohibition in this country (and I believe it to be foreign to the instincts of our people to have their lives, what they may eat, and what they may drink, regulated by the policeman), there has taken place during the past fifty years a steady move in the direction of greater sobriety among all classes of the community. Among the upper and middle classes drunkenness was the fashion less than a century ago. It is now a disgrace. In the army, navy, and mercantile marine there was, fifty years ago, infinitely more drinking than there is to-day. In the streets of our towns the drunken man of any class is not nearly such a familiar sight as he was a generation ago. This must be attributed broadly to social evolution, to general civilizing influences—better education and the inculcation of greater self-respect, which such influences promote. There are, of course, many factors at work here; but in the forefront of civilizing influences is the improvement of the home. So long as the public-house is more comfortable and more attractive than a man's home, the former will claim his leisure hours. Give him a comfortable and respectable home, and the lure of the public-house will automatically diminish. In the debate on Lady Astor's bill, a few months ago, a good deal was said about the improvement of the public-house; but nobody suggested that, by devoting greater attention to the home, we might go a long way to improving the public-house out of existence altogether. Drunkenness stands in much the same relation to bad housing conditions as immorality and venereal disease, and, moreover, is admittedly a potent factor in the dissemination of the later.

In the foregoing remarks I have endeavoured to emphasize the relation of the special environmental factors of the slum areas—lack of fresh air and sunlight, and overcrowding—to four out of five of the great endemic scourges afflicting the community at the present time. I have said nothing of their relation to epidemic diseases, though there is no doubt that some of the latter are powerfully influenced by the same factors. For instance, pneumococcus lung infection is certainly a disease mainly of cities and crowded places, the infection spreading from pre-existing cases or healthy carriers. Observations in South Africa showed that natives who had recently arrived at the mines and occupied crowded com-

pounds were most susceptible; and Gorgas, in a report upon pneumonia in the Rand mines, draws attention to the fact that there was the same high incidence among labourers in the Panama Canal zone, until they were removed from crowded compounds and encouraged to live in separate huts. The high mortality attending measles is probably attributable to similar conditions. Epidemic disease is, however, more elusive and less under control, and for that reason I have omitted it from argument.

If, then, I have submitted evidence that, by a determined attack upon our slum areas, there would be a reasonable expectation of making a beginning of the end of four out of five of our most formidable endemic diseases, the question is, Would it be worth while? Not as a sociological venture, or on humanitarian grounds, or as a moral obligation, on any of which there would be little difference of opinion; but "would it be worth while" as a business proposition? Because, however satisfying it may be to our consciences to prate of social and moral duties to our fellow men, when it comes to doing anything, and especially to spending taxpayers' and ratepayers' money, it is usually the business and economic aspect of any question which mostly counts. It is, therefore, from this point of view only that I approach it, and I omit all moral considerations. Besides, moral values cannot be assessed in pounds, shillings, and pence, though nobody would deny that they represent a very real asset.

In a paper read at the meeting in Glasgow last year, entitled "The economics of public health," Lieut.-Colonel Fremantle, consulting medical officer of health for the County of Herts, by a series of calculations, estimates the total direct material loss in England and Wales from sickness and disability at a minimum of £150,000,000 a year. From tubercle alone the estimated loss is £94,000,000 a year. In the United States of America, with a population three times as great as England and Wales, the estimated cost of sickness and death is £600,000,000 a year, of which at least one-third is considered preventable. Taking the cost to this country of sickness and disablement at £150,000,000 per annum, the country could spend without loss £50,000,000 annually, or, capitalized at 5 per cent., £1,000,000,000 on clearing the slum areas and securing better housing and living accommodation, provided that the cost of sickness and disablement were thereby reduced by one-third.

What actual sum would go to the credit side of the nation's health bill it is obviously impossible to determine. It would admittedly, therefore, be a speculation. But it would not be a bogus venture. An assured dividend of considerable amount is in sight. The improved physique of the nation; its better health; the diminution certainly, the extinction possibly, of such diseases as tuberculosis and rickets; the improved moral tone of the people, and the resultant diminution of venereal disease and its consequences; decrease in the consumption of alcohol with its disastrous effects on infantile and adult mortality, with the misery and moral degradation it brings to the home, with the loss of time, increase of industrial accidents and industrial inefficiency it entails—these and other

items are the prospective dividend. Whether it would or not strike £50,000,000 off the annual health bill is the speculation. In this connexion I would remind the overcautious and those averse to any kind of speculation or any degree of risk, that it is the speculators who have made this great empire—the men of courage and enterprise, men who have faced the uncertain and the unknown, and have not been afraid to take risks. And if we have not been afraid to speculate in adventure, in arms, in trade, and in business, why should we be afraid to speculate in health ?

To face the risk would require a bold and imaginative statesmanship. It does not belong to the business outlook of the parish pump only prepared to estimate in pounds, shillings, and pence the return on the capital expenditure. It would almost certainly eventually result in a real economy to the State. What we are doing now is to provide the breeding ground for the mass production of disease with one hand, and with the other paying out millions of the taxpayers' and ratepayers' money to deal with the end-results of the very diseases we are fostering in our midst. It has been frequently said, the people make the slums. Such a pessimistic assumption would sound the death-knell of all progress. But it is nothing more than the comfortable argument of the man selfishly indifferent to the obligations of citizenship and regardless of his duty to the body politic. It is flatly contradicted by the fact that through all the ages man, like every other living thing, has been the product, not the cause, of his environment. The slums make the people you find in them, and the only astonishing fact is that they can breed any other sort. It is a testimony to their physique and spirit and grit, no less than to the universal natural law of the survival of the fittest, that some of the inhabitants of the slums win through such an environment, and escape the moral and physical ruin which engulfs those of weaker fibre.

The industrial revolution which occurred in the last century accounted for the urbanization of our population, and the herding together of millions of workers in our industrial centres. This has been going on ever since. The early hour at which work commenced, the long working day, entire absence of rapid transport, or rather of any transport at all, necessitated their centralization in the heart of our great towns, where land has consequently become of greater value than health. These conditions are reversed to-day. Powerful centrifugal forces have come into play, and have come to stay. The working day as a rule begins later, the hours are shorter, the day for half the year is longer owing to the Daylight Saving Act, and the means of rapid transport are available, and are becoming increasingly available every year. It has become, therefore, practicable in many instances for the worker to live further from his work—in other words, to move from the centre towards the periphery of our large towns, where land is cheaper and where it becomes, therefore, a business proposition to build on town-planning lines, and avoid the past errors of herding human beings together like sheep in a pen or pigs in a sty.

In this connexion it would seem that the first and most essential requirement in future building is to reduce the density of the houses —in other words, the number to the acre; and it is disappointing, and in the opinion of many a grave defect in the Government's last Housing Bill, that no such restriction appears. In submitting town-planning schemes, however, local authorities have, under the Housing Acts. powers to regulate for this, and a memorandum from the Ministry of Health suggests twelve, ten, or eight houses to the gross acre as suitable density requirements according to the nature of the neighbourhood. If this in the opinion of the Ministry is the correct requirement for health, what are we to say about houses built forty or more to the acre? The only answer is that they should be swept away wholesale at the earliest possible opportunity.

The air space and sun space round the house is of infinitely more importance than the size of the house itself, or whether it contains a parlour or not. The cramped crofter's cottage does not produce rickets and tuberculosis, because his children live mostly in the sun and air round their dwelling; but children "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd" in the dark sunless and airless environment of our large towns are inviting both all the time. The most important educational requirement of domestic hygiene and its highest fulfilment is the open window, night and day, summer and winter. It is astonishing how quickly the human organism abjures the hothouse conditions of civilized living and adapts itself to its natural environment, fresh air. The tuberculous patient. after three months open-air treatment in a sanatorium, cannot endure the closed window in his own home. The tuberculous children at Leysin in Switzerland, and at Alton and Hayling Island in this country, live practically naked in the open air, and by that habit and that habit alone throw off a most formidable and deadly disease. Why, then, all the care of healthy children, with their active metabolism capable of adapting itself to almost any requirement, to wrap them up in the warmest of clothing, confine them in hot rooms with windows shut, keep every draught from their bodies, and submit them to general hothouse conditions suitable only to the old whose metabolism is barely sufficient to keep body and soul together, and whose clock has almost run down?

Modern civilisation is suffocating itself in the polluted atmosphere and darkness of our great industrial cities. The need of pure air and sunlight, of which there is plenty about, and to be had for nothing, was never so insistent as it is to-day. These great gifts of nature were plentifully supplied to primitive man, and were his only sure defence against disease. They are as bountifully given to civilised man, but he seems to have lost sight of their value, or to have deliberately turned his back on them, while he requires a whole volume for the mere nomenclature of his innumerable diseases.

Perhaps apology is needed for touching to-night on a problem which may be considered rather a sociological one than one of strictly scientific medicine. But apart from the fact that I believe a wide latitude is permitted in the Presidential Address to this Association, my choice of subject can, I think, be justified by both local

and general as well as scientific considerations. First of all, it does not seem to be an unfitting subject to bring to your notice in the town which bred Charles Dickens and Walter Besant, who devoted their unrivalled literary talents to depicting scenes and characters drawn from our slums, and such as our slums are only too familiar with. Secondly, although this borough has witnessed some of the most brilliant pageants and displays in the history of this country, and although you are sitting here in what we are proud to think is one of the finest town halls in the kingdom, yet there is an obverse to the shield, and round the corner we can introduce you to slums as pestilential and overcrowded as any to be found in the land. Further, although the environment of the wage-earning classes, in our industrial centres, and its effects may in part be a sociological question, I have endeavoured to show that it is inseparably linked up with, and *is* in fact the greatest of all our problems of preventive medicine, the most rational and the most scientific of all medicine. And if this is so, then it is up to the medical profession, both individually and through this great Association of medical men, to educate and lead public opinion in this matter, and to strengthen the hands of governments and local authorities, on whom will ultimately devolve the responsibility, no less than the odium, of providing the remedy. Concentration on the prevention of disease, on strengthening resistance to disease, by the improvement of environment, rather than on the search for cures or palliatives when the damage is already done; more attention to stimulating and fortifying the natural defensive mechanisms against disease, less to direct attack on disease itself; as Professor Wynne so ably put it last year, concentration on the environment rather than on the individual—this appears to me to be the most scientific, the most economical, and the most productive means of combating the worst of the evils from which the community suffers. If, in conclusion, I might sound a personal note, it is this —that as Chairman of the Health and Housing Committee of this great borough, by the goodwill of my colleagues on the Council, this is a conclusion forced upon me by no mere theoretical considerations, but by an everyday acquaintance with undeniable facts.

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COMPULSORY VOTING:

What it is and How it works.

BY

WILLIAM A. ROBSON.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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COMPULSORY VOTING.†

BY WILLIAM A. ROBSON.

THE history of the nineteenth century is to a large extent the story of the conflict between the democratic movement, which demands a popular vote, and the old "legitimist" system, of which Metternich was the most devoted protagonist. In England, it is true, the divine right of kings had already been discredited for a long span of time; but its place had been quickly taken by a belief in the divine right of things as they are, a doctrine which offered almost as much resistance to the progress of political democracy as did the more openly avowed monarchical autocracy of Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, Spain, and (to a lesser degree) France. Almost everywhere in Europe the cry was for a popular franchise; and, broadly speaking, by the end of the century the demand had been fulfilled in the Western countries, though the right to vote was not always accompanied by the grant of a parliamentary executive order to make the vote effective.

The problem of the twentieth century has shown itself to be that of persuading the peoples to make use of the right for which they clamoured: to get them not only to vote in a responsible manner, but to get them even to vote at all. In Great Britain we have recently emerged from a period of great excitement* in which the question of dominant interest was to discover how 14,186,438 citizens cast their votes; and in the heat of that excitement we almost overlooked the no less significant fact that 5,007,316 men and women did not make any use whatever of their right to vote. That is, rather more than one person out of every four on the register abstained from voting. Yet, with the possible exception of the Swiss, there is no nation so highly educated politically as the people of this country; and a 74 per cent. poll is relatively a high one, being 1 per cent. less than that of the General Election held in November, 1922.

There is no material available with which to give an exact analysis of the reasons which caused these four and a-half million persons to abstain from voting at the general election. We know that some of them were deterred by sickness, others by their occupation, absence abroad, ignorance, apathy, anger at party strategy, general disgust with politics or a disbelief in their efficacy, and in some cases by a dislike of all the candidates available. But it is not possible to make a quantitative statement showing the number of

† Reprinted from the "Political Science Quarterly." Dec., 1923. New York

* The General Election of December, 1923.

abstentions due to each of these causes, and all we can do is to compare the percentages of abstention in the various classes of constituencies.

The highest figure was in the London boroughs, where over 40 per cent. of the electorate abstained; then come the English and Scotch counties and the Scotch burghs, all with an average abstention of about 28 per cent.; then the English and Welsh Boroughs with only 20 per cent., both of these classes having a poll of approximately 80 per cent.

The problem presented by abstention from voting is much more acute in many places abroad, and several countries have adopted the expedient of compelling the elector to vote under pain of a legal penalty if he abstains without good cause. Before discussing the merits of the principle, it will be well to examine a few examples of its application.

The earliest experiments are to be found in Switzerland, the home of democratic inventions. The idea appears first in the eighteenth century, and seems to have evolved out of the remembrance of an ancient custom by which members of the Landsgemeinde of Schwyz were required to wear their swords at the Assembly meetings; for apparently in olden times if a member did not put in an appearance, or turned up without his sword, he was subsequently refused admittance to the free dinner given on these occasions to the citizens of the Canton. However this may have been, a system of compulsory voting was progressively introduced into one after another of several of the Swiss Cantons. In St. Gall, for example, it was laid down in 1835 that absence without sufficient excuse from the District Assembly Elections should be punished by a fine of 5 florins, and absence from the Communal Elections by a fine of 2 florins. The law was re-enacted in 1867 and 1890, and a series of excuses which were to be regarded as legally valid was solemnly enumerated. Similar laws are in existence in the Cantons of Argovie, Thurgovie, Shaffhouse, and Uri. The average percentage of voters for the Federal Elections in these Cantons varies from 76 to 84, which does not seem remarkably high in view of the system adopted; but it is a higher percentage than in any of the Cantons where "free" voting exists.

It is obvious that in order to be effective as a method of inducing a refractory electorate to go to the polling station, the infliction of the penalty for abstention without good cause must be rigidly and universally applied. The fact, therefore, that in Spain, where a system of compulsory voting nominally exists, over 40 per cent. of the electorate frequently abstain from voting in Madrid, and as much as 80 per cent. in some of the country districts, indicates *inter alia* that the law is in this respect a dead letter. In Argentine, where one would hardly expect to find the energetic administration of a compulsory voting system, the results are much more promising. A provision making voting obligatory was introduced a few years ago, together with other reforms securing secrecy and an honest count, by President Rogue Saenz Pena; and at the first Federal

Election held under the new law in 1912 the percentage of voters rose from a very low figure to 84 per cent. in the capital and nearly 69 in the provinces, while in 1916 the average for the whole country was 63 per cent. It may be added that the introduction of secrecy and honesty in the counting of the votes were novelties which greatly assisted the improved result.

Compulsory voting has been in force in many other countries or provincial districts during the past half century. It was made part of the law in Bulgaria in 1882; it was passed by the Austrian Empire as a measure upon which the provincial diets might exert "local option," and which had been adopted by some half-dozen of them before the war; it has long existed in a peculiar form in New Zealand; and it was introduced into Baden and Bavaria in 1881. In Bavaria a novel method of penalizing the abstainer under certain circumstances was invented. It was laid down that a minimum poll of two-thirds of the total electorate was required; and if this was not obtained the voters who had failed to vote were charged with the expense of a fresh election. The latest converts to the system are Czecho-Slovakia and Holland. Compulsory voting formed part of the important Dutch Electoral Reform Law of 1917 and the negligent or recalcitrant citizen who fails to vote is now brought before the burgomaster, and may be subjected to the heavy fine of three florins for the first offence and ten florins for each subsequent offence.

In Czecho-Slovakia compulsory voting became part of the constitutional system of the country from the beginning of its existence as a separate State. It applies to both municipal and general elections, and the penalties range from fines of 20 to 50 Czech crowns, or imprisonment up to a period of one month. It is understood that the number of abstentions has hitherto been so large that it has been impracticable if not impossible to enforce the law rigorously. At the last municipal election held in Prague, for example, according to an unofficial but reliable estimate, about 50,000 persons (out of 424,680) did not vote; and the Courts could not possibly deal with such an enormous mass of offenders.

The country where compulsory voting has been most fully enforced is, however, Belgium. After a discussion lasting some years, *le vote obligatoire* was introduced into the Constitution in 1893. Up to that date the polling had been notoriously low throughout the country. At Brussels in 1861 there was an abstention of over 90 per cent.; at Mons in 1871 out of 1600 electors only some 200 voted; and in the same year it was reported to the Senate that out of 13,000 Communal electors less than one quarter had gone to the poll. In the provincial elections the abstentions averaged 49 per cent. in 1880, 46 per cent. in 1890, and 52 per cent. in 1892; while in the national elections the abstentions were 26 per cent. in 1870, 30 per cent. in 1884, and 16 per cent. in 1892. Then came compulsory voting, introduced partly to counteract the widespread practice of bribing unsympathetic electors to refrain from voting—"*l'argument ordinaire*" being the sum of 5 francs paid for this purpose "*avec ou sans multiplicateur.*"

Under the system introduced in Belgium the penalties for failing to vote without good excuse were laid down on the following scale. For the first omission, a reprimand, or a fine of from one to three francs. For a second omission within six years, a fine of from three to twenty-five francs. For a third omission within ten years, the same penalty, accompanied by the exhibition of the offender's name on a placard for a month outside the Town Hall. For a fourth omission within fifteen years the same penalties are exacted, but in addition—and this is of considerable value as a deterrent in Belgium—the name of the elector is removed from the register for ten years, during which time he may receive from the State no promotion, distinction or nomination to any office connected with the central or local governments. As a protection against undue severity, it is expressly laid down that there is to be no imprisonment for those who cannot pay the fine, nor is the sentence to be inscribed in the police records as an offence, although the case is tried by the Justice of the Peace, from whom there is no appeal.

The results have been remarkably successful. In 1894, at the elections for the popular chamber, the abstentions were only 5.4 per cent. of the electorate, 7.5 per cent. in 1896, 5.3 per cent. in 1898, and 5.9 per cent. in 1900, and this despite a great widening of the franchise. In fact, the proportion of voters to non-voters is normally higher in Belgium than in any country in Europe, perhaps even than anywhere else in the world, and this result must be attributed to a large extent to the system of compulsory voting. For the Senate Elections the abstentions are usually a little greater, because the property qualifications are heavy, and tend to prevent Socialist candidates from standing; and this leads to their supporters refusing to vote in a certain number of cases. But even then the proportion has practically never exceeded 6 per cent. in normal times.

The following table gives the figures, wherever available, for the elections for the *complete* renewal of both Chambers up to 1920:—

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Year	Number of Electors on Register	Number of Votes		Percentage of Abstention
		Possible	Cast	
1894	1,354,891	2,085,605	—	5
1900	1,472,953	2,269,414	2,135,036	6
1912	1,745,666	2,814,089	2,684,098	5
1919	2,102,710	—	1,860,890	11·5

SENATE.

1894	1,148,433	1,856,838	—	6
1900	1,243,505	2,020,987	—	—
1912	1,483,994	2,525,810	2,416,980	4

It is interesting to note the relatively small number of cases in which the machinery of the law has actually had to be used, as is shown by the following examples :—

PROSECUTIONS FOR ABSTENTION FROM VOTING.

CENTRAL PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS.

Year	Acquitted	Reprimands	Fines
1899 to 1909	3,710	3,575	4,624
1910	313	326	428
1911	17	26	10
1912	755	709	737

PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS.

Year	Acquitted	Reprimands	Fines
1899 to 1909	1,199	2,557	2,806
1910	9	6	12
1911	19	9	19
1912	339	415	498

COMMUNE ELECTIONS.

Year	Acquitted	Reprimands	Fines
1899 to 1909	2,833	2,365	2,764
1910	25	33	22
1911	916	125	206
1912	294	311	236

TOTAL CONVICTIONS.

1899 to 1909	18,691
1910	827
1911	395
1912	2,906

It may be observed that in 1912 there was a complete renewal of both the House of Representatives and the Senate in the Central Government Elections ; and the occurrence of these two events in a single year undoubtedly accounts for the increase in the number of convictions *in that year*, for the percentage of abstentions was very low in both cases, as can be seen from the previous table. The electoral system in Belgium provides for a series of elections partially renewing the two Chambers, as well as for complete general elections : thus, half the legislative body was renewed in 1902, another half in 1906, and so on.

The average number of convictions worked out at 3 per 1,000 electors between 1902 and 1908, for example ; but the number of

cases coming before the Justices of the Peace varies largely according to the month in which the election is held, for during the harvesting season large numbers of Belgian agricultural workers emigrate to neighbouring counties to help gather in the crops, and this naturally increases abstentions.

What are we to think of this method of bringing pressure to bear upon the enfranchised citizen in order to compel him to use his vote? We have seen that systems of compulsory voting have been introduced progressively into many countries of a greatly dissimilar character; and that in the case of a country such as Spain, where the administration is notoriously slack, the effect has been imperceptible, whereas in Belgium, where the machinery of government is fairly efficient, the system has been strikingly successful in reducing the proportion of abstentions. Most remarkable of all is the fact that this result has been achieved with a relatively very small number of judicial actions.

It is true that a citizen, like the horse in the old proverb, can be brought to the polling station but cannot be made to vote; and it is necessary to remember that the abstention figures do not include blanks or spoilt voting papers. The real question, however, is not whether a certain proportion of resentful electors will deliberately spoil their voting papers if they are brought to the polling station by the pressure of a penalty—and this possibility must always remain unless the impractical alternative of abolishing the secret ballot were adopted—but whether it is a desirable principle that a citizen should be punished if he neglects to make use of a political right. On theoretical grounds this resolves itself into the difficult problem of whether the vote which a citizen possesses is indeed a mere right which he may or may not use according to his pleasure, or whether it is a social duty, an obligation to the community the fulfilment of which the state should enforce. It is possible to adhere to the latter point of view as a general conception, and yet realise that in those cases where all the candidates in the field are repugnant to the elector, it would be absurd to call it a social duty to make him vote for any one of them. In these cases, however, the blank ballot-paper might attain a real significance in registering the elector's dissatisfaction with the available choice before him; but in that event the idea of a successful compulsory voting system fades away, and we see that all we are reasonably justified in enforcing is compulsory attendance at the polling station.

Whether that is or is not a desirable thing to attempt to enforce by means of legal "sanctions" depends entirely upon practical considerations. It is, indeed, in our opinion a great mistake to argue for or against a proposal of this kind on the abstract plane of what is or is not theoretically justified in the life of the State. The whole question should resolve itself into what is practically expedient or the reverse: that is to say, into a weighing of actual advantages against actual disadvantages. If there are reasonable grounds for believing that the threat of a small fine or other penalty would induce a large number of electors in this country who do not ordinarily vote to give the necessary time and attention to the

business of casting their votes to the best of their ability; if such an attempt to make the apathetic elector vote did not cause widespread irritation and was not regarded as an act of petty tyranny; if it could be shown that the application of the system might be as beneficial in Great Britain as a method of political education as it appears to have been in Belgium, where, according to Professor Barthélemy, "il y a aujourd'hui unanimité sur l'excellence de l'obligation de vote qui a été un moyen efficace d'éducation politique": if all these purely practical advantages could be claimed for the system, then we should certainly favour its adoption in this country. But without a very full investigation, which has not as yet been attempted, it is impossible to predict the effect of the introduction into Great Britain of this continental invention. In the meantime, the enterprising student of political science may try to imagine how the votes of the five million abstainers from the last election would have been cast if they could have been obtained by such a system as we have described; and how their distribution might have affected the representation of parties in the House of Commons. An interesting subject for politi[cal] speculation, particularly when we remember that what may be cal[led] the abstentionist party (though it has no relation to prohibition) is present the second largest party in the state!

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The Position of Parties and the Right of Dissolution

By
HAROLD J. LASKI
(Reader in Political Science in the University of London)

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PRICE TWOPENCE

The Position of Parties and the Right of Dissolution

I. The New Political Situation.

THE classic English constitutional doctrine has always envisaged a government ruling by reason of its majority in the House of Commons. Where, as with Pitt in 1763 and Disraeli in 1867, there has been government by a minority, a general election has always, within a brief space, regularised the position by placing a party with a majority in power. For it is the theory of our constitution that the Executive must force a stream of tendency through affairs. Its programme is embodied in Bills; and rejection of an important measure involves, as a necessary consequence, a fresh consultation of electoral opinion.

The position is radically different now. The parties returned in the general election of 1923 are, for the moment, distinct both in the principles they maintain, and the leaders to whom they profess allegiance. The Labour Party is in office; but its members are in number less than one-third of the House. The Conservatives are the largest party; but as against their opponents they are in a minority of nearly one hundred. The Liberals are barely one-fourth of the legislature. The situation we now occupy is, therefore, one in which the Government cannot pass its Bills save with the consent of one or other of the parties opposed to it. Even its time-table—the root of modern legislative procedure—can be carried only by the goodwill of a notable fragment of the Oppositions. It is at any moment liable to defeat. It cannot work out a programme in the unambiguous terms of its own principles. All that it can do is either to discover measures upon which consent is general, or else prepare a policy designed regularly to carry with it the more advanced of the Oppositions.

Threatened governments doubtless last longer than so difficult an atmosphere might seem to warrant. But threatened governments cannot, amid these hazards, ever hope to last the normal life of a modern Parliament. Opposition in debate always engenders, sooner or later, the temper of antagonism. Goodwill might breed co-operation, as the Liberal Unionists co-operated with Lord Salisbury; and co-operation might in its turn, result in absorption. But, in this instance, the conditions of co-operation are wanting. The Labour Government cannot admit the Liberals to prior consultation in the making of policy. It can only so design its measures as to seek to maximise Liberal support. From the Conservative

party unremitting hostility is inevitable. Liberal goodwill is bound to reach its term once a series of issues is reached upon which the outlook of Labour and Liberalism is opposed. That will entail defeat in the House of Commons.

In the normal Parliamentary régime of this country a Prime Minister defeated in the House could do one of two things. He could either, like Pitt in 1793, appeal from the Commons to the electorate, or, like Lord Balfour in 1905, resign and leave the making of the appeal to his successor. What was fundamental in constitutional theory was that the demand by the Prime Minister from the sovereign of a dissolution was a demand not to be refused. The sovereign might be dubious, as it was rumoured that Edward VII. was dubious over Mr. Asquith's first dissolution of 1910; but the two dissolutions of that year, reinforced by the dissolution of 1923, make the right of the Prime Minister who had a majority and has lost it, a right beyond discussion. The King may, as in Bagehot's famous phrase, advise or encourage or warn. In the normal system, it is beyond his power to refuse.

It is obvious that the system is much more complex when the Prime Minister is in office without a majority. Any other party in the House would doubtless take office upon the same terms as Mr. MacDonald, and the distribution of strength is relatively so even that none could claim any genuine mandate in the face of opposition. The turning-point in policy obviously comes when the Government has suffered defeat. Does that involve, as in the older majority-system, the right to demand a dissolution? Does it mean that the King must exercise his discretion and act as he deems best warranted in the interests of the country? If a general election resulted in a position similar to the present, we might, it is clear, be faced by the prospect of a series of general elections prolonged, at short intervals, until a new equilibrium of parties was reached. It is obvious that there are grave inconveniences in such a prospect. Though it is easy to exaggerate the disturbance a general election entails, it is also obvious that, for example, a period of annual dissolutions would prevent the carrying out of a great legislative programme and seriously impair, in the result, general confidence in the stability of Parliamentary institutions. It would destroy the possibility of effective administration; for no minister would be long enough in office either to think out or to apply a large policy in detail. It would involve, in a word, Lilliputian politics—and, in an age of social discontent, Lilliputian politics are the high road to disaster.

II. The Inapplicability of Precedent.

It is easy, in such a background, to understand why statesmen and learned professors have discovered new splendours in the royal prerogative. Some, like Mr. Asquith, have insisted that the right

to refuse a dissolution has never in fact died; and that the resolution of the prospect before us is a matter for the unfettered judgment of the King. Others have occupied themselves in the examination of the precedents, and Victorian examples have been cited to prove that Prime Ministers have been well aware in the past of the limits under which their authority was exerted.

Mr. Asquith's argument is important and I shall discuss it later in this essay. The argument built upon precedent is, it must be insisted, an argument built upon sand. No dissolution has been refused within the memory of living man. The Crown may have objected as Queen Victoria raised doubts upon Mr. Gladstone's dissolution of 1874; (1) but, upon pressure by the Prime Minister, the Crown has always given way. The situation, in fact, in which the direct political influence of the sovereign has been replaced by the direct political influence of public opinion has shifted the whole perspective of events. Hearn's argument, which was based upon Lord Coke's analysis, is no longer adequate. It may be, as Sir Robert Peel said,(2) "a great instrument in the hands of the Crown," which would be "blunted if it were employed without grave necessity." But our situation is not like that of Sir Robert Peel, or of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli. We have become accustomed to a sovereign who acts upon the advice of his ministers. That advice may be unpalatable; we know that Edward VII. did not like the admission of an Indian to the Secretary of India's Council,(3) but he was forced, by constitutional convention, to accept that advice. If the King has the right to refuse a dissolution, he has the right, in effect, to dismiss the ministry; and that has not been attempted since the famous, but mistaken effort of William IV. in 1834.(4) Hearn assumed that a dismissal is justified if the incoming minister receives a majority at the general election which follows his accession to office.(5) But that is, in fact, to argue that the King may offer a dissolution to a Prime Minister he likes, and refuse it to one with whom he is dissatisfied. It is obvious that such an attitude would destroy that neutrality of the Crown which is the chief safeguard of its existence.

A further point may here be noticed. The King, it may be argued, is not dismissing a ministry when he refuses a dissolution. What he is doing is exercising his right to believe that a combination is possible which will retain the confidence of the House of Commons. But in the new orientation of our politics any party in office is bound to be defeated in a short period; and this argument is merely the transference of a dissolution from one Prime Minister

(1) Morley. *Life of Gladstone*, II. (2) *Speeches*, IV., 719. (3) Morley. Recollections, II., 190-1. (4) Though Melbourne seems almost to have invited dismissal, Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, II. i., 38-9. (5) Hearn. *Government of England*, pp. 157 ff.

who has lost the confidence of the House to another in an identical position. This, again, is bound in a critical epoch to bring the neutrality of the Crown into the hinterland of suspicion, and no graver disservice could be rendered to it.

It has been argued that colonial precedents offer justification for the refusal of a dissolution. Such a view is built upon a misunderstanding of what is involved in the colonial position. The King is entitled to receive information of all acts and decisions contemplated by the Cabinet and to discuss them with the Prime Minister. The Governor of the colony is, as Professor Keith has pointed out, in a very different position. "The relations of a Governor with his ministers," writes Professor Keith, "are often merely ceremonial and social. There is not in many cases recognised, any general duty of informing the Governor of the affairs of the Dominion, and he is left to judge the policy of the government from the press."(1) That alone would make colonial precedent inapplicable. But the way in which the discretion of the Governor is exercised is surrounded by special circumstances absent from this country. Save for Canada and South Africa, the refusal of a dissolution has been of frequent occurrence down to the present time. It is an active power which has not yet fallen into abeyance. But it is also, as Professor Keith points out, evidence that the Dominions have, until very recently, been in a condition of comparative political immaturity. And it is vital to note that the exercise of the prerogative has always resulted in direct criticism of the Governor. There have been charges of sinister influence,(2) there has been a direct vote of censure,(3) there has been an appeal beyond the Governor to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.(4) Obviously either of the first two circumstances would be serious in the extreme ; while the impossibility of the third makes it desirable to retain the Crown rather as a dignified emollient than as a reserve of power. The active agent in making governments must be the electorate of the modern state.

III. The Position of the Crown.

Mr. Asquith's theory is based upon other considerations. In his discussion of the right to ask for a dissolution, he merely emphasised his belief that it was in the province of the Crown to refuse. But he did not envisage the consequences of that refusal. Mr. Asquith did not explain the argument upon which his view was based. Possibly he feels that a Ministry without a majority in the House of Commons is not entitled to the same rights as a Ministry

(1) *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*. Chap. V. The whole of this valuable chapter is a final commentary of the theory of colonial precedents. (2) Keith. Op. cit. 92, 98. (3) The case of Lord Chelmsford in Queensland, op. cit 98. (4) *Ibid*, 100-1.

with a majority. Possibly he looks to the prospect of a series of general elections as one which the prerogative might reasonably be exerted to avoid.

Either view, I submit, rests upon dangerous ground. It is the argument that at the decisive point in the life of a government the King is entitled not to act upon the advice of his Ministers. Sooner or later such a view implies a differentiation of treatment between one government and another. If the Labour Government were defeated after a brief tenure of office and, asking for a dissolution, were refused it, the new government then formed, either by the Liberal leader or by the Tory leader, would find itself in a minority, and its defeat would be followed by a third brief tenure of power or by a dissolution. The latter event would be regarded by the supporters of Labour as an infraction of the neutrality between parties incumbent upon the Crown, especially if the original defeat had taken place upon a subject integral to Labour policy. A third tenure of office would, upon defeat, inevitably be followed by a dissolution, and the King would then be in the position of granting to one party—and that one, conceivably, the smallest—what he had refused to the other two. The King must act upon the advice of his Ministers whoever those Ministers may be, and to refuse to one party what was granted to another would inevitably, especially when a party occupies office for the first time in its history—lead to suspicions of a peculiarly undesirable kind.

The whole strength of the Crown, in fact, lies in the avoidance even of the appearance of discrimination. The King, who acts upon the advice of Ministers, throws the burden of responsibility upon their shoulders. The fate that overtakes them is—whatever its nature—a fate of their own making. If they have what Lord Derby called "the moral conviction" that their policy would command the confidence of the country if submitted to it, they are entitled to the proof of that judgment. And few governments will fail to have that moral conviction. If they are defeated by merely factious opposition, they will consider that the country will punish their destroyers for their faction. If they are defeated upon an issue which, as they think, is likely to arouse popular approval, they will demand its submission to the country. Even if they are defeated by reason of sheer ineptitude they will tend to think that the absence of a majority deprived them of a full opportunity, and they will desire the chance to win that majority. To suggest that the Crown should resist that desire is to place it in an impossible position. It is to ask men contending for great issues to see their rivals placed in office upon the hazardous judgment of a single man. That is bound to exacerbate party feeling. It is bound to raise doubts of monarchial impartiality. And it is an especially dangerous

creed at a period when new views of social organisation are finding for the first time their position in the state.

It would be the more dangerous for another reason. No monarch in such a situation would be satisfied to act upon his unaided judgment. He would be bound to ask advice. He would be bound, that is, to go outside the ministerial advisers with whom Parliament has provided him to other persons. What other persons would he consult ? Sir Sidney Low has suggested(1) that he might consult a political Committee of the Privy Council in the same way as, technically, the Judicial Committee offers advice upon cases which come upon appeal from the Dominions ; and he suggests that the Prime Minister might be chairman of this committee as he is chairman of the Committee on Imperial Defence. It is difficult to see what real help there is in such a view. If the Political Committee were composed of the leaders of the different parties, it could not, in the nature of things, proffer unanimous advice ; its counsel would then, in any case, force the Crown to a partisan attitude. If it were composed of Law Lords only, it would be submitting to judicial analysis questions which from their very nature again, are not susceptible to judicial enquiry. And it would force the Law Lords into a political position from which it is at all costs desirable that they be kept free.

Nor is advice sought by the King of his own part desirable. That is, in effect, the building of a non-ministerial executive. Those from whom the King sought counsel would sooner or later be known, and it would then become a capital function of the Cabinet either to appease or to destroy them. The great virtue of what Bagehot calls " the unroyal species of Cabinet government " is that it prevents the creation of a Court. If there are men to whom the King may turn when his constitutional advisers are defeated, upon any representation except their own, men to whom he will turn for advice upon the future of minister, the delicate equilibrium of our system is bound to suffer serious disturbance. The perplexity of Parliament and the confusion of parties is the very moment when Tadpole and Taper become significant. It is when no single alternative exists that the door is open to intrigue. The King, in that position, could not long maintain the prestige of impartiality. He would be regarded by some as their friend, and by others as their enemy. There would be the kind of rumours about him that we hear of the President of the French Republic. But the latter is an elected official who cannot hope for a second term. The King is a permanent official who cannot be legally changed save by his abdication. It would be the height of folly to make that permanence a problem instead of a guarantee.

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(1) The Governance of England (ed. of 1914), p. xxv.

In these suggestions there seems no protection for the neutrality of the Crown. It has been suggested by Hearn(1) that the requisite safeguard is to be found in a resolution from Parliament against a dissolution. That argument has recently been reaffirmed by Professor Pollard. The Commons, he points out, have the immemorial privilege of access to the Crown through the Speaker. Such an address enables Parliament to dismiss the judges and its permanent officials; such an address might be presented asking for the dismissal of ministers. "Supposing," writes Professor Pollard,(2) "such an address were presented to the Crown when a Prime Minister was advising a dissolution, are we to say that the Crown is constitutionally bound to accept the advice of a Prime Minister to dismiss the Commons, and to reject the advice of the Commons to dismiss the Minister?" Undoubtedly, Parliament has the right to advise the Crown in the use of the prerogative of dissolution. Parliament has before prayed that the King would dissolve Parliament, and in 1783 the Fox-North coalition urged the King not to grant dissolution to the younger Pitt who was in office with a minority government.(3) But of these precedents there are two things to be said. The last occasion of their attempted application was over ninety years ago,(4) when the personal authority of the sovereign was still an agency of direct intervention. In the case of 1783, two parties of antagonistic views were prepared to sink their differences in order to become a majority government. We do not confront that situation.

Professor Pollard, in fact, is asking a House of Commons which offers no prospect of continuous support to any government to vote for the perpetuation of its own existence; and, seemingly, he is asking the Crown to accept its verdict. For, otherwise, the Crown becomes arbiter between the Ministry and the Commons, which would be an intolerable position. Those who sought to prevent the dissolution would not take office if the Crown accepted their advice. They would constitute a coalition to defeat, not a coalition to govern. The new Ministry would, sooner or later, either be in the same position as its predecessor, or else receive a power denied to it. Obviously, the sense would be widespread that the machinery of Parliament was being used to the detriment of one party only among several.

To be effective, therefore, Professor Pollard's scheme ought to be applied to each party in turn until all have had an opportunity to govern. That would reduce the advice of the Commons to the point of ridicule. It would bring into our system something

(1) Government of England (2nd ed.), page 154, 164. (2) *Times*, January 29th, 1924. (3) May, Constitutional History of England, I., 50-1. (4) *Ibid.*, page 96.

akin to the rotativism of Spain, of which the outcome is dictatorship. It would make Ministers sacrifice principle to the constant search for a majority. The Crown would cease to act, at times of final crisis, upon the advice of Ministers, and accept mechanically the advice of the House of Commons. The certainty that office would be shared in turn by each party would lead to the multiplication of stratagems that the reward might come quickly. The responsibility of Parliament would be greatly hampered. The centre of the struggle would be transferred from the substance of measures to the technique of procedure. The knowledge that the King could always find a government would make it certain that Parliament would be careless of the consequences of defeating a Ministry. No method would be more likely to destroy confidence in Parliamentary institutions. The way out of our present difficulties does not lie in the refurbishing of ancient weapons.

"I should on no account," writes Mr. Ramsay MacDonald,[1] "leave to the Monarch the dangerous and invidious task of safeguarding the nation against too frequent dissolutions." They render, indeed, small service to the Monarchy who are urgent to that end. The strength of the Crown in the last two generations has been its insistence upon neutrality. Ministers have never insisted in vain upon their policy. We have grown unaccustomed to a King who, like George III., sought himself actively to influence the course of affairs. We have even grown unaccustomed to that atmosphere with which Baron Stockmar sought to invest our institutions. The right of the Crown is an advisory right only; the centre of power is the leader of the party in office. It is his duty to consult, and, obviously, where he is dealing with a monarch who has been long at the centre of affairs, who has come to have, by virtue of experience, almost an intuitive sense of the impact of policy, he will be wise to weigh the advice he receives with greater care than any other to which he has access. But there is no moral obligation upon him to accept that advice when weighed. Suppose, for example, that the King is a young man with no experience of affairs, instead of a King to whom every variation of the constitutional theme has become known: obviously, to make the Prime Minister the servant of that inexperience would be a grave and hazardous experiment. For the error of Prime Ministers can be punished by the electorate, but the errors of Kings do not admit of so simple a remedy. And since no monarch who is asked to dissolve Parliament can fail to desire advice, the admission of a right to refuse a dissolution will always mean the existence of a ministry external to the Cabinet which may well, in a crisis, be the real depository of power.

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(1) *New Leader*, January 4th, 1924.

Our generation is fighting for great issues; and if the Crown exerted this authority, access to its mind would be a privilege of immense importance. The use of dissolutions in political tactics is fraught with much significance; and to make them dependent upon the Crown is to make men fight for that access. We should not only bring the King directly into the political arena, we should bring into existence factions at the Court whose policies would, sooner or later, bring the Crown into grave disrepute. The salvation of monarchy is its irresponsibility. Its irresponsibility is built upon the assurance that it has surrendered control. To attempt even a contingent resumption of authority would be fatal to the modern equilibrium of constitutional practice.

IV. The Executive and the Legislature.

The remedy for our difficulties must, therefore, be sought in other directions than the revivification of the prerogative. But properly to seize the perspective of that remedy, it is important to realise what the three party system, with each government in a minority, in fact implies. It is obvious, in the first place, that it means an increased deference to the House of Commons on the part of the government. The Prime Minister can threaten to dissolve; but no Prime Minister will dissolve unless he has a substantial issue or some solid achievement upon which to go to the country. The first effect, therefore, of the present situation will be the enhanced importance of the private member. Measures will no longer be carried by the inertia of majorities; they will be much more dependent upon the debating power that is behind them. There will be a much less rigorous use of closure and guillotine and kangaroo to enforce silence when the Minister is weary of discussion. The private member will be much more tenacious of his rights because he is much more likely to realise them; and governments will be more tender of his desires for the simple reason that inattention to the private member is, in the absence of the majority, exactly the kind of atmosphere that provokes defeat. No minority government, it must be added, can afford to provoke defeat save upon issues which it is tolerably sure are inviting ground for electoral approval. And such issues are not merely rare, but they seldom spring into view in the early days of a new government. If they do, it is because the new government has broken completely with the traditions of its predecessor and, in that event, the Prime Minister may well think himself entitled to consult the electorate upon the verdict of the House of Commons.

That is not likely to be the usual course of events. A wise Prime Minister will never inaugurate his tenure of office by searching the occasion of defeat. For him the real rocks ahead will be the sudden vote sprung on him in the tactic of party manœuvre, or the event outside which dislocates altogether the programme he has

had in view. The first danger is a very real one. Every government defeat involves a real loss of prestige. It dislocates the programme of the Administration and puts new vigour into the Opposition's blood. And if the defeat is on a central issue—the second reading of a capital measure or a direct vote of confidence—it obviously entails either resignation or a dissolution of Parliament. No one acquainted with the history of parties will doubt that an attempt will be made to manœuvre defeats whenever possible. That involves, I suggest, a new development in the attitude of a minority government to the vote of the House. It cannot take the snap vote, or the division in Committee, with the same seriousness as a government with a majority. It must look upon amendments with a more friendly eye. It must be more willing to yield to pressure and less urgent about its prestige. The vote which brings about its downfall must always be a vote upon some issue that is central to its existence.(1) It ought not to survive the defeat of its Budget; but there is no reason why it should not give way to the House upon an amendment to terminate the Burnham Scale in 1926 rather than in 1925. Its defeats, of course, must, even on minor issues, be sufficiently rare to leave its credit unimpaired. But it may well be one of the minor blessings of a complex situation that the will of the House of Commons is given once more some substance of reality.

The problem of the unexpected event raises greater difficulties. It rules out of court, I think, Mr. MacDonald's suggestion that Parliament might conceivably fix a minimum term to its existence, and so prevent a dissolution within that time. The supreme merit of the British system is its elasticity. You can always find the sovereign electorate when you want it. We do not live by the impossible American theory that great events ought not to influence decisions about the holders of power. The ability to dissolve whenever necessary not only makes our politics more interesting than those of America; it also makes them more educative. English events produce better journalism than American because, even to-day, the opinions of a great newspaper may affect the verdict of the House of Commons. To say that the verdict is not to be challenged until a given period has elapsed will be to impart a dangerous atmosphere of unreality into the proceedings of the House. It would mean constant manœuvring for position as the statutory period approached; and the mind of the House would be concentrated not upon the substance of measures, but upon the incidents of tactics in a critical time.

Nor can we assume that the mind of the country will remain constant in that statutory period. Everything will depend upon the unforeseeable future and the policy of the government. The

(1) See on this Mr. MacDonald's remarks, House of Commons Debates, February 12th 1924.

Cabinet may agree that, for example, the nationalisation of the mines is, at the moment, undesirable; and a miners' strike may, even as it takes the decision, force nationalisation upon it. It may come into office when the foreign outlook is dark; and a series of successes abroad may convince it that it could win a majority for the domestic policy it has not the power to carry out. Obviously it is urgent to retain unimpaired the power to consult the electorate when a refreshment of authority is deemed desirable. The two elections of 1910 are proof of the advantage implicit in that power. In each case the authority of the country was sought for a policy that was not in discussion at the previous election. In each case the change effected was momentous enough to warrant going beyond Parliament to the source of ultimate decision. It would have been disastrous if a rigid constitution had deprived the executive of access to the electorate. Nor is it an answer to say that the executive commanded a majority in the House of Commons, for it was precisely the plea that the majority did not voice the opinion of the country which made necessary the reaffirmation of power.

It seems clear, therefore, that such a statutory limitation as Mr. MacDonald has suggested is on every count undesirable. The Government, under the new dispensation, will be compelled to a new deference to the House of Commons. The ties of party will be drawn more loosely; and the private member who has something to say will be more likely than in the past to secure attention for what he says. But there lurks in this situation a danger not less formidable than the old. It was a misfortune that party development made the legislature the creature of the executive, but it will be still more unfortunate if the new system makes the executive the creature of the legislature. The success of our Parliamentary system has been built upon the ability of the Cabinet to drive a programme through the House of Commons. We have escaped both the fatal division of power between President and Congress in America—a division well illustrated by the position of President Coolidge—and, on the other, that subordination which makes the Swiss Executive simply a body of pre-eminent civil servants. The maintenance of Cabinet direction is essential to the working of our institutions.

For the ambit which is covered by the modern state is too wide to permit of legislative control. The House of Commons can decide principles; it can voice grievance and secure information; it still serves as an admirable assembly in which political talent is tested. But 615 members cannot usefully act as a supernumerary executive. The things to be decided upon must still be selected from without. The focal points of legislation must be submitted to the House of Commons, not created by it. To leave to so numerous a body the task of fitting measures to events is to destroy its

coherence and to dissipate its energies. The Executive need not stifle the legislature ; but it is essential that it should control it. Legislative policy must not be some variegated mosaic to which the will of any member who has been successful in the ballot may contribute its piece. It must not reject now the will of the government and now the will of the combined opposition. It must express the will of a unified Cabinet as that will is modified in detail by the impact of debate. Executive policy that has to follow every twist and turn of the legislative will is emptied of all substance ; and a Cabinet which cannot effect its purpose in large outline will sooner or later destroy the quality of administration. For it will turn the mind of the civil service not to the building of creative measure, but to the thinking of expedients for the perpetuation of its own life. We have had experience in recent history of the results of turning the civil service to the aid of persons rather than the evocation of ideas. There can be no effort more fatal to its character.

Minority government, therefore, involves a mechanism for the enforcement upon the House of Commons of an urgent sense of responsibility. To free the private member from uncritical subordination ought not to involve his investiture with the power of factious opposition. That is the grave danger of the present position. The Government has to keep a House without assurance that it can do so ; it has to secure assent to its time-table and its policy in the knowledge that if its opponents can enforce their rejection they may succeed to the seat of power. There is every encouragement to men who prize party advantage to manipulate these immense opportunities. If the only penalty they involve is a change of government, those opportunities are certain to be taken. The one sure way of impressing upon the House of Commons the realisation that it dare not take its responsibilities lightly is the existence of the certainty that appeal may be made from its decision to the electorate outside. A House of Commons that is liable to dissolution is a House of Commons that will be on its mettle. Parties which can be immediately arraigned for faction are parties which will seek to avoid that indictment. The knowledge that the Government is not the creature of the Opposition will tend to make the conflict centre about the real issues of disagreement. That is an urgent and even a supreme matter. The legislative assembly of the modern state is a magnificent instrument of political education if it is alert to the use of its opportunities. Great interests contest there for power. The uncertainty of the outcome lends a dramatic quality to its proceedings ; and the appeal of vividness will always win its response from the public. But the ground of controversy must be that business which comes home to men's bosoms if the strife of parties is to be the source of illumination. From the politics of manœuvre there will never develop great debate ; and

our debate to-day needs to be of the highest quality if its results and substance are to affect the judgment of an electorate of the modern size.

In such a view as this, it appears essential to vest the ultimate right of dissolution in the Prime Minister. Its exercise must be within the limits of his discretion. He must be able to appeal to the Crown for the power to dissolve in the certainty that the Crown will grant his appeal. That, in a situation such as ours, is the only way in which the Executive may combine with the legislature to the service of the state. Such a power is, of course, a tremendous one. The consultation of the electorate is always, and even at the best, a dark and perilous adventure. The issues upon which it is fought can rarely be disentangled. The results that it implies are seldom so clear as to be unmistakable.

But it is exactly in that hinterland of doubt that we have the guarantees for its proper exercise. No Prime Minister will wantonly thrust an election upon the country if he can avoid it with honour; above all, no Prime Minister is likely to consult the electorate within a brief space of the assumption of office. He will have dubious colleagues to persuade. He will have to weigh the displeasure of the indifferent voter who decides, not upon the issues in dispute, but upon the hostility he feels at the disturbance of his peace. He will remember that every section of the community offended by his policy will vote against him not upon the general merits of his case, but upon what it considers the special demerit of some particular act. Dockers who are dissatisfied with the index number of the Ministry of Labour, teachers who resent the invasion of the Burnham Scales; Southern Irish Unionists who consider that the loyalists have been deserted; eager advocates of unity with France who have clamoured for support of the Ruhr adventure; it is special groups like these whose numbers he must seek to weigh. He will remember that defeat is a serious menace to his own prestige. He will realise that only real victory will give him improved control, and that partial success may prevent a repetition of his effort. The power to dissolve carries with it, in short, its own effective limitations. It needs a fairly united Cabinet. It requires strong evidence that the tide of public opinion is flowing with the party and not against it. Above all, it needs to be successful in its results if it is not to deprive the government of the main source of its authority.

These limitations have been well summarised by Mr. MacDonald. "The idea," he writes, "that a Prime Minister can go to the King just when it suits himself and, *within a short time after an election*,[1] ask for a dissolution, is absurd. Mr. Baldwin's experience ought

[1] The italics are Mr. MacDonald's. The remark is from the article in the *New Leader*, cited above.

to have settled that. If, to the best of his beliefs, supported by the evidence, say, that bye-elections afford, the Minister thinks that an election is necessary, and that the country would accept it, it belongs to his responsibility to have his advice in that request taken, just as if he advises that another party leader should be sent for, his advice in that respect should also be taken." The prerogative of dissolution, in fact, is a discretionary one, and the only problem in dispute is where the discretion should be. I have argued here that to revive the authority of the Crown would have serious and, in the long run, disastrous results. To limit the discretion either by the statutory creation of a minimum life for Parliament, or by asking the Crown to accept the judgment of the House of Commons is equally undesirable. The one would destroy the invaluable flexibility of our political system; the other would impair the character of the Executive by making it the mere creature of concerted opposition. There remains the Prime Minister. Our safeguard against this abuse of his authority is that he cannot guarantee success, and that it is within the power of the electorate to punish him for that abuse. That is where, as a depositary of this power, he remains superior to the Crown. For the latter cannot answer at the bar of public opinion; but public opinion is the maker of Ministries, and as it makes, so can it destroy them.

V. Conclusion.

Nothing of all this implies that the concentration of this power in the Prime Minister's hands will do more than mitigate the complexities of a complex situation. Over any lengthy period minority government is impossible in a democracy. It deprives authority of the prestige of numbers. It invites unreasoned opposition by the absence of a wide foundation of consent. Nothing, it may be urged, so certainly accounts for the rise of dictatorships upon the Continent as the presence in the legislative assemblies there of a multiplicity of groups whose power has rested solely upon their ability to manœuvre and to compromise. They have represented the apotheosis of intrigue; and the people have seen, not without relief, the emergence of a straightforward will which could be disliked, but was at least intelligible. A democracy, to be successful, must be presented with the choice between distinct alternatives. The business of parties is so to frame issues for electoral acceptance that their substance may be simply affirmed or simply denied. To multiply issues by multiplying parties is always ultimately to confuse them; and the confusion of issues in a democratic state is in general the prelude to Cæsarism.

We gain nothing by the argument that the referendum will modify the position. No referendum is ever real. A Tory who votes against the recognition of Russia may well do so because he

hopes thereby to prevent the advent of a capital levy. It is rarely possible to discover any problem that is genuinely susceptible of the analysis a referendum implies. Schemes of Home Rule for Ireland, for instance, may well vary from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's extension of local government to the principles of the Act of 1922. If the electorate votes in favour of Home Rule we do not know what scheme it favours; and it does not possess the competence to decide upon the details of a given scheme. Nor must we forget that the referendum impairs the responsibility of the Executive, on the one hand, and of the legislator upon the other. As an index to the drift of public opinion it is inferior to bye-elections; as a method of penalising the conscientious member of Parliament, it would prove unsurpassable. For it would bring into being a race of politicians whose sole desire was to calculate the probable nature of sudden electoral judgment without regard to its competence or its value. The referendum has not been a failure in Switzerland; but it has not been a success, and the problems of Switzerland are not comparable with our own. In the United States its record is at all points dubious. We shall not stabilise our institutions by an attempt at direct government with an electorate of the modern size.(1)

It is, however, probable that we could do much to mitigate our present position by experiment with Parliamentary methods. For the moment, Cabinet omnipotence has gone; and the private member is in a new position of power. It is eminently desirable that he should be given the opportunity to exercise that power in a creative way. I have elsewhere argued that the erection of committees of members to act with the Minister as an advisory council of his Department would be attended with beneficent results.(2) It would bring the Civil Servant into a human relation with the House of Commons. It would train a body of members to genuine knowledge of the problems of administration. It would enable the Minister to consult authoritative persons about the probable impact of his policy on public opinion. It would prevent that complete separatism between Government and Opposition, which destroys whatever there is of suggestiveness and knowledge in the House outside the Treasury bench. It would enable the Ministry to use goodwill in a direct way and prevent the policy of wrecking, which is inherent in minority systems. There is no incompatibility between such committees and the classic principle of ministerial responsibility. It needs, of course, the presence of strong Ministers at the head of departments. But it is tolerably clear that minority governments will not survive if they are peopled with weak ministers.

(1) On the referendum much the best discussion will be found in President Lowell's *Public Opinion and Popular Government*. For a favourable view see J. St. Loe Strachey, *The Referendum*.

(2) *The Development of the Civil Service*, Chap. II.

Such a system, indeed, need not be confined to a period, like the present, of party confusion ; and, in any case, it will only help to minimise the degree of confusion. The real need, in the end, is a return within the shortest possible period to the two-party system. Parliamentary institutions depend for their success upon the direct choice of the government by the electorate. To make that direct choice difficult, if not impossible, is to bewilder the opinion of the public. Sooner or later, public bewilderment is public distrust, and institutions which derive their strength from popular support cannot long flourish in that atmosphere. The need for such a return is the more urgent in a period of social unrest. We have embarked upon the great adventure of entrusting ultimate political power to the mass of the population. We must mould our institutions so that the will of that mass may be given a genuine and emphatic expression.

At the moment, it may be admitted, it is not easy to forecast either the ways or the persons through which we may return to more simple conditions. Parties which are rooted in historic traditions and bear loyalty to honoured leaders are not unnaturally prone to emphasise their separate identity and peculiar principles. Yet it may be argued with some confidence that circumstances are building the bridge over which we may return to directness of choice. The real issue of our period is rapidly coming to be the issue of the rights of property. Exactly as the last generations were mainly concerned with debate upon the character and extent of political privilege, so our own time is likely to be occupied with debate upon the character and extent of economic privilege. Just as men supported the Reform Bill of 1832 less because they approved the Bill itself than because they saw the need for reform ; just as, in that co-operation, they gave birth to a unified political party, so, it may be suggested, the desire to modify the present economic régime will group men again into the forces of partial amelioration and the forces of radical change. No one can foresee when exactly that day will come, though, obviously enough, its coming shadows the horizon. Certainly no more important task confronts the party in office than to prepare for its emergence. Certainly, also, no other way lies open to the consolidation and improvement of the Parliamentary system.(1)

(1) I do not discuss here the problem of electoral methods, which is obviously important in this connection.

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The Case Against PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

BY

HERMAN FINER, D.Sc. (Econ.), Lond.

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PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION:

The Case Against the Proposal.

FOR at least forty years Proportional Representation, or P.R., as it will be referred to here, has received continuous and organised advocacy. Men like John Stuart Mill and Lord Courtney have been its sponsors and popularisers. Parliament has frequently discussed the principle of the system, and once, at least (in the course of the discussions on the Representation of the People Act, 1918), has been on the verge of adopting it. Yet, whether a complete reform of our electoral system shall take place in the direction of substituting that form of P.R. known as the Single Transferable Vote* for our present system of Single-Member constituencies still remains an undecided question. There is apparently no certain and conclusive guidance to be obtained by the ordinary citizen as to the merits of a change; and among politicians of all parties there is an extraordinary disarray of opinion. One generalisation on the subject may safely be made from the history of the P.R. movement in practical politics: Proportional Representation has always found more favour with parties and groups in a minority and not likely to be in power, than with those parties assured of an electoral majority in a not too-remote future. The system has always recommended itself to men with a mission, but without much visible evidence of popular support. This fact should be remembered in judging the arguments which follow.

Ultimate Political Assumptions seldom stated.

Now, characteristically of English politics, the arguments for and against P.R. in this country have been put forward for public consumption piecemeal. Neither the arguments for it, nor those against it have been submitted as an harmonious piece of political philosophy resting upon certain deliberately accepted and postulated assumptions. Yet speakers and writers on both sides have been actuated by assumptions, most often, unconsciously held and seldom examined. These assumptions naturally refer to the type of relationship which should exist between the representative assembly (Parliament) and the electorate, between the electorate and the Cabinet and between the Cabinet and Parliament. In short, the problem of P.R. is to be solved only by referring the Electoral System to the criterion of what, as a whole, makes up a good Governmental machine. It is sure that at one time or another in the course of past discussions the opposing assumptions have been unveiled; that can be seen, for example, in the Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Commision on

* See Appendix.

Systems of Election (Cd. 5352 ; 1910, *passim*) ; but such discovery occurs as an incident in, and not as the keystone of, the whole fabric of arguments. The result is that people agree with this, that and the other on one side, and some, but not all, of the points established by the opposite side. This confused result may be avoided, and a definite and consistent attitude made possible, by a preliminary exposition of the writer's assumptions.

Before proceeding to state these, one further observation is necessary. Very little reference will be made to the experience of foreign governments. It is the traditional practice of disputants, and particularly of the advocates of P.R., who have a special fondness for argument from the unknown, to cite conditions in foreign countries as evidence of what might happen in this. In fact, that experience is almost useless, even when our knowledge is complete. A study of foreign institutions teaches only this, that problems and social institutions vary so widely from country to country, that, to take a single item, the electoral system, as a basis for persuasion is futile, and our own political aims and nature must be our guides in matters of political innovation.

The Electoral System and Responsible Government.

Given the principle that government should be responsible to the people, what rules ought to be expected in the Electoral System ?

Firstly, as an external mark of the consent of the governed, the Electoral System ought to provide a popular assembly representative of the main strains of political opinion possessing the nation. *Representativeness*, proportional to number in the country, is desirable on this ground. But acceptance of this rule, which is one of the leading ideas of those in favour of P.R., does *not* commit us to *mathematically exact* proportional representation. Further, it is desirable that political opinions prevailing in the country shall obtain the possibility of public statement in Parliament; and that where the number of adherents is large relatively to the total number of members in the assembly that minority shall have the effective opportunity of pressing amendments in legislation and reform in the course of administration. Here, at once, the issue becomes controversial, and impinges upon a vital point in the case of those who propose P.R. The desire the latter seem to cherish most ardently is that Parliament shall accurately reflect the opinion of the constituencies. They long ago learnt off by heart Burke's famous phrase: "The virtue, the spirit, the essence of the House of Commons, consists in its being the express image of the nation." Burke's words are precious, and few would quarrel with those who recognise the importance of this dictum, and delight in the dialectical courage it gives. But we are not fighting, as Burke was, against the whole "rotten borough" system ; we are not balancing the *qualitative* issue of absolutely representative against absolutely unrepresentative government. The present-day issue is the *quantitative* one of *how much representativeness* will the nature of the whole national

complex of political conditions allow to the House of Commons. The answer, to anyone who has given time to the study of the internal conditions of the House of Commons, is that only a few salient principles, representing the main opposing attitudes of mind, can ever be there discussed. It would be useless for every little group to be represented in Parliament; for that assembly has not even the time adequately to discuss the views of the three great parties in the State on all the issues that arise. An Electoral System based wholly or mainly on the desire to give any and every small group the chance of returning a representative would be a political futility; for only by a rare stroke of luck would the representative get the opportunity of speaking. If the House of Commons were fully representative—as the more extreme advocates of P.R. suggest—no business could be done. The exigencies of Parliamentary time (besides other matters) force men, therefore, to leave their small caves and enter into larger combinations for the support of a common programme; and as they do this the *exactness* of representation is seen to be a thing of neither real nor ultimate political moment. We are forced to the conclusion that any Electoral System which gives a rough numerical expression of the strength of main political tendencies, is the only one practically workable as far as Parliament is concerned. We have no choice between this and any other.

The Member and His Constituency.

Secondly, the maintenance of the member's sole personal interest in his single and undivided constituency, and of the concurrent and similar personal interest of the constituents in their member is of the highest importance in securing many other desirable results. The member is stimulated in the most direct fashion to educate his constituents: they are "his" supporters. He knows that *he* will be rewarded for his efforts by votes, and that for neglect *he* will be punished. His sphere of duty and interest in the result is definite. For service, he receives recompense. If he is responsive to popular wishes he gets a seat—all this is good democracy. But the close personal relationship allows of another excellent benefit. It makes feasible the best operation of the English doctrine that a Member of Parliament shall be a representative, not a delegate. It allows the individual member a latitude of personal discretion and initiative outside the party programme (to which he makes pledges rather than to his constituents), which makes for good government—because he, being subject to possessive relationship with his constituents has a circumscribed and definite electorate with whom he can discuss, *on familiar terms*, the rectitude of his actions, and from whom he can secure support for any praiseworthy deviation from party standards. On the other hand, the electors have a single member upon whom their praise or blame can be bestowed for action outside the somewhat rigid margins of the party programme. This personal system produces an intense responsibility and responsiveness to the electorate on one side, *i.e.*, the system is of a highly representative quality: and on the other, a *predictable* sphere of independence of the member.

Now, the most essential element in the P.R. system is that the constituencies shall each, as a unit, return a number of members, from five upwards. Under such a system it is likely that some areas would be submitted to wasteful double doses of electioneering, while others would be neglected; that the stimulus to the personal effort of the candidates would be weakened, for the relation between personal service and reward would be less direct and certain than it is in a Single-Member constituency; that constituents would have no single person upon whom they could focus their attention, and to whom they could submit their claims; and that they might visit on a party the wrath which the personality of the candidate alone merited.

It is good that the constituencies in an Electoral System should be small, and be in sole and undivided care and possession of one member.

A Dynamic Factor.

Thirdly, the latter rule attains a greater significance when it is remembered that the representative character of Parliament is not made by a general election alone. A Parliament is not created to work over a short period of weeks or months: the condition for effective work is that it shall sit, whether by the law or the practice of the constitution, some three or four years. Now it is clear that many issues will arise in the course of the Parliamentary period which were but dimly perceived, or not perceived at all, at the time of the Election, upon which it is good, though not vital, to have some definite indication of public opinion. The method of a Referendum is impossible. But the close connection between member and constituency, the interest of the member in the discovery of dynamic opinion in his constituency, is one guarantee of popular consultation. As there is an "atmosphere" in the House of Commons, "the sense of the House," which Ministers do well to assimilate, and which can only be assimilated by constant attendance on the Treasury Bench, so there is an electoral atmosphere the best appreciation of which can come about only by a highly personal interest in the constituency.

The House of Commons is, moreover, profoundly affected by the arguments raised at a By-election; and an Electoral System, to be adequate, should make By-elections an easy possibility.

The Electoral System and the Government.

These are by no means all the results that an Electoral System ought to secure to the country. There is a close and necessary connection between the Electoral System and the House of Commons: there is just as close and necessary a connection between that system and the Government of the day.

In the Cabinet there is concentrated the polically vital function of initiating legislative and administrative policy (including finance), and the direction and control of the activities of the Civil Service. The Cabinet is the energising element *par excellence* in the English Constitution. The House of Commons talks and divides: the

Cabinet thinks and acts. Its touch with the country is as vital as its touch with the House of Commons. The innate dispositions of English politicians, perception of the need for decision and vigour in the Executive in the face of modern problems, the necessity of decisive leadership and time-distribution in the House of Commons, a popular inability to fix responsibility save when the agents of government are few, not many, and the warnings derived from defective functioning of foreign institutions, have combined to the bestowal of governmental predominance upon the Cabinet, and, since 1867, tightly to lace the Cabinet to the electorate by means of strong party organisations.

To be really responsive to popular opinion, the Cabinet must rest upon a party organisation which is most vividly in contact with the constituencies, *i.e.*, where the individual member has a clear and definite interest in his constituency. The Cabinet, to be effectively responsible to the country must rest upon the support of a *single* party. For then (i.) the electorate is best able to know who is to praise or blame. At each General Election the *aspirant* Ministry comes before the electorate with a record and a policy ; and as it has been aptly said : "a general election is, in fact, considered by a large portion of the electorate of this country as practically a referendum on the question which of two Governments shall be returned to power." * And (ii.) there need be no surreptitious political bargaining between "ministrable" groups resulting in contracts as to policy not submitted for popular ratification, and which can be torn up by any of the contracting parties to the detriment of steady and effective government, without the country being able to hold them to their pledges.

Any Electoral System, therefore, which can be shown to militate against the maintenance of a Cabinet system based on a single party organisation is to be avoided. To the very frequent and highly characteristic question asked by English electors : "What government are we to make ?" the Electoral System ought to provide a clear and unambiguous answer.

Summary of Electoral Rules.

Now, from this argument four concrete rules may be extracted before we examine what P.R. has to offer as its justification.

(i.) Parliament ought to be representative of majority and minority groups of opinion ; but need not—indeed, cannot be mathematically representative. If we avoid a minority in the country getting a majority of seats, and if our political manners as exhibited, for example, in the Rules and Practice of Parliamentary Procedure, give the minority a chance of effective debate and the majority the ultimate ruling force, we have done all we need to do. More than this is unfruitful pedantry.

(ii.) Constituencies should be small enough to allow the establishment of personal relationship between member and constituents.

* Electoral Systems Commission Report. Cd. 5163, 1910 ; p. 34.

(iii.) A dynamic element (it may be of By-elections) is necessary to keep the House awake to public opinion ; and to warn or encourage the Government whose immediate policy is frequently the issue on which a By-election is fought.

(iv.) The government of the country ought to be carried on by a Cabinet based on a single-party organisation having a sufficient majority in the country and Parliament to act decisively ; while, internally, the party may be conciliating groups, digesting new theories and shedding outworn ideas.

These four things our present Electoral System, taken together with Party Organisation and the current state of Political Manners, gives us ; not, of course, all-perfectly, but not so imperfectly that a wholesale change is to be embraced until it can justify itself by the credible offer of priceless advantage.

The Attack upon the Present System.

The essential element in the present Electoral System is that it is based, with a few exceptions which may be ignored, upon Single-Member constituencies. The whole country is divided into some 600 constituencies of approximately equal size, each returning one member. It is from this disintegration of the whole country (which, ideally, should be represented in the House, as a map represents the configuration of an area of land) that, according to advocates of P.R., many serious political evils flow. These evils are to be remedied by P.R.

The defects of the present Electoral System are described as follows :—

(*a.*) Though the House of Commons should be fully representative of all shades of electoral opinion in proportion to the numbers holding the opinion, the present system of Single-Member constituencies makes such a result impossible, as can be seen by reference to the state of parties in the House.

(*b.*) The System results in an exaggeration of the majority of seats gained by the Majority Party in proportion to votes cast for it. The Elections from 1885 (when the Single-Member system was first adopted) to 1910, showed that even "the relative strength of the parties which are represented, is grossly distorted by the majority method, actual majorities ranging from twice to over ten times their proper size."* The election of 1918 gave the Coalition 428 seats, when proportionally to voters it was only entitled to 292 seats ; it gave the Labour Party 47 seats, when it was entitled to 120 seats ; and the Independent Liberals 25 seats, where 67 was their proper number. These figures show that the "will of the people," as expressed in terms of votes, is not represented by a corresponding number of seats in the House. This is not democracy.

The cause of this distortion of the electoral situation is normally twofold :—

(1) Parties win a large number of constituencies by narrow majorities ;

* Report, p. 25.

(2) Parties lose but a small number (compared with gains as in (1)) of constituencies by narrow margins.

These twin causes of distortion account for the fact that *a small shifting of votes from one party to another during an election may cause, and, historically, often has caused a great landslide of seats in the direction of the favoured party.*

(3) Besides these two causes of mal-representation, which we have called *normal* (only because they were in operation as the major causes from 1885 until 1918), there is the advent of Three-Party contests in a very large proportion of the total number of constituencies. (This is due to the emergence of the Labour Party as an independent and strongly-organised electoral combatant, and to the rapid decline, but, as yet, not the disappearance of the Liberal Party.) The Minority Seats, resulting from multiple-cornered contests, numbered 216 in the Election of December, 1923. Here, then, is a cause of unproportional representation which will remain potent until the Two-Party is restored.

(*c.*) For the same reasons, the present system makes it theoretically possible for a minority of the electors in the country to return a majority of members to Parliament. It was alleged at the Commission on Electoral Systems that this had actually occurred in 1874 and 1886, but this statement turned out to be not a solid mathematical truth, but a matter of opinion based upon methods of calculation subject to valid challenge. However, the theoretical possibility does remain.

The Claims of P.R., and their weakness.

Using these incontrovertible facts, the advocates of P.R. proceed to assess their meaning and importance according to their own peculiar scheme of political values.

Let us take these opinions *seriatim*, and submit each to a critique based on our own assumptions.

(A.) *Alleged:* Exaggeration of political majorities leads to the passage of legislation for which there is no real demand, because the Majority mistakes the actual feeling of the country.

Denied: This argument is untenable, because it leaves out of account the undeniable fact that, though the size of the Government majority is a guide to the Ministry as to what it ought and can hope to do, its views are inevitably tempered by the arguments of the Opposition, the views of members who know the real state of affairs in their own constituencies, the prospects of the coming Election, the progress of By-Elections, and the important truth that English politicians are not pedantic extremists acting to the full beat of an arithmetically regulated pulse, but instead with a knowledge of realities existing in the hinterland of representation in the House. Why else do they employ Whips and Chief Party Agents, if not to discover feelings and prospects, as distinct from the statistical façade presented by what they can muster, at need, in a Division? The politics of this country are not determined once and for all by the General Election on the "mirror," or what has very aptly been called

the "snapshot" theory of representation, but by a multitude of dynamic and spiritual factors as efficient in the cause of good Representative and Responsible Government as the General Election itself.

These factors make for as true a representation as accurate proportions; and our present System of Single-Member constituencies and the tradition of electoral responsibility built on that system are fundamental to their continued vitality.

(B.) *Alleged:* Doubt as to the actual force behind the decision of the House of Commons weakens the House as an exponent of the national will in the eyes of the people.

Denied: The answer to the previous allegation is an answer to this, also. But something more may be added. Only the academic thinker, out of touch with real electoral conditions, can accept this opinion. The actions of Parliament are, in point of fact, accepted or rejected by the thinking few in this country, not on grounds of votes or representativeness of the decision at all. They are praised or condemned on grounds of social utility, and the particular advantage given or denied to the various sectional interests. The people are more concerned about the intrinsic merits of policies than about the commas on their certificate of origin.

(C.) *Alleged:* A small transfer of votes may mean a sweeping change in personnel of the House, and thus endanger the efficiency of the latter.

Denied: It may; but there are always sufficient old members to educate new-comers; and the enthusiasm of the new member, as the last two Parliaments have shown, has brought back the much-needed spirit of vitality into Parliamentary activity. "The stability of legislation" for which some advocates of P.R. have respect, will not be endangered, because the Civil Service, the repository of information and a most frequent source of policy, is a safeguard against instability. Has there been any instability in legislation in the last half-century? The dogmatic slumber of old parliamentary hands is not a guarantee of good government; and it is all to the good that seniority should be refreshed by youth, and experience stimulated by innovation.

(D.) *Alleged:* The dominance of party organisation in the Single-Member constituencies crushes out small groups and the independent member; under P.R. this would be mitigated and the freedom of the member be enhanced, because independent-minded men could threaten to break away from a party if they were sure of a quota of electors in the enlarged constituency.

Denied: It cannot be admitted that the Single-Member system makes more for party denomination than would P.R. As a matter of fact, discipline in party organisations would with large and Multi-Member constituencies be increased for the mass of members. Government is government; and ultimately someone must govern. The independent member in a team of 5 or 7 candidates would be a source of weakness to his party colleagues during a campaign, and still more during the Recess, when members go down to their constituencies. There would grow up, necessarily, a convention of Collective Responsibility of members in the constituency. The independently-minded man, if he were selected, would be told (especially during a

campaign), without much ceremony, that reticence on his part was essential. The "regular" party candidate would be adopted as the best colleague. Is there a politician who has spoken from the same platform with friends and not wanted to contradict them? P.R., then, makes for dishonest simulation by silence, or expressed conformity, in a large constituency, because a candidate's views will not react upon his prospects alone, but on the prospects of his colleagues. They will "shut up" the weak man. In the Single-Member constituency the candidate, certainly, is also called upon to conform to the general party views, but he may press his nonconformity with those views as far as his electors can be persuaded, and the personal relationship makes this feasible—and, meanwhile, his own cause is neither being prejudiced by his colleagues in contiguous constituencies, nor does his nonconformity injure them and bring upon him and them the full rigour of party orthodoxy.

Further, as regards the political education of the constituencies, the personal struggle in a small constituency between two or three men for one prize, has a dramatic attraction about it, which brings out electors to meetings, and takes them to the poll. The big constituency, with the party doctrines in the forefront, would offer a rarified atmosphere in which the elector would not be so inclined to listen to the megaphonically reiterated speeches of candidates.

The actual processes of politics would not, in such a system, leave room for the independence claimed. For to be effective, heresies must exist and work inside an organisation based on orthodoxy; and, in point of fact, the most singular and, perhaps, beneficial angularities are represented and expressed within the existing system. The vista of 600 men, divided into a number of groups, each independent in views and line of action, may bring happiness to the individualistic moralist. But democracy cannot be run by eclectics and single-point rhapsodists. Party organisation maintains its essential stream of tendency unimpaired from one election to another. It educates the electorate, and explains to the electorate the works of its members within the representative assembly. It educates itself by research, and criticises the action of the Opposition. Independence from such party organisation is separation from the only institution which, on any large scale, can secure that Representative Government shall also be Responsible Government. A threat to the Two-Party System and party discipline is a threat to responsibility in the democratic system, and P.R., avowedly, is such a threat.

(E.) *Alleged:* The minority in each Single-Member constituency, is there directly unrepresented, and this is destructive of political interest, because the vote of the minority is merely "a sterile exhibition of impotence."

Denied: Anybody who has any electoral experience knows that this argument is untrue. Even if there is no chance of winning the seat for themselves, the minority try to get as many votes as possible as a mark of popular confidence in their party doctrines, and particularly in their party leaders. The horizon of a minority is not limited by the boundaries of the constituency. The minority has sufficient sense to know that the full exhibition of its strength will not

fail to have its influence upon the member actually representing the constituency, and moderate the extremity of his party views. And the very fact that a small turnover of votes may result in the capture of the seat heightens the intensity of political feelings, and results in energetic prosecution of a campaign all through the period for which Parliament sits.

The Practical Defects of P.R.

These, then, are the main arguments for P.R., and these the grounds on which they must be rejected. The system of P.R. also suffers from certain inherent practical defects.

First, the elector faced with a ballot paper containing 10 or 15 names would be confused, and find it difficult to mark his preferences without guidance. Either, then, his paper would be spoilt ; or his preferences would not be marked in full (when the merit claimed for P.R. would not be realised), or the party organisation would need to guide the elector by means of careful coaching beforehand, and this would tend to increase the power of the organisation. Confusion might be overcome in the course of time ; it is at least possible that early difficulties would stereotype the control of the party-machine.

Secondly, in relation to the size of constituencies which would, under the proposal, be 5, 6 or more times as big as they are at present, the comment of Mr. Graham Wallas is true so far as practice gives any clue, and seems to me decisive. "Even if it only multiplied the size of the ordinary constituency by six," he writes, "it would multiply by at least six the difficulty of effective electioneering, and even if each candidate were prepared to spend six times as much money at every contest, he could not multiply by six the range of his voice or the number of meetings which he could address in a day." Amateur advocates of the proposal have been heard to say that the parties could divide up the constituency for electioneering purposes, and concentrate attention of those districts whence came their strength, and thus economise their efforts. But, in practice, there are few constituencies which do not contain potential surprises, and majorities are not there ready-made. The party must seek its majority, and cannot neglect a vote. The larger constituency would necessitate vaster and richer "machines" than we have now ; and there is everything to fear that they would fail to bring the personal character of the candidates home to the electors as vividly as under the present System. The small party will not be benefited, for it too, and more than the large party, will have to bear a greater financial burden if it wishes to be sure of finding a quota : with no extra advantage relative to its cost and effort over the present conditions.

Thirdly, the advocates of P.R. have never been able to offer the country a substitute worth having for the invaluable periodical referenda on the action of the Government, the By-elections on the death or resignation of a member. One solution offered is, that the whole constituency should be polled for the seat vacant. This would clearly entail a great and disproportionate expense ; and the bigger

the constituencies, the fewer of them in the country, and, therefore, the greater possible number of expensive By-elections. Another suggestion is that a tradition would grow up of the majority taking the seat without a contest. This is not a solution : it is an evasion. There are other fantastical schemes which are also merely ingenious.

Summary of the Case against the Proposal.

Thus, the net result of this examination of the proposal to substitute P.R. for our present Electoral System is this : We would lose the Single-Member constituency, which is simple for candidates, electors and local party executives. The régime of big and responsible parties in the country and in the House of Commons would be threatened, and with that would arise the possibility of indecisive and vacillating government waiting upon electoral and Parliamentary bargains. The close personal relationship of member and constituency would give way to a rather dehumanised operation of the Party machine, seeking to bring its principle into the electors' line of vision. "The swing of the pendulum" in elections would be diminished in amplitude, and the political life of both majority and minority tend to stagnation. The type of referendum known as the By-election would be lost.

To compensate for these clear losses no substantial advantages are offered by P.R. Accurate mathematical representation is practically impossible, and is undesirable, given the congestion of business in Parliament, and, as a matter of fact, there is representation of all opinions in the House. No cause which arises for discussion in the encylopædic programme of the House ever lacks a champion : none a challenge. While it is a theoretical possibility for a minority of electors to get a majority of votes, this has never occurred indisputably ; and if it did the conventions of decency in English politics would prevent the majority from taking advantage of the accident.

Indeed, majorities and minorities are being guided to an ever-greater extent by statistics of voting as well as by those of seats won ; because we realise nowadays, as it was impossible to realise a couple of generations ago, when P.R. was born, that the major issues of politics are not determined in the House of Commons so much as in the constituencies. The advocates of P.R. still live within the fold of John Stuart Mill's political synthesis—before the Reform Bill, even, of 1867, and before the creation of the great "parliament outside Parliament," the tribunal of an active and enfranchised electorate.

On these grounds, there is no alternative but to reject the proposed System of P.R. Men and organisations which look to making the world safe and happy for democracy might better turn their attention to examining the conditions of research and policy-making within the Parties, rather than occupy their time in preserving an an ancient and sterile faith.

The Alternative Vote.

The Alternative Vote is the method whereby, in a *Single-Member constituency* in which there is a three-or-more-cornered con-

test, voters mark their ballot-papers with Preference 1, 2, 3, etc., for the various candidates. Should no candidate receive an Absolute majority of First Preferences—*i.e.*, half the total number of votes cast, *plus* one, there are transfers of the 2nd, 3rd, etc., votes of the least successful candidates to the top men, until one candidate is credited with an Absolute Majority. He is then declared elected.

The method is suggested as a safeguard against minority seats. It is true that the successful candidate would be able to boast of a mathematical majority as proof of his representative quality. But this mathematical majority would not be a majority in the English political sense of the word, *i.e.*, a majority of *positive* supporters. The candidate would be returned partly by the votes given to him to keep other candidates, considered as less desirable, out; and this is no morally decent basis for a Representative Assembly. Moreover, as it is likely that within 15 years the Liberal Party will be electorally defunct, we shall then be troubled with fewer of such multiple-candidate contests. It would be the height of political unwisdom to introduce a new and vicious element into the constitution to counteract a temporary ill.

Institutional change is not less a matter of experience than of logic. Proportional representation, where it has been tried, has not notably improved the quality of legislative assemblies. It does not, on analysis, seem endowed with the remedial virtues inherent in its æsthetic appearance. Our Electoral System suffers from temporary dislocation rather than permanent error. What it needs is to be built upon the foundation of voters educated to a judgment made with full minds. It is in a change rather of social principles than of voting expedients that we shall find the results we require.

APPENDIX.

THE SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE.

THE following account is taken almost word for word from "The Reform of Political Representation," by J. FISCHER WILLIAMS, C.B.E., Hon. Treasurer of the Proportional Representation Society. (Murray, 1918.)

THERE are said to be some 300 systems of Proportional Representation in existence, and the ingenuity of inventors shows no sign of exhaustion. Here, an account is given only of the system known as that of the "Single Transferable Vote," as being that which has obtained more support in this country and the British Dominions than any of its rivals.

Practically all systems of Proportional Representation agree in that they require constituencies returning several—at least three—

members. And this for the simple reason that, when a constituency returns only one member, the representation cannot be divided—it naturally falls to a single party or body of electors. Therefore, the first step in the introduction of the system of the single transferable vote is the creation of constituencies returning several members. The number of members that each constituency should return would be governed either by the number of its electorate or its population —the constituencies themselves being, wherever possible, local government units. The new constituencies once created, redistribution in the future would be simplified enormously. As population shifted or increased, no alteration of boundaries would be needed, since the number of members allotted to a constituency could be altered.

The constituency returning several members already exists—in municipal boroughs we have wards returning three, six, and sometimes nine members, but we do not thereby secure a just representation. We either have the provincial system of one member retiring every year, or the metropolitan system of the "block vote." The "block vote" is the negation of proportionality; it allows every elector as many votes as there are vacancies to be filled, but it forbids him to give more than one vote to any one candidate. Hence, if there are nine seats vacant, and three parties in the constituency—901 Reds, 900 Pinks and 899 Whites—and each party puts forward nine candidates, the nine Red candidates head the poll with 901 votes apiece, and not a single Pink or White candidate is returned.

The first obvious amendment to this block vote system is to limit each elector to one vote only, as in Japan. But this amendment by itself is open to serious objection, for it may do grave injustice as between the larger parties. Suppose that a body of 115 persons have to elect 5 representatives, and that there are in the body 70 Unionists, 25 Liberals and 20 Labour men. The just representation is 3 Unionists, 1 Liberal and 1 Labour man. Assume that there are 4 Unionist candidates, 3 Liberals and 1 Labour. Now, the Labour candidate must be elected if all the Labour voters vote for him, for he will then poll 20 votes, while all the Unionists and Liberals together can only muster 95 votes. But as, between the Unionists and Liberals, the number of candidates elected will depend on the skilful drilling of the electors, and the exact knowledge by the party manager of the party's electoral strength. In the absence of organisation and exact foreknowledge we might easily get such a result as this :—

Bonar Law (Unionist)	50	Elected.
Henderson (Labour)	20	
Asquith (Liberal)	14	
Robert Cecil (Unionist)	11	
Herbert Samuel (Liberal)	7	
Chamberlain (Unionist)	5	Not elected.
Banbury (Unionist)	4	
Sir Thomas Whittaker (Liberal)	4	

The 5 at the head of the poll include 2 Unionists and 2 Liberals, although the number of Unionist electors is about three times that

of the Liberal electors, and the system thus gives an almost unintelligibly unjust result, the falsity of which is caused by the excessive concentration of the Unionist votes on Mr. Bonar Law. If the votes he did not need could have been passed on to Mr. Chamberlain, the latter would have been brought up above Mr. Herbert Samuel and even above Mr. Asquith, and elected. The problem of devising a means of making the surplus votes of Mr. Bonar Law available for the other candidates of the Unionist party—assuming always that the electors who vote for Mr. Bonar Law would also wish to see the other Unionists elected—is solved by allowing the elector to mark his preferences by the figures 1, 2, 3, and so on, set against the names of candidates on the ballot papers, and making the vote transferable accordingly. If, at our imaginary election, Mr. Law's 50 votes had been thus transferable, and if all his fifty voters had marked one or other of the remaining Unionist candidates with the figure 2, the result might have been :—

Law (50−30)	20	Elected.
Henderson	20	
Chamberlain (5+15)	20	
Cecil (11+9)	20	
Asquith	14	
Banbury (4+6)	10	Not elected.
Herbert Samuel	7	
Sir Thomas Whittaker	4	

which is a just result—3 Unionists, 1 Labour and 1 Liberal candidate being elected.

It is agreed on all hands that in making the transfer, regard must be had to the rights of the candidates who are to be the transferees. In the illustration Mr. Law can spare 30 votes—that is, three-fifths of his total, and these 30 votes are to go where the electors wish them to go. The returning officer finds out where the electors wish them to go by examining the ballot papers on which Mr. Law is marked 1, and seeing what names are marked 2 thereon. In this case, let us suppose that on 10 of Mr. Law's 50 voting papers Sir F. Banbury is marked 2, Lord Robert Cecil on 15, and Mr. Chamberlain on 25. In justice, Sir F. Banbury claims $\frac{3}{5}$ of the 10 on which *he* is marked 2, *i.e.*, 6 ; Lord Robert Cecil, $\frac{3}{5}$ of the 15 on which *he* is marked 2, *i.e.*, 9 ; Mr. Chamberlain, $\frac{3}{5}$ of the 25 on which *he* is marked 2, *i.e.*, 15.

But if a true result is to be reached it is not enough to provide for excessive concentration—excessive diffusion must always be guarded against. Thus, the figures of our imaginary election might have been :—

Law	20	Elected.
Henderson	20	
Chamberlain	20	
Cecil	19	
Banbury	11	
Asquith	10	Not elected.
Samuel	9	
Whittaker	6	

in which case the Liberals will have lost their solitary representative because they have unduly scattered their votes. It is simple enough

to find out whether the electors will consent to concentrate their votes on fewer candidates, and if they so consent to carry this through. The method adopted is to exclude from the poll the lowest candidate, in this case Whittaker, and make the votes which were otherwise wasted on him available (if the electors wish it) to put another candidate of the same party above Banbury, and give the Liberals their one seat.

In the case of the transfer of the votes of an excluded candidate no question of proportional transfer arises. The excluded candidate has no quota—*all* his votes are transferred to the candidates indicated as next preference by the electors.

The effect of the vote being made transferable is to ensure that all parties or divisions of opinion receive their fair share of representation. The elector entering the polling booth does not know whether his favourite will receive more support than he requires, or wbether he will receive so little as to have no chance of election. Or, again, a party may have scattered its votes over too many candidates, and might (if the votes are not transferable) lose the reprentation which it would otherwise would gain.

The transferable vote provides against both these contingencies. It enables the elector to indicate the candidates of his second and further choice to whom his vote can be transferred :—

(i.) When his first choice has more votes than he requires; or
(ii.) When, after all excess votes have been transferred, the elector's first choice is at the bottom of the poll.

The secrecy of the ballot is preserved, and yet the electors are allowed to combine into groups of the necessary size or "quota." If any body of electors contains three such groups it will win three seats; if it contains two groups it will obtain two seats. And if it contains only one such group it obtains one member, and no combination of other parties, no bargain between headquarters, no skilful orders to electors can possibly prevent a number of electors in the constituency equal to the quota from obtaining the representative of their choice. This is the peculiar merit of the system. Let popular feeling run ever so strong, a compact minority of reasonable size, who have the courage and consistency to stand together, will get into the House of Commons as many representatives of their own choice as their numbers entitle them to have.

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GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

BY

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GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

BY HERMANN KANTOROWICZ.

GERMANY'S attitude towards the League of Nations is a riddle for most Englishmen. It seems obvious that Germany ought to be glad to put an end to her political and moral isolation by joining a body of 54 nations, and that she, in her present prostrate condition, has the greatest interest in advocating an institution intended to place Right above Might. Nevertheless you nearly always hear unfavourable judgments of the League in Germany, and a vote on the question of our entrance would give an overwhelming majority against it. You would not receive much enlightenment if you asked an average German newspaper-reader to explain the riddle. He would tell you with a curious logic that he, of course, is an enthusiastic supporter of a real League of Nations, but a real League ought to embrace all nations; the present League does not embrace Germany, and so Germany cannot join the League because she *has* not joined it.

Happily—or unhappily—there are more serious reasons for our policy, and I am glad to have an opportunity of speaking about this question before people whose political views on this and many other questions I believe that I share, and who sincerely and frankly desire the welfare of the League as well as of Germany and England.

Allow me to express my gratitude by speaking, on my part, with perfect sincerity and absolute frankness. I am convinced you will allow me, nay expect me, to tell the whole truth as I see it, even if it forces me to say things far from flattering to the League, to Germany and to England. Diplomatic language would be out of place here, and I feel sure that you won't expect me to make propaganda.

Germany is no propitious soil for the ideas of pacifism. This fact has little to do with the national character, because national character is itself moulded by Nature and History. Now Nature has made Germany's history just the contrary of England's. We can say with little exaggeration, that England is the one European

great Power which had no hostile neighbours, because she had no neighbours at all ; that Germany was the one European great Power which was surrounded on all sides by other great Powers, each of them nearly as strong as or stronger than herself—France, Russia, Austria and, in former times, Sweden. Let me recall some dates. The heart of Northern Germany, Brandenburg, has been invaded and occupied wholly or partially during the last three centuries—by Swedes and Austrians during the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) ; by Swedes, then Allies of the French, in 1675 ; by Russians and Austrians from 1757-60 ; by the French from 1806-13 ; and now, since 1918, commissions of the Allied Powers sit in Berlin, controlling what has been left of our army. Now all this happened in the heart of Germany. Other parts of the country were still oftener the battlefield of all her neighbours. Compare with this the history of your happy island and you will understand why not this country, but ours, has become the home of militarism. Certainly, he who is surrounded by enemies more powerful than himself has the highest interest in their being combatted not by his own insufficient power, but by the power of Law ; but, if the time is not ripe for these conceptions, if there is not the slightest prospect of founding the reign of Law, then it is psychologically inevitable that people will rely rather on their own forces, as do the others. Germany has been for centuries a besieged fortress, partly no doubt through her own fault, but that does not alter the fact. Now a besieged fortress is apt to develop other virtues than those of a pacific mind.

Another equally deeply laid foundation of all politics is Religion. The Germans are Lutherans or Catholics. Both these denominations agree in placing the Christian virtues more in the heart of a man and in his private life, and less in his outward and social actions. A good Lutheran or Catholic must have a pacific mind, but it is not an essential tenet of his creed that he should embody this spirit in objective, political institutions ; Justice will be realised, so he earnestly hopes, in the other world, or in the Church ; the State is a secular institution. It was only the Calvinistic branch of Protestantism, and especially Puritanism, that from the beginning directed its energies towards public and social life, that alone tried earnestly to give the commonwealth and politics a Christian and religious foundation, and at the same time a democratic form. This explains why the genuine Christian and democratic idea of a reign of peace, as it is embodied in the League of Nations, has become an element of public opinion only in those countries which have been deeply influenced by Calvinism—in Switzerland, in Holland, in America, and in England. It is not by chance that the League of Nations has its seat in the town of Calvin and Rousseau, in Geneva. In all Lutheran or Catholic countries the League is a political instrument for some or many politicians, a hope or an ideal for some or many idealists ; but public opinion, as a body, is in-

different or hostile. The League has been, so far, a Puritan ideal; it will become perhaps a Hindu ideal; but it will be difficult, though by no means impossible, to make it the basis of European politics.

But this religious view does not represent the whole truth. The fact I allude to is only one factor of a far wider phenomenon, of tendencies which I am far from approving, which, on the contrary, I deprecate; but this does not absolve me from the duty of describing these tendencies as faithfully and loyally as I can. In all Catholic and Lutheran countries politics have been secularised to a degree that Englishmen scarcely realise. In all these countries there are parties which pretend to engage in Christian politics, but in reality politics are conducted everywhere without any regard to Christian principles. But a people cannot live without a religious creed. If it loses its faith, it must create a new one. The present faith of continental Europe, including Germany, is not Christianity, but Nationalism. It is a superficial view to consider Nationalism a political rather than a religious creed. If you want to know somebody's religion you must ask him for what ideals he considers it his duty to lay down his life. Well, very few Germans, and perhaps still fewer Frenchmen or Poles or Italians, would be ready to die for God, excepting some missionaries, and they would be considered fools by the great majority of their countrymen. But nearly everybody would be ready to die for his country, nay more, would be considered a coward and a scoundrel if he were not. Now, this means that the State is considered holy, absolute, above all other values, and therefore the State must be sovereign; it cannot recognise any superior, and if this sovereignty is lost national honour goes with it. This worship of the State is certainly "made in Germany": it is a creation of Prussian Kings, Prussian historians and Prussian philosophers, although our greatest thinker, Kant, was the first man to discover the juridical principles of a true League of Nations, a "Völkerbund," a word which he was the first to use. But he had no success, and the opposite creed spread all over Germany, and then all over the world, finding many followers in this country also, just as another originally German creed, Protestantism, has spread all over the world. Pacifism is of course incompatible with this creed, because Pacifism means the partial abdication of the sovereignty of the State; it means renouncing its most cherished right, that of defending its honour by waging war against anyone who attacks it. This explains Mussolini's attitude in the last Græco-Italian conflict; it explains Poincaré's attitude in all reparation questions, which, according to English views, ought to have been committed to arbitration or mediation, and also explains Germany's behaviour in the Ruhr question for instance. Of course it has often been proposed, by myself among others, to let the International Court decide about the legality of the occupation of the Ruhr, but this proposal has always been rejected with

indignation by our public opinion, although we were fully convinced of the illegality of this act. The reasons adduced were always of a political, diplomatic or legal nature, but the real and strongest reason, strongest because unconscious, was the reason just mentioned. To bow before violence, as we had to do in the Ruhr question, was a disaster for us, and one can always hope to redress such a disaster by inflicting an equal disaster on those who victimised us. Bowing to Right is the duty of a private person, because it means bowing to the State, but that the State should bow to Right is, according to this modern creed, a disgrace, for it means the loss of its honour, and such a loss never can be repaired. This then is the deepest source of Germany's aversion from all international jurisdiction ; and the same applies to France and Italy, as their attitude in the conflicts with Switzerland and Greece fully proved. But other countries were not so clumsy as to boast of their nationalistic creed and to turn it into a complete system of philosophy. Now, however, the whole continent is on the same road ; for instance, a Liberal leader like Signor Salandra praises Fascism as the exaltation of the Fatherland above everything—above freedom itself if need be.

Germany has another reason special to herself. The different German States have never been absolutely Sovereign States in the fullest meaning of the word. They have always more or less been dependent elements of a greater political body—first of the Holy Roman Empire, then of the German Confederation, then of the German Empire, and now of the German Republic. But they have always remained regular States with their own political institutions, their own monarchs, parliaments and laws, and their own patriotism. A Prussian, and still more a Bavarian, has nearly always felt himself to be primarily a Prussian or a Bavarian, and only secondarily a German. Nevertheless, he had to renounce the most important sovereign rights of his beloved country. Prussia, for instance, had never a constitutional right to wage war against Bavaria ; and if it did so, as it very often did (the last time in 1866) it was always, in a legal sense, a criminal violation of the laws of the Empire. The States often have—and always ought to have—submitted their controversies to the Courts of the Empire or the mediation of the Federal Councils, and so the German States have for centuries been practically a real League of Nations with compulsory jurisdiction, with a council and an assembly, and with the right of legislation. Therefore these institutions had absorbed that spirit of internationalism, which other States are now directing into the League of Nations. It is thus easy to understand why a Prussian and a Bavarian cling to the residue of sovereignty which the German constitution has left them, and abhor the idea of a further diminution of that sovereignty which would result from Germany's membership of the League. The proof that my diagnosis is right, is the feeling

in the United States. You know that they don't want a " Super-State." But they are themselves a Super-State, and proud of being so. Thus in reality by joining the League, the State of New York or California would have become a member of a " Super-super-State." And this is one of the many reasons why an average American, although a convinced pacifist, will not endorse the idea of the sole practical scheme for realising pacifism—the League of Nations.

The reasons I have now given are never put forward in Germany, and if you ask German politicians about them they would probably be astonished at such an interpretation of their actions and omissions. If you told them that a German professor had given this explanation, most of them would probably smile and say, " Now we understand." But many would be indignant, because nearly all parties—in fact all except the extreme right and left—profess to be absolutely in favour of a true League of Nations, and if they hate the present League it is only because *they* are the true pacifists and the *League* is the contrary. This line of argument is not absolutely hypocritical. There is a good deal of truth in it. It is not sufficiently known all over the world that in spite of all the nationalistic and militaristic tendencies of our past and present, there was for a short time (after the evident failure of these tendencies as demonstrated by the loss of the war) " a Germany more republican, democratic, and pacifist than any other European country. In those days "—I quote from an article which I contributed to the *Contemporary Review* of last November—" between October, 1918, and the Spring of 1919—the whole nation was thoroughly impressed with a sense of the large share that the German foreign policy had in the responsibility of the war. Even the Conservatives (who had by this time become the National Popular Party) demanded in their manifesto ' the radical reform of the German foreign service.' The Catholic Centre demanded, among other things, ' the unqualified recognition of the democratic popular Government ; the regularising of the mutual relations of peoples and States on principles of eternal justice, not of physical force ; the creation of a League of Nations ; the introduction of courts of arbitration for all disputes ; and reciprocal simultaneous disarmament on the largest possible scale.' Similarly the National Liberals (Popular Party) : ' We also welcome the idea of a League of Nations conditional on the full equality of all States. We adhere to an universal, democratic, equal and secret electoral franchise. We desire a complete reorganisation of the Foreign Office.' The Democrats asserted that ' our unfortunate external and internal policy has only brought hunger and misery. The prevalence of the militaristic policy of brute force has led us into this war. Right must reign among the nations. We desire a foreign policy based on the principles of a lasting peace. We stand for a league of equal nations, for international courts of arbitration

and for proportional reduction of armaments.' From these utterances it can readily be conceived what the appeals of the Social Democrats were.

"And the whole nation shared these views. At the elections of January 19th, 1919, the voting was as follows :—Socialists, 44 per cent. ; Centre, 22 per cent. ; Democrats, 18 per cent. ; giving a total of 84 per cent. of definitely Republican and Pacifist votes."

But this democratic Germany was nipped in the bud by the policy of the Entente, of France in particular, but the British Government also had its share of the responsibility. I refer more specially to our discouraging experiences during the period of the Armistice, the prolongation of the hunger blockade, the retention of the prisoners of war, the arbitrary peace treaty of Versailles, the refusal to admit Germany to the League of Nations. It seemed plain to everyone that those who had been liberal in promises of democratic institutions, justice and peace, had only given servitude, deception and militarism, though Germany had disarmed, and had become a Republic. It seemed evident that reactionary influences in the Entente were uppermost, and so the German people began to despair of anything in the nature of justice, liberty, or humanity, and turned to those who had consistently maintained that the whole business was an elaborate "swindle"—an opinion which now appeared to be justified by events. The one fact that clearly emerged was that the Republicans and Pacifists were blockheads and dupes. Is it to be wondered at that the idea of physical force, from within and without, appeared to offer the only means of salvation ?

All these arguments seemed to receive an enormous support from the League of Nations, through its Covenant as well as its activities, and it was easy enough to criticise them on every occasion. These criticisms are the conscious reasons always alleged as obstacles to our joining the League. They are of two classes. Firstly, that no truly democratic and pacific State ought to join a League which they regard as a "humbug," as making but a masquerade artfully contrived to conceal the political and selfish aims of French militarism and English imperialism. You can read this assertion day by day in our Press, hear it from men who would never have dreamt of instituting the most modest League, had Germany been victorious, and who now reject the present League because it does not come up to their most extravagant hopes and wishes. Of course there is always a little truth in the arguments, but they are immense exaggerations. The League is said to be not a League of Nations, but of Governments represented by diplomats of the old school, the Assembly playing only a decorative rôle and the whole power lying in the Council. The Council is said to be absolutely dominated

by the Entente Powers, or by France, or by England. On this point the critics differ, not as a result of a study of the question (which has not been attempted) but as a result of their political dislikes. The mediatory activity of this body is regarded as not being inspired by any sentiment of justice and peace, but by the intention of the great Powers to enrich the political orchestra by the addition of a new and fascinating instrument. Nay more, the whole machinery for preserving peace is considered an artful scheme to guarantee the possessions of the two greatest Powers with the assistance of all the minor Powers, so that those, who in the course of the centuries have been robbed of their colonies and territories, are now called upon in the name of justice and international solidarity and peace to protect the properties of the present robbers against the aspirations of future robbers or against the legitimate claims of the robbed themselves.

It is acknowledged that on certain occasions the League has stood for peace, but (say the critics) on these occasions the issues were so unimportant that even without the League war would not have been probable, while on the other hand the League has carefully avoided interfering with really grave questions, for instance the Polish-Russian war, at least as long as the Poles were victorious; the conflict between Russia and Persia, Costa Rica and Panama, and all the questions arising from the treaty, especially the conflicts between France and Germany. The only serious conflicts which were brought before the League were the Vilna and the Corfu questions, and on both occasions the League bowed to force and certainly did not vindicate the law. The International Court at the Hague is recognised as a modest advance, but the fact that no great Power has accepted the clause of compulsory jurisdiction is always pointed out as a proof that none of them is really in earnest when it demands the reign of Law, and the minor Powers bow to the Law only because they have not the power to break it.

It is not my office to deal with all these arguments which, I am afraid, are in a great part perfectly familiar to you. Indeed, I never feel so thoroughly at home as when I am reading an article of the *Morning Post* or a speech of Lord Birkenhead. They seem to be made in Potsdam and prove that nothing is more international than nationalism. It will be far more interesting for you to know what arguments are used against the League from a special German standpoint. It is said that our entry is legally, morally, and politically impossible.

Legally impossible, because we should not obtain the two-thirds majority necessary for our admission. France, as everybody knows, has declared over and over again that she is opposed to it, and all her vassals would vote with her, as also some other nations,

who are still under the spell of the war feeling. But even if we succeeded in becoming a member, France would be so furious, that she would revenge herself by creating difficulties on the Rhine or elsewhere, which would not be compensated by any advantages arising from our membership.

Morally, our claim for admittance would be impossible, because it is beneath our dignity to push our way into a company which does not want us, which would discuss our demand in a humiliating fashion, which has treated us with scorn, and which has tried its best to complete our ruin. The examples always cited are the allocation of Eupen and Malmédy to Belgium and of the only valuable part of Upper Silesia to Poland, and the free hand given to the French in their administration of the Saar Basin.

Finally, our claim is said to be politically impossible for reasons of home and foreign policy. No Government could survive the storm of indignation at home which would be aroused by a claim for admission to such an unpopular institution. This argument becomes more serious every day on account of the growing influence of the Nationalists. And our whole foreign policy is directed towards the revision of the Treaty ; but we should certainly not be allowed to become a member without acknowledging once more, and this time voluntarily, our treaty obligations, including the acknowledgment of our responsibility for the war, and the loss of territories in the East which we hope to regain one day. Moreover, our entrance would mean that we subscribe to the further anti-German measures of the League which are to be anticipated. We can now deprive them of a part of their authority by protesting against them, but we would seem to approve of them if we were members, as nearly all votes must be unanimous. This unanimity on the other hand would be no protection because, in our present state of dependence on other Powers, we could not afford to isolate ourselves, and because the Treaty has foreseen even this possibility of injuring us by abolishing the necessity of an unanimous vote in some of the most important affairs regarding Germany. For instance, the Council of the League has to decide unanimously on most questions ; but on questions concerning the administration of the Saar Basin it can decide by a mere majority. Thus, even if we were a permanent member of the Council, we could not efficiently protect our unhappy countrymen in this part of Germany. Nevertheless, a permanent seat in the Council would be of a certain political value, and ought therefore to be claimed, as the *conditio sine qua non* of our entrance, but this would necessitate an unanimous vote of the Council which the voice of France alone could prevent, and therefore the demand would be hopeless.

These, Ladies and Gentlemen, are the principal arguments against our claim. I do not share them, and you certainly do not

share them ; but you will recognise that there is generally at least a semblance of truth in them, and that it is not easy to combat them. Their effect is enormous. They have been repeated by the Press, in pamphlets, by politicians of all parties, and by all our foreign ministers so often that nearly the whole German people believes in them. The great majority of the influential newspapers are absolutely hostile, and the only great paper friendly to the League is the *Vossische Zeitung*. Especially after the decision in the Upper Silesia question, fighting for the League has become useless. Even a true democrat and pacifist like Herr Wirth, the best Chancellor we ever had, declared to Mr. Lloyd George at their meeting at the Genoa Conference—" If one wants to serve the League in Germany one should, after this decision, be silent about it " ; and a great German newspaper allowed me to continue my propaganda for the League in its columns, only on the condition that I ceased to refer to this point. The principal complaint was that according to the Treaty the whole country ought to have been given to that State for which the majority of the population had voted. Now 60 per cent. had voted for Germany, and nevertheless a great part of the country containing really all its natural and industrial treasures was given to Poland, and so the League had brutally broken the Treaty. Now you have only to glance at the Treaty and you will see it expressly stated that the country ought to be *divided* along the lines of the votes of the different communes, and the League has drawn the line as best it could according to the votes. This division was a crime and a folly, but it was a consequence of the Treaty, and not the fault of the League. This is a specimen of the " Hetze " conducted in Germany against the League with the same means with which a " Hetze " is conducted everywhere, and not only in Germany.

Another affair which made a most unfavourable impression was the administration of the Saar Basin, and, unfortunately, this time the grievance was only too well-founded. Let me point out one fact. The five members of the commission to whom the Government is entrusted are chosen by the Council. One must be a Frenchman, another a native inhabitant of the Saar Basin, and the three others must belong to other countries than France and Germany. The Frenchman chosen by the Council was M. Roult, a man who could not understand a word of German and did not care to learn it. The second member chosen was the Belgian military attaché in Paris, Major Lambert. The third was a Parisian sportsman and *bon vivant*, who happened to have been born in Denmark, and therefore counted as a neutral, Count Moltke Huitfeldt. The fourth was one of the most notorious persons in the Saar Basin, Doktor Hector, known everywhere as an unconditional follower of France, who in 1919, with the aid of false documents, had tried to juggle the town of Saarlouis into the hands of France. All these four

candidates had been proposed by France, and the Council not only chose them but confided the presidency, not to the neutral, not to the representative of the Saar Basin, but to the French member, thereby proving that it did not consider itself the "trustee" of the Saar Basin, as the Treaty had expressly constituted it, but rather an instrument of the Power which by every kind of trickery tries to annex this important part of Germany and exploit it for her own selfish purposes. The only person in the Commission who had the confidence of the population was the fifth member, a Canadian, Mr. Waugh, who unfortunately did not understand German. This is the government chosen by the League of Nations, and held responsible only to its Council, not to the country. The population which had not even been consulted as to the one member who was its sole representative was especially indignant with this traitor, Doktor Hector, and in 1922 a petition signed by twenty-six constituencies out of thirty begged the Council not to re-elect this man. Nevertheless the Council, which pretends to stand for democracy, with the consent of the British Government, confirmed his appointment. Some months afterwards this man was in a Court of Law convicted of perjury, and then resigned of his own account! But the Council even then remained stubborn and instead of Doktor Hector, again contrary to the will of the population, chose another French tool, Herr Land, as his successor. Last March the election of the Saar representative again became due. Everybody in the Saar Basin and throughout Germany was convinced that this time, as a Labour Government held power in England, a person who really enjoyed the confidence of the inhabitants would be chosen. A deputation from all political parties of the Saar recommended as their candidate, Herr Levacher, a lawyer of Saarlouis. Nevertheless Lord Parmoor gave his assent to the candidate of his predecessor, Lord Cecil, namely Herr Kossmann, because he felt himself bound by a previous agreement on this point between France and Lord Cecil. This agreement, however, had been concluded on the presumption that the population was in favour of Herr Kossmann, but the population having subsequently withdrawn its confidence in this candidate, no democrat would consider Lord Parmoor as being bound by his predecessor's word. This decision of the League was a terrible blow to its prestige in Germany. It was, I fear, the last straw that broke the camel's back.

I agree that this administration of the Saar Basin is the only really black spot on the League in its treatment of Germany, but you can easily imagine how all its other decisions appeared against such a background. The true friends of the League in Germany had a hard struggle in such circumstances. There had been millions of such friends in the months after the revolution, as I said before, but their number melted down to a little group after the peace conditions and Germany's exclusion from the League became

known. Still, we have not despaired. We have kept on working, writing, and speaking. Our arguments are generally not of a moral or a religious nature, but taking into account the state of public opinion, are purely political. They are the following :—

(1) Germany's political and moral isolation must cease.

(2) We want a platform on which to state our complaints and our standpoint before the whole world.

(3) We are weak, so we want the protection of the united forces of humanity.

(4) The League is our only safeguard against further spoliation.

(5) Our quarrels with France are now decided by force alone : we must try to submit them to impartial jurisdiction, or at least to the compromise which a decision of the Council of the League would mean, and which, bad as it might be, would be better than sheer violence.

(6) We must use the little influence we gain by membership of the League as a protector of minorities to help our unfortunate brethren in Upper Silesia, in Poland, the Memel district, Rumania, Tschekoslovakia, &c.—six millions of men—to say nothing of the Austrians.

(7) We must avoid the unfortunate impression it would be bound to produce everywhere, if we kept aloof, because this would not be understood, would be interpreted as a new proof that the old militarist spirit is still alive, and that we try to treat the League as we treated the Hague Conference.

My favourite argument was the following, which you will allow me to translate from one of my articles in the German Press.

(1) The nation which has been most experienced and most successful in foreign politics, the English nation, sees the last hope of Europe in the League. The nation which has been the most ignorant and most clumsy in foreign politics, the German nation, calls the League a humbug. Draw your conclusions.

(2) Our deadly enemy, the country which wants to dismember, humiliate and, if possible, destroy Germany, namely France, moves heaven and earth to prevent our entry. All our friends in the whole world advise, implore us, to claim admission. Draw your conclusions.

Among the friends I, together with most pacifists, numbered in the first line England, being convinced that English and German interests coincide in this question. Indeed from the beginning of

the League a great many British statesmen have advised us officially or privately to join them. Among them are such men as Lord Grey of Falloden, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. H. L. Fisher, General Smuts, Mr. Barnes, and especially Lord Cecil. Lord Cecil went so far as to say to an interviewer of the *Neue Badische Landeszeitung* that, in his opinion, Germany's attitude, if sincere, was incomprehensible. All English encouragements, all German arguments were in vain. What are words and reasons compared with facts and quasi-religious convictions ? The chances seemed to be worse than ever when the occupation of the Ruhr proved that illegal violence still prevailed in Europe without even being discussed by that august champion of peace, the Council of the League. National feeling during the passive resistance was so bitter that it was better not even to mention the League. Nevertheless our chance came suddenly. The Cuno Cabinet had to resign when the failure of passive resistance became evident. The new Stresemann Cabinet of the summer of 1923 was dependent upon the support of the Socialists, and they made our claim for admission a condition of their collaboration in the Cabinet. We immediately began a propaganda drive. For instance a pamphlet of mine on the activity of the League was sent to all members of Parliament, to all ministers of the different Cabinets in Germany, and to hundreds of other political personages. Stresemann had to bow to necessity, and the question was for the first time put on the order of the day of a Cabinet meeting. This happened at the last moment before the opening of the fourth Assembly of the League. But now something incredible, something absolutely unexpected, happened. At this decisive moment the Foreign Office produced a telegram from London that the English Government could not advise us to claim admission this year. The following reasons were given. Firstly, passive resistance was considered by some members of the League as incompatible with our Treaty obligations, and they would therefore vote against our admission. Secondly, as long as passive resistance lasted, the League would not be able to stand the strain of such a conflict between France and the new member of the League. The effect of this telegram was immediate and decisive. There was, of course, no more question of our démarche. The blow was terrible for us, and, I frankly confess, for me in particular, having firmly believed in English support. Many people did not fully trust the declaration of the Foreign Office. But some days afterwards one of us had an opportunity of speaking with a prominent member of the British Cabinet at Geneva, and he repeated the advice. It was the same member who only a few months previously had advised us to claim admission. So no doubt was any longer possible. I have sometimes been asked ironically by opponents how I was going to explain this last act of Albion. I said, it is to be explained by the mentality of the most competent English statesman in League questions, who is a very cautious diplomat and does not

wish to endanger the delicate instrument he plays with such masterly skill, by permitting France and Germany to play a fortissimo piece arranged for four hands which would end in a violent discord. I know this explanation to be the true one ; but whom would it convince ? If the League is to be a debating society for governments who have no quarrels with one another, then it is superfluous, and if Germany is to wait till France should condescend to welcome our entrance, then she can go on waiting indefinitely. Thus the triumph of those who had always said that British encouragements had been insincere, was complete. They considered it a new proof that England only desired to inflame our quarrel with France in order to be the *tertius gaudens*, but would never dream of assisting us in earnest, and would be sure to find a pretext against our admission next year as she had found it this year. For my part I know that this is nonsense ; but what certain proof is there of the contrary ?

Since last summer a new Government has taken office in Germany. Herr Stresemann is no longer Chancellor, but is still Minister of Foreign Affairs. I am not aware of his personal feelings towards the League, but a distinguished member of our diplomatic corps, Herr v. Bülow, who is chief of the section for the League of Nations in our Foreign Office, has recently published a very remarkable and possibly significant book of more than six hundred pages called "The Versailles League of Nations, a provisional balance sheet." There are very few men in the world who know the League in all its details, and also in all that has happened behind the scenes, as well as Herr von Bülow, and his book is the most elaborate and precise history of the activity of the League that has as yet appeared in any country. Now the whole volume is in effect a long bill of indictment, seeking to prove point by point that the entire political work of the League is nothing but partiality, hypocrisy and incompetence. I recommend this most dangerous book to your careful attention. It will henceforth determine the attitude of our Press, possibly also that of the neutral Press, and will certainly influence the opinion of our present and future Governments.

How are we to alter this opinion ? The only means, unfortunately, lie neither with you nor with us. The only means would be for France to revise her brutal policy towards Germany, because then that better Germany of which I have been speaking and which is now not dead but stunned by the blows of M. Poincaré, would instantly awake, and then the nationalistic distrust of international solidarity would be replaced by a sincere desire to co-operate with England in the League.

The new English Cabinet is a Cabinet of friends of the League, and seems determined to induce Germany to join it. There has been as yet no official invitation, but you will certainly now understand

that such an invitation would be received with a certain measure of caution after what happened last summer. I do not presume to offer advice. But I am convinced that if the English Government really intends to make us enter the League, they will find a way, perhaps not to alter our Government's political taste, but certainly to alter its attitude. And this is absolutely necessary. It is my firm conviction that the future of Europe depends upon the League, the future of the League upon the admission of Germany, and Germany's future upon her becoming at last a free nation among free sister-nations. Ladies and Gentlemen, let us work together towards the achievement of such noble aims.

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THE
REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

I.

It is sixty years since Bagehot made his 'severe but friendly critic' of our English institutions remark that the only cure for an admiration of the House of Lords was to go and look at it. In the period that has passed since he wrote no new grounds of eulogy have appeared; and the large number of attempts at its reform in the last half-century are evidence that a term has been set to its present structure.

It lacks, indeed, some of the merits to which it could once lay claim. Sixty years ago, it was a chamber of the old and great families, the men who, almost by inheritance, were charged with the governance of England. To-day, it is a chamber woefully out of tune with all its traditions. One-quarter of its membership has been added in the last three decades. The average peer has gone down into the city; and a list of the positions occupied there by its members would read like a footnote to the list of securities upon the Stock Exchange. It has shown no signs of renewal of spirit. Its debates are as badly attended as when Lord Chatham sarcastically termed it a 'tapestry.' It is still overwhelmingly conservative. It is active, that is to say, only when the Tory party is out of office. Since its adventures with the Liberal government of 1909, it can no longer touch Money Bills; and even ordinary legislation it can, under the Parliament Act of 1911, only delay without the power to destroy. But it remains the protective armament of vested interests. It is certain to spring into new life once a Labour majority in the House of Commons seeks, as it will have to seek, to revise the foundations of the state. For the handful of Labour peers could not, even with Liberal support, hope to pass there any drastic measures about which deep feeling was aroused. For two years, at any rate, the House of Lords could delay them by using its temporary veto; and that would mean, in all probability, the wastage of the first half of the Parliament in which Labour, for the first time, had the opportunity of creative legislation. No one can confront that danger with equanimity.

A new situation, however, has come into existence. A Tory government is in office with the largest majority that party has enjoyed since the Reform Act of 1832. It is being pressed, not unintelligibly, to reform the House of Lords before the next general election, so that any possible Labour government in the future shall be confronted with a strong Second Chamber capable of opposing a

stout front to what are called dangerous innovations. We do not, of course, know what scheme the Baldwin Government is likely to adopt. We know only that its purpose will be to strengthen the Upper House against the power of the Commons. We can imagine, from the Curzon Resolutions of July 19th, 1922, that its basis will be a combination of (*a*) Peers of the Royal Blood, Lords Spiritual, and Law Lords; (*b*) Members elected from outside, perhaps directly, perhaps indirectly; (*c*) Hereditary Peers elected from among themselves; (*d*) Members nominated by the Crown. The House, so constituted, will probably be smaller than at present; and those elected under (*b*) and (*c*) will probably sit only for a term of years, though they will be re-eligible. Occasion will be taken, while retaining the supremacy of the House of Commons in finance, to restore the full veto of the House of Lords in other matters. What would be the effect of such changes?

They would undoubtedly make the problems of a Labour government with a majority even more difficult to solve than they would be with the present House of Lords. For the latter dare not tamper with any measures which have the considered support of the electorate behind them; and, if it did, it could always be compelled to submit by the creation of enough new peers to alter its complexion favourably to Labour. But a revised Chamber would have a fixed composition, unalterable save with its own consent; and it is important to realise what that composition would be. Let us take each section of its probable membership separately. (*a*) Peers of the Royal Blood are innocuous and unimportant since, by tradition they do not vote. The Lords Spiritual are, with rare exceptions, wedded firmly to the *status quo*; and there is hardly a Law Lord to-day, and but few conceivable Law Lords, whose opinions are likely to be progressive in temper. (*b*) The elected members will have a character which depends largely on the nature of the constituency adopted. If this is geographical and direct, as now, they will probably be conservative, since the larger size of the constituency, the problems of publicity consequently involved, favour the candidates with more money to spend on making themselves known; for you cannot address one or two hundred thousand electors cheaply. If the basis is indirect, and such bodies as the municipal and county councils are allowed to choose them, they are, again, especially in the counties, likely to be conservative; and since indirect election is, as American experience with the Senate has strikingly shown, the nurse of corruption, they will probably, in the towns, represent the big interests, and, in the counties, the landowners and farmers. If the basis is professional, and an attempt is made to secure an occupational franchise, the power of Capital and Labour will, at best, be equally balanced; and this, with the other sections of the Chamber, will be sufficient to place Labour in a permanent minority. (*c*) The hereditary peers will clearly be Conservative; there are only seven or eight Labour peers in the House of Lords, and even the Liberals represent less than one-sixth

of the whole peerage. It should, moreover, be noted that the term of office of these selected members under (*b*) and (*c*) is likely to be some such considerable period as seven or ten years. For it will be argued that this ensures continuity and stability in the Second Chamber, and prevents it from being the prey of temporary passion in the electorate. But it is the plain lesson of all electoral history that one chamber is bound to quarrel with another if they are chosen at different times by the people. It was that difference of electoral period which, in 1918, wrecked the programme and ideals of President Wilson.

There remain the members who are to be nominated by the Crown. Obviously, some technique of qualification will have to be adopted. What is it likely to be? Certain obvious categories of nomination suggest themselves. We shall be given pro-consuls and retired Ambassadors, men like the late Lord Cromer and the late Lord Bertie; retired politicians who have grown too old to stand the heat and stress of the House of Commons; one or two distinguished clergymen from the Nonconformist churches, together with, perhaps, a Roman Catholic Archbishop, and the Chief Rabbi; some representative scientist like the President of the Royal Society; a half-dozen retired generals and admirals; great business men like the Governor of the Bank of England, and the President of the Federation of British Industries; some outstanding figure in the Trade Union world; some such notability in local government as the chairman of the County Councils Association; and, it may even be, a representative of the Livery Companies of London. However, in fact, these categories are determined, they are almost inevitably, bound with the single exception of the Trade Union representative, to be hostile to Labour. And it must be remembered, further, that these Crown nominees would be chosen by a Conservative Prime Minister; and that, if they served for a term of years only, their successors would, in all probability, be chosen also by a Conservative. Any such reform as this scheme involves, therefore, means a Second Chamber vaccinated against Labour ideas, and with authority to reject all measures other than financial bills greater than the House of Lords has possessed since 1832.

That way, frankly, lies disaster. For it would be useless to reform the House of Lords unless the new body were intended to be active; and if such a chamber as this were active, it would come immediately into active collision with the first Labour Government which took office with a majority. It would reject such measures as Mr. Wheatley's Bill against profiteering in building materials; such bills as attempted to set up a legal minimum wage, or the nationalisation of mines. It would contain practically no hostile voices to attack its predominant temper, and it would leave accordingly the impression that the whole impact of propertied interests was arrayed against the popular will. Such an impression is bound to create a revolutionary temper. It suggests that property is, of set purpose, entitled to a

predominant interest in the state. That view is directly antithetic to the position Labour occupies; for Labour is, as a democratic party, bound to insist that the state is built upon the rights of persons regarded as equally entitled to share in the gain and toil of living. If therfore, its view of what constitutes an equal share is deliberately obstructed by constitutional reaction, it will have no alternative but to seek its end along different paths.

II.

But it is important to discuss in general the theory of a second chamber, before we can arrive at any view of its functions and composition. It is usually argued that it is necessary for three purposes:—(*a*) to check the rashness of the lower House, its tendency, that is, to leap at unwonted and unwise measures in the passionate aftermath of an election, (*b*) to revise the measures of the lower House in order to correct errors of drafting and to draw attention to points and principles that have been overlooked in the primary debates, (*c*) to bring into public life types of character and experience that are not likely to be selected for such service by the ordinary electoral process.

Let us take each of these arguments separately. The theory that a single chamber is normally precipitate is unsupported by any serious evidence in English history. The movement for the reform of the Franchise is usually dated from 1769; the first Reform Act is 1832. Each subsequent Act took, on the average, thirty years to reach the Statute Book. It took half a century of political conflict to realise the principle of Home Rule for Ireland. The Combination Acts were repealed in 1824; but it was fifty years before Disraeli gave the trade unions a recognised status in English law. A proper system of national education was demanded during the Napoleonic wars; but the ideal was not achieved, and then in but a partial fashion, until the Forster Act of 1870. Or, in another field, we may take the main items in the programme of the Labour Party. Practically all of them have been the subject of public discussion for a generation; and their failure to achieve the form of a government project has been due, not to the absence of debate, but to the fact that no party representative of Labour has, until 1924, attained political office. Or, again, we may take a third test. It is the English habit, when some problem is ripe for solution, to appoint a Royal Commission to make recommendations upon it; and, on the average, it takes some fifteen years to persuade a government to legislate upon the subject of its reference. The observer, indeed, of the House of Commons will be tempted to accuse it, on its record, not of precipitancy but of amazing slowness in the disposal of great issues.

Sometimes the argument against rashness takes another form. Great changes, it is said, ought to be supported by a clear majority in the House of Commons; but unless we have a second chamber with at least the power of delay, they might well be passed by a

single vote. Or there are measures brought in by a government, and supported by the power of its majority, to which public opinion is decisively opposed, measures, for instance, of moment passed by a House of Commons on the verge of dissolution, or in a sudden burst of fear or temper. A government may definitely conspire against the the power of the people and, like the younger Pitt or Lord Sidmouth, use the mechanisms of the House of Commons to achieve that end. So, for example, Mussolini used the processes of Italian parliamentarism to pass his recent and vicious scheme of proportional representation. Such a House of Commons, unless à check existed upon its power, might well vote to prolong its own life indefinitely; and short of revolution there would be no means of terminating its usurpation of popular authority.

But abstractions of this kind are hardly related to reality. No government is likely to attempt great changes unless it is fairly certain to command general support for them; to carry, for instance, a bill for the nationalisation of mines by a single vote would so diminish the prestige of a ministry as almost certainly to involve its downfall. The sudden fit of fear or temper is, historically, much more prone to effect a Conservative government than any other. It is men like the Duke of Northumberland who ask for panic measures; and a second chamber composed, as it would normally be composed, of solid and middle-aged men is exactly the type of assembly to be swept off its feet by evidence produced to prove the need of 'panic' legislation. Men like Lord Danesfort and Lord Sydenham are the ideal assistants to a government which seeks the curtailment of liberty. And if this is the object a second chamber is intended to to prevent, it is much more simply achieved by a written constitution in which the abrogation of such statutes as Habeas Corpus is made especially difficult of attainment by any government. So, also, no government, under such a scheme, could be permitted to prolong the life of the House of Commons.

The second argument is decisively contradicted by all that we know of legislative assemblies the world over. The technical amendment of bills, the niceties of drafting, the realisation of probable result, are all of them highly expert matters. They are much more likely to be done effectively by half-a-dozen people meeting privately than under the full panoply of a legislative debate. The need to make bills adequate to their principle is ground for the prior consultation (*a*) of the interests likely to be effected by them, and (*b*) of men like the late Lord Thring, or Sir H. Jenkyns, who had a definite genius for giving form to measures. But it is difficult to treat seriously the belief that the Archbishop of Canterbury, or an ex-Viceroy of India, or the President of the Federation of British Industries, have anything of value to contribute in so expert and delicate a realm as this. Amendment and debate in a chamber, as distinct from a committee, always involve the crudity it is the purpose of this revision to avoid.

Nor is the third argument at all attractive. It is the primary thesis of democratic government that those by whom the people are ruled shall be directly chosen by themselves. If a man is unwilling or unfit to submit to the mechanisms of popular choice, he ought not to be imposed as a governor upon the people. There are many methods whereby any special competence that he possesses can be made available to a government which desires to use it. And it is noteworthy that, with the single exception of Lord Rosebery, every member of the House of Lords who has attained eminence in the House of Lords during the last half-century had already distinguished himself in the House of Commons. That is true of Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Salisbury and Lord Balfour on the Conservative side; it is true of Lord Courtney, Lord Morley and Lord Bryce on the Liberal. In a democratic society no one is entitled to the palm without the dust; yet that is exactly what is involved in this proposal. If men of great intellectual distinction desire a place in public life, they will always be able to find it; and if they are permanently rejected by the electorate they are not entitled to creep into it by a door over which the citizen-body cannot stand on guard.

So much for the supposed special advantages a second chamber affords. But we must not neglect the difficulties of finding an authoritative second chamber that does not raise far greater difficulties than it solves. Let us take the possible methods of choice and consider the difficulties to which they give rise. (1) If the second chamber is nominated by the government it will, as the Canadian Senate has made plain, be simply a partisan body to which no authority attaches. If it is nominated by outside bodies, whether territorial or vocational in character, it will certainly be narrow, and possibly corrupt. And selection upon a vocational basis would raise the insoluble issue of finding suitable units of choice. Anyone who considers the history of the German Economic Council will discover that no such vocational body can ever be entrusted with more than advisory powers. For any unit selected is not only a *pis aller*, but it lacks that simplicity and directness which are the first necessities in a legislative system.

Nor is election in better case. If it is direct, it may either be simultaneously with that of the House of Commons, in which case its composition will be, in all probability, similar to that of the latter; and it will then, for party reasons, pass the legislation which comes before it without much difficulty. If it is elected at a different time, it will probably have a different composition; and in that event it will mainly tend to wreck the legislation of a government to which it is hostile. It is a general truth that if a second chamber agrees with the first, it is superfluous; while if it disagrees, it is obnoxious. For, in the first case, it merely involves the wearisome reiteration of argument already sufficiently ventilated; and, in the second, it transfers the volume of discussion away from the substance of the problem involved to matters of constitutional form, and hinders that primary

function of an executive which consists in driving an ample legislative programme to the statute-book. This truth has been made elementary, not only by the relations between the Senate and the House of Representatives in the United States, but also by colonial experience, particularly in Australia. And everyone will remember how the controversy with the House of Lords, after 1909, completely wrecked the social programme of the Liberal government. A directly elected second chamber, it may be added, would have so much more authority than one built upon nomination, that we may expect rather an addition to than a subtraction from, the difficulties it creates.

It might, however, as with the Senate of the United States before 1913, be chosen by indirect election. We might, for instance, group together the local authorities of this country into electoral units returning some suitable quota of representatives. But this will not obviate the difficulty of securing a chamber likely to work with the House of Commons; for since the local authorities are elected for a fixed term of office, their complexion will bear no relation to the mood of the people in judging general political issues at a dissolution. Such an electorate, moreover, would be too small to provide a sufficient basis of authority for an assembly with effective power. It would, from its very nature, tend to parochialism; and its relationship to the legislative assembly would introduce undesirable and unreal issues into the politics of local government. Anyone, moreover, who realises how intensely our local bodies, especially by reason of the fact that service upon them is unpaid, are weighted in the interest of the wealthy ratepayer, will be able to measure the degree to which they would handicap the choice of more progressive representatives for the second chamber. And if indirect elections were built upon occupation as distinct from neighbourhood there would be the two problems (*a*) of finding suitable units of representation and (*b*) balancing the interests of capital and labour. The first, I have urged, is insoluble; and the second, if the principal of equality were adopted, would clearly destroy the effectiveness of the Assembly.

I have already discussed the idea of a second chamber built upon some fusion of these principles. It is clear that Labour cannot accept the principle of representation built upon the hereditary peerage in any shape or form. Because a man (or woman) has been careful in the selection of his parents is no ground for giving him a especial authority in the legislative power of the state. Nomination, as I have pointed out, will inevitably result in partisan choice; and, especially in a capitalist society, it affords no categories of qualification that do not involve a permanent weighting of the scales against those with little or no property. A small infusion of elected persons raises all the difficulties of suitable constituencies, and, in any case, would not balance the defects of nomination and of election by and from the peerage.

III.

These difficulties, however, are small compared to the problem of powers. What is a second chamber to be able to do? It is universally agreed that it cannot have powers superior to those of the House of Commons; and it is generally admitted that it ought not to be able to amend or defeat those measures which the Speaker agrees, under the Parliament Act, to certify as financial. Anyone, indeed, who considers the relationship of equality between the Senate and the House of Representatives in America upon financial measures will realise why this is the case. The result is to allow every petty interest to magnify its opportunity of corrupt influence; and where the second chamber is small, this opportunity is at a maximum.

The relationship, therefore, finance apart, between the two Houses may be one either of equality or of inferiority. The first creates insuperable difficulties. It cannot, in the first place, be maintained; for to any assembly with the taxing-power there is bound to gravitate both the interest of the electorate and the prestige of authority. But, this apart, equality is bound to mean deadlock whenever great issues are in debate. Deadlock, in its turn, means, ultimately, either dissolution or conference. The latter is unsatisfactory because there are too many issues on which compromise—the real purpose of conference—is impossible; a government, for instance, which had brought in a bill for the nationalisation of the mines, could not accept amendments from the second chamber intended to transform it into a scheme like that advocated by Sir Arthur Duckham. The power absolutely to reject is inevitably the power to dissolve; for a government which cannot get its programme through must inevitably seek a new lease of authority. But no government can be expected to live a creative life with such a sword of Damocles suspended over its head. It exists essentially to legislate on the basis of principle; and if the principle it adopts is to be found unsatisfactory, the only body morally entitled to say so is the electorate as a whole. The problem of equal powers, moreover, raises the question of the relationship of the executive to the second chamber, and especially that of the Prime Minister. Every legislative assembly is jealous of its dignity and its honour. Equality would mean a demand for the presence in debate of those primarily responsible for measures; and, under the pressure of modern parliamentary conditions that would involve an intolerable strain upon members of the Cabinet. It is the subordination of the House of Lords that enables ministers to devote themselves to the Commons.

The second chamber must, therefore, be inferior in power to the first. What does inferiority imply? It involves, I suggest, the possession of four powers: (*a*) There must be the power to ask for information, including the right to demand papers and to appoint committees of investigation. (*b*) There must be the power to pass

resolutions, it being remembered, as Lord Mansfield said, that the resolution of a single chamber while it "looks like a legislative act, has yet no force nor effect as law." (*c*) There must be a power to attempt the amendment of bills. (*d*) There must be a power to delay the passage of legislation for some period.

Obviously, only the third and fourth of these powers raise any problems of importance. Amendments may be either of detail or of substance. If they are of the first type, it will surely not be difficult to persuade a government either to accept them or to effect some suitable arrangement. If they are of the second type, their fate must be dependent, clearly, upon the will of the House of Commons. That will, in its turn, depends upon the decision of the government, at least in the normal instance; and it therefore seems to follow that rejection of amendments of substance must be final. For, otherwise, insistence on either side produces a deadlock; and it is the hypothesis of inferiority that no deadlock is admissible.

The power to delay is a far more complex matter. It raises a multiplicity of questions, none of which can be answered in a direct way. What, for example are to be the conditions of delay? Is the belief that a bill is a bad bill ground for its rejection by the second chamber? Or because, the latter body believes that public opinion is hostile to it? Or because, at the last general election, the government obtained no mandate for such a measure? But, in the first case, the House of Commons feels differently, and it is, from its nature, a more authoritative assembly. Merely on the ground that it dislikes the bill, a second chamber cannot legitimately reject any more than the Supreme Court of the United States can reject legislation because it believes it to be unwise. In the second case, further, there is no reason to assume that the second chamber is more likely to be sensitive to the demands of public opinion than the House of Commons. The members of the latter body will pay more dearly for errors of judgement. They are more likely to be informed of the total popular view. They are certain, upon grounds I have already pointed out, to be more closely in touch with the opinion of the working class. And an estimate of public opinion is not, after all, an easy matter. Does it mean opinion that appears in the press? Or what is received from such organised bodies as the Chamber of Commerce? No act, clearly enough, is more subtile or more delicate than that of gleaning the mind of the public; and no second chamber is so likely here to be right as to make its view worth more than that of the House of Commons. So, also, with the mandate. For it is, firstly, always difficult to pick out the issues upon which a party has been victorious at the polls; and it is, secondly, clear that every government will have, in the intervals between election, to deal with unforeseen problems, and to guess at the solution acceptable to its constituents. That is the case in the event of war — as formidable a solution as can be attempted. The social environment does not remain static; and the theory of a mandate is, in general, only a

means whereby the forces hostile to some particular legislation seek to prejudice its merits in the eyes of the nation.

There is, also, the problem of over how long the power to delay is to extend. Under the Parliament Act, for instance, if a Bill is rejected by the House of Lords, it does not become law until it has again been passed by the Commons in two further successive sessions. That means, in practice, a delay of practically two years. It means, also, in practice, a power to uproot the foundations of a government's programme for that period; for the life of any government is built upon its control of the time-table. Most people would, I think, feel that such a power is too great. But what is the alternative? Mr. Lees-Smith suggests a single session, with the proviso that the Speaker should prevent the illegitimate use of the closure in the second discussion of the Bill by the Commons; but he is assuming a second chamber which reproduces the proportionate composition of the first, and is therefore unlikely to reject a government measure of the first importance.* We are faced, in other words, by the dilemma that if the period of delay is more than a year it disrupts the programme of the government, while if it is less than a year it is hardly worth the expenditure of time and effort involved. The measure, moreover, may be passed by the House of Commons in the last year of its life; in which case the second chamber is given the power to destroy measures which the government will not, quite possibly, have the power to introduce a second time. And if it is said that a government which feels strongly about a defeated Bill can always, by a dissolution, attempt to get a mandate for its passage, as Mr. Asquith did twice in 1910, the plain answer is, I suggest, that of all constitutional instruments a second chamber not built upon popular election is the most unsuitable to possess the power or compelling reference to the people.

IV.

I suggest, therefore, that whether from the angle of its composition or of its powers, it is, in fact, impossible to discover a satisfactory second chamber in any way able to check the authority of the House of Commons. Where a control is desirable, it can best be attained by limiting the power of the lower House to pass constitutional measures unless a specified majority, which might be as high as two-thirds of its membership, voted in its favour. Outside that narrow realm, the power to control ought to lie in the commonsense of the party in office, on the one hand, and the ultimate judgment of the electorate, upon the other.

I believe, therefore, that single-chamber government provides much the best solution of the problem. That is, of course, to traverse the generally accepted judgment of experience: a bicameral assembly is usually assumed to be the basic dogma of political science. But it is only such a dogma because, as Tocqueville warned us, we

* *Second Chambers in Theory and Practice*, p. 249.

confound our wonted institutions with the necessary foundations of society. We have bicameral government because, for historical reasons, the English Parliament finally became a legislature with two chambers; and most constitutions have been founded upon that example. The English Parliament, however, developed into its present form only by a series of accidents; and anyone who examines the nature and history of second chambers in general will discover that their main purpose is at least to delay, and, if possible, to prevent, the disturbance of the *status quo*. They are, in fact, part of the general tactic of conservatism. They enable the propertied interests in a state to interpose a barrier in the way of radical legislation. No one has has ever heard of great progressive measures being insisted upon by the House of Lords or the Canadian Senate or those of Italy or France. No one doubts that great changes ought not to be rashly made; but few, I take it, will doubt either that they ought not to be opposed merely because they are hostile to the interests of a small section of the community.

And while the accidental history of the English Parliament has built the canon of political theory, it should also be remembered that those states with a single-chambered government have suffered no disaster on that account. Bulgaria may have had a single-chamber; but pre-war Serbia had two. Costa Rica may have had a single-chamber; but the old Austro-Hungary enjoyed the benefits of bicameralism. "Nowhere in the colonies," writes Mr. Temperley*, "is the Upper Chamber really imposing, in few is it actually powerful, and in many it is regarded as a rather tedious relic of a bygone age." Ontario has suffered no harm from its disappearance; in New Zealand, in New South Wales and Queensland, it has merely served to fortify the interests of property against the struggle of the poor towards power. Its existence, indeed, in the British colonies and dominions, is mainly the result of that autocratic dread of the multitude so characteristic of the Whig party in the middle part of the nineteenth century; and it is worth remembering that the protagonist of the bicameral principle, the third Earl Grey, was persuaded by the difficulty of finding a suitable form for the second chamber. "I now consider it to be very doubtful, at least," he wrote in 1853†, "whether the Single legislature ought not under any circumstances to be preferred."

It is worth while, moreover, to remember that there exists in the literature of political science a very respectable body of opinion in favour of single-chamber government. Certainly no one could reject without discussion a view upheld by Franklin, Samuel Adams and Tom Paine in America, and by Turgot, Siéyès, and Condorcet in France. It is noteworthy, also, that there is widespread discontent with the Australian Senate which, when the Constitution was made, was accepted as an axiomatic necessity. It was stoutly opposed in

* H. W. V. Temperley. *Senates and Upper Chambers*. (1910). p. 47.

† See his *Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*. Vol. II., p. 96.

the Convention which constructed the Constitution of South Africa. and accepted there only upon the condition that it would be revised after ten years ; if it has remained in the revision of 1920 that is rather because it has proved impotent in practice either to delay or to revise. Indeed, it might be urged with justice that even in a federal state no real necessity for a second chamber exists ; certainly the binding force of party has, in the American senate, proved more than able to transcend effectively the limits of state-boundaries. A Democratic Senator from Florida does not vote in any noticeably different way from a Democratic Senator from Massachusetts on any important issue. Every purpose the Senate is supposed to protect can, in a federal as in a unitary state, be protected by other means.

V.

Tradition, of course, dies hard ; and it is improbable that we shall abolish the House of Lords directly without an attempt at some intermediate experiment. It is, therefore, worth while to enquire what form, given the nature of the problem, that experiment could most suitably take.

The best form, in all probability, is a modification of that which obtains in Norway. After the election of the Storthing the members of that body choose one-fourth of their own number to form the Upper Chamber—the Lagsthing—the remaining three-fourths constituting the Lower Chamber. The Norwegian Parliament acts as a bicameral body only in dealing with ordinary measures. It cannot initiate legislation, though it may revise or reject it. If its amendments are rejected, the two Houses will meet as one, and a two-thirds majority overrides the view of the Upper Chamber. So, also, with cases where bills are definitely rejected. And, clearly, since the Storthing as a whole elects the Upper Chamber, its composition naturally reflects that of the party or parties in power. The system has been in operation for over a century, and it has worked, thus far, quite admirably. The Lagsthing can only delay for three days, and the difference between the two Houses can therefore be settled at once. As a rule, disagreement occurs on matters of detail rather than of principle. The type of member chosen is, of course, broadly an accurate sample of the membership of the Storthing as a whole. It is, moreover, worth while to note that this principle of election of the Upper House by the Lower was excepted as one of its constitutive principles by the Bryce report, and that it has been partially adopted, also, in the new Senate of the South African Union.

With minor changes, such a method could easily be applied to the second chamber in this country. Each new House of Commons, as it met, might choose for its own lifetime a body of some hundred persons in proportion to the strength of the parties in its own composition. It would be better, I think, that they should be elected from outside the Commons than from inside ; since, otherwise, the

fact of popular choice would give the new body an undesirably large authority. This new House should not have the power either to initiate legislation, or to touch financial measures. It should be able to ask questions, and to revise or reject all other bills. But refusal on the part of the House of Commons to accept its amendments should lead to their failure if that refusal is supported by a majority of one-tenth of the Commons ; and, in the event of rejection, a second passage of the bill, one month after rejection, should override the will of the second chamber. The new house could be given, as now, a secretary of state and an under-secretary to represent the government of the day there in debates.

What would be the effect of such a scheme? We should have a second chamber amenable to the will of the popularly elected assembly. It could not control or defeat the purposes of the latter. But it could make known criticisms and objections; it could delay, for a short time, measures that it thought fatally unwise, or definitely counter to public opinion. The real onus of decision would rest, as it ought to rest, with the House of Commons ; and the penalty for error could be inflicted, as it ought to be inflicted, by the electorate. The small size of the House would tend, as it tends in the Committees of the Commons, to make discussion concrete and practical, and there would be less danger than there is in an assembly as large as that foreshadowed in the Curzon Resolutions of eloquence as such being important. Every type of experience it is desired to utilise in a second chamber might find a place there—the distinguished lawyer, the retired civil servant, the trade union leader, the great educationist with a gift for affairs. It might be a useful way of using the authority of men defeated at the general election whose absence would be a loss to public life, and it would give them a suitable platform of continuous influence until they returned to the House of Commons. It would be a chamber with prestige, but without power. It could influence, but it could not determine. It could oppose a government without embarrassing a government; it could criticise without the opportunity to destroy. Above all, there would be no danger of its functioning as the safeguard of privilege. If a Conservative government was in office, its predominant complexion would be Conservative, if a Labour government was in office it would be, predominantly, a Labour chamber. Those who regard its functions as insignificant, may be reminded that they will be larger than those now exercised by the electorate; and those who consider that the predominance of the House of Commons would be overwhelming, may well remember Bagehot's admirable remark—even truer to-day than when he made it sixty years ago—that the national attention to politics is too incessant to make possible in the House of Commons "a steady opposition to a formed public opinion." Here, of course, as elsewhere, it is urgent that a formed public opinion should exist. For, ultimately, the only true safeguard against legislative error lies in the quality of the national mind.

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WILLIAM COBBETT.

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BY

G. D. H. COLE.

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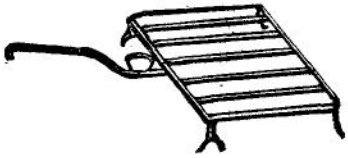

WILLIAM COBBETT.

THE sign which appears above these words is a Gridiron—the sign chosen by Cobbett in his later years as the symbol of his methods of political controversy. In earlier years he had described himself as a 'porcupine,' and 'Peter Porcupine' had become, in the United States of America, by far the most redoubtable of anti-Jacobin pamphleteers. Carlyle compared him to a rhinoceros, and Heine to a hound. And Carlyle again called him "the pattern John Bull of his century."

A suggestive crop of metaphor—suggestive at least of the man in his public dealings, and as he appeared to the outside world. He was forever grilling his enemies on the gridiron of his invective, or sticking them with his quills of ridicule and contempt; trampling them down like a rhinoceros, and as insensitive to the blows they dealt him back; swift on the scent as a hound, and as tenacious of the chase; and, above all, the John Bull in the china shop of Tory, Whig and Radical alike.

Not merely the bull, observe, but the John Bull! Everyone who has written of Cobbett with sympathy has recognised in him an essence peculiarly English, something typical of England itself. He is not merely English; in a real sense he stands for England. He is "the pattern John Bull of his century"; but his century is not the nineteenth, in which the best part of his work was done. It is more the eighteenth, still more the seventeenth, yet more again the sixteenth. His roots are deep in the historic past of England; the further back one goes, the nearer one seems to come to the age in which he belongs. Yet one never reaches it; for the England Cobbett typifies is not the England of any one century, but a deep-seated tradition—a tradition whose swift destruction in his own day called forth his most righteous anger.

Cobbett was a peasant. He came of a peasant stock, and was reared as a peasant, in the heart of a people of peasants. Despite all his experiences, as lawyer's clerk, soldier, teacher, journalist, agitator, Member of Parliament, to the end of his life he thought and felt as a peasant. He did not need to sympathise with the people and their wrongs; he was one of the people, and their wrongs

were his. Every blow struck in his day at Old England—and not a minute passed without a blow—was a buffet of which he personally felt the impact. In fighting for the people, and returning blow for blow, he was all the time fighting for himself and for his own people.

He was a peasant in this as well—he made no abstract theories. His judgments were all based directly on what he saw and felt and knew from personal experience. The appeal to first principles never moved him one iota, and he seldom even employed it as a weapon in controversy. 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' left him cold. Robert Owen's Utopian Socialism provoked only his contempt. He became a militant Radical, not because he had any love for Radical principles, but because he saw around him positive abuses and crimes against the people which called for radical remedies. The 'feelosofical' Radicalism of Bentham and Brougham he hated far more than the Toryism of Eldon or Wellington. He could not abide Francis Place.

All too seldom in history has the peasant been able to speak his mind with an eloquence to command the world's attention. Occasionally, he has made himself known by burning villas or *chateaux*, by some blazing terror that has swept swiftly over the countryside. Far more often he has had to leave others to speak for him; and those others have woefully misinterpreted his meaning. It is the peasant's tragedy that, when at last he found his voice in Cobbett's plain and forcible prose, his defeat at the hands of plutocracy was already assured. England had chosen the path of industrialism before Cobbett began to speak ; and his was a voice crying in the great wilderness that was soon to be called "the workshop of the world."

William Cobbett was born in 1763, and died in 1835. He was born just when the forces of economic change, active for some time before, were gathering that swift momentum which, in a single generation, destroyed the villages of England and created the noisome factory towns. Enclosures and the rise in the cost of living were then just beginning their swift expropriation and pauperisation of the peasantry; and the dispossessed peasants and the pauper 'apprentices' were being made the basis for the concoction of the modern factory proletariat. Most of the phases of this great degradation of the people passed before his own eyes. He saw the peasantry being driven from the land, and the ugly towns rising in the North and Midlands. And as the peasants declined, the new rich rose to power and place. Country seats passed into the hands of bankers, stockjobbers, merchants; and, when at length Reform came, it only enthroned the new lords of the people in the seats of the old. Cobbett's last years were spent in a criticism of the Reformed Parliament fully as sweeping and vigorous as any he had pronounced against the Rotten Boroughs of pre-Reform days. His last articles were written to denounce the new Poor Law of 1834, the measure in which the Reformed Parliament applied its Malthusian faith to the solution of the

social problem. He died before, in the Chartist Movement, the factory workers gathered up their forces for a mass protest against the new order—a last protest preceding the triumphant march of Victorian Capitalism towards a goal still undefined.

Cobbett's life thus covers the most critical period in modern history. He saw the two revolutions in industry and agriculture transform the whole social structure of English life, creating at once a new rich and a new poor—the 'Two Nations' of Disraeli's *Sybil*. He heard from afar the thunder of the Revolution in France, which brought the old European State system crashing down in ruins. He lived through the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and through twenty years of the social struggles which followed them. For thirty-five years he was a powerful, for twenty years by far the most powerful, journalist in England, unrivalled as a writer of strong simple English, unrivalled too in his knowledge of the mind of the English people. He was arrogant, egoistic, intolerant, quarrelsome, in public affairs; he was often inaccurate in matters of fact, and often wrong in his minor conclusions. But in the big things he was right, the more right because he judged not by principles, but by the direct evidence of his senses, always ready to call a spade a spade, and to give tyrants and hypocrites the names of their vices. Above all, he could always talk in a language the people knew. This was the secret of his power; he talked and wrote like the people, because he felt and thought like the people.

Cobbett was born at "The Jolly Farmer," Farnham, Surrey, in the heart of the prosperous hop country. It was an appropriate birthplace for a man who, all his life, looked and felt like the jolly farmer who is the traditional John Bull. He was seventy years old when J. S. Buckingham describes him as having "a ruddy countenance, a small laughing eye, and the figure of a respectable farmer." To Hazlitt, he recalled "a gentleman farmer of the last century."

Cobbett's father was indeed a small farmer, who combined farming with the business of an innkeeper. His earliest memories were of life and work in the fields—crow-scaring, hoeing, ploughing, gardening for the Bishop at Farnham Castle, and contriving to find time for country sports such as coursing as well. He loved gardens, and at fourteen he gave a hint of his taste for adventure by running away to London in order to get a job at Kew Gardens, of whose beauty he had heard. He got his job; but before long he returned home and resumed his work on the farm. His next adventure occurred when he was nineteen. On a visit to relations near Portsmouth he first saw the sea, and conceived at once the desire to be a sailor. His wish was thwarted, only because a kindly captain, who supposed him to be running away for fear of a bastard, persuaded him to return home.

"I returned once more to the plough," Cobbett wrote, "but I was spoiled for a farmer." Within a few months another sudden impulse caused him to leave home for ever. He was going to Guild-

ford Fair, and was on his way to meet two or three girls who were going with him, when he met the London coach coming up the turnpike road. In a moment he made up his mind, mounted the coach, and, without a word to his friends, was off to London, arriving there with but half a crown in his pocket. His was just twenty years old.

In the coach he was lucky enough to meet a business friend of his father's, a hop merchant, who after vainly trying to persuade him to go back home, at length found him a job in a lawyer's office. There, without friends or companions, Cobbett slaved for some months, learning to be an efficient clerk, but pining for green fields and adventure and acquiring a healthy distaste for the law and all its works. His longing for the sea returned upon him. At length, he could bear his office no longer. He went to Chatham, and enlisted, as he thought, in the marines, only to find that he had joined the infantry by mistake. He was now twenty-one.

Cobbett's books are full of memories of his life in the army. For a year he remained at the Chatham depot, and became a corporal. Then, in the spring of 1785, he was ordered to join his regiment in Nova Scotia. Almost at once the regiment was transferred to New Brunswick, and there Cobbett remained, rising to be regimental sergeant-major, until the autumn of 1791.

He was, to the end of his life, very proud of his doings as a soldier. At Chatham he had joined a circulating library, and read everything he could lay hands on. His experience as a clerk caused him to be made copyist to the Commandant, and he began to realise the deficiencies of his education. He set to work, under the extreme difficulties of barrack life, to teach himself what he called "grammar"—by which he meant the power to speak and write correct and vigorous English. He got Lowth's Grammar, wrote it all out several times, learnt it by heart, and repeated it when on sentry-go, saved up out of his twopence a day in order to buy pens, ink and paper, and pay his library subscription, and even went without food in his search after knowledge. In New Brunswick he continued this work, but found time also to amuse himself hunting and walking, and to make friends both among his fellow-soldiers and among the settlers. At the same time, he was absolutely punctual in his attendance to duty, never a minute late, never in fault with his superiors or his equals.

"There is no situation," he wrote, "where merit is so sure to meet with reward as in a well-disciplined army." Be this as it may, Cobbett was rewarded. As sergeant-major, if we may trust his own accounts, he soon ran the regiment, the officers, intent on amusing themselves, readily resigning the administrative control into his hands. He liked authority, and his army experiences early accustomed him to its exercise.

But he found time for love affairs. In New Brunswick he met Ann Reid, who later became his wife. She was the daughter of an artillery sergeant, and he fell in love with her at first sight when he saw her scrubbing out a tub at early morning in the snow. "That's

the girl for me," said he to his companions, before he had ever exchanged a word with her. They became engaged; but soon after the artillery regiment was moved back to England. Cobbett handed over his savings, a hundred and fifty guineas, to Ann Reid's keeping, and they parted.

Cobbett remained in New Brunswick for some years longer, and once almost got married to someone else. But he remembered Ann Reid, and escaped in time. When his regiment at length returned home he at once sought her out and married her. "I found my little girl *a servant of all work* (and hard work it was) at *five pounds a year;* and, without hardly saying a word about the matter, she put into my hands *the whole of my hundred and fifty guineas unbroken!*" This though he had told her to use it, if necessary, for her maintenance till his return.

Arrived in England, Cobbett at once procured his discharge from the Army, and set about a dangerous enterprise that had been long in his mind. He had become aware in New Brunswick that the officers of his regiment systematically pillaged the men, holding back part of the pay, and making all sorts of illicit gains in connection with the supply of provisions and stores. Aided by a corporal, he had made copious excerpts from the regimental books in proof of his case, and had made up his mind to leave the army and devote himself to an exposure of the frauds. He now demanded a court-martial, to be held in London, as in Portsmouth, where the regiment was, he feared intimidation of witnesses. He further claimed the discharge from the army of certain vital witnesses.

Away in New Brunswick, Cobbett had supposed that the corruption he saw was an isolated thing, proceeding from the special depravity of his own officers. Gradually, in face of the obstructions put by the War Office in his way, he realised that he was attacking a spoils system that was common to the whole army, and generally recognised in official quarters. For a time he persisted; but at length he understood he had no chance of success, and that he would in all probability be crushed himself unless he gave way. When the court-martial was at last held, no prosecutor appeared. Cobbett had thought discretion the better part, and fled to France, then in the throes of the Revolution. This was in March, 1792—the Girondins were still in power; the Terror had not begun.

Cobbett was at this time no politician, and it is doubtful if he had any political views. He took no part in French affairs, living quietly with his wife at Tilques, a village near St. Omer, and using the time to make himself thoroughly master of the French language. Here he stayed until August, when he set off on a visit to Paris. On the way, he heard the news of the attack on the Tuileries and the deposition of Louis XVI. Realising that this meant war, he made for Havre, and took boat for the United States.

For nearly eight years from 1792 Cobbett lived in the United States, maintaining himself first as a teacher of English to the stream

of émigrés who were arriving from France, and then as the leading journalist and pamphleteer in the British interest. He settled first at Wilmington, on the Delaware, but soon moved up to Philadelphia—a stronghold of Democratic opinion, which was keenly pro-French. Gradually Cobbett was drawn into politics, at first by disputing with his French pupils, who were mostly moderate republicans, and then by the rising tide of anti-British feeling which developed after the outbreak of the Revolutionary war. At length, his resentful patriotism made him take up the cudgels publicly for his country. He had taught himself how to write ; indignation caused him to use his talent.

In 1794 Dr. Priestley, the great Radical Unitarian, whose house had been burnt down by the Birmingham mob in 1791, came to settle in the United States. The Democratic Club received him with fervent addresses, denouncing British persecution and acclaiming the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Roused to fury by what he regarded as Priestley's betrayal of his own people, Cobbett wrote a violently abusive pamphlet about him, entitled *Observations on Dr. Priestley's Emigration.*

The pamphlet was a success. It sold largely, and attracted widespread attention and controversy. Cobbett, having found the thing he could really do well, enjoyed himself hugely. In pamphlet after pamphlet he smote hard at the French Revolution and its American supporters, receiving shrewd knocks, but administering shrewder. Before long, he had become virtually the unofficial agent of British propaganda in the United States. Pitt's Government offered to take him into its pay; but then, as always, he preferred his independence.

The titles of these American pamphlets give a clear enough indication of their character. *A Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats*, *A Little Plain English*, *A Kick for a Bite*, *The Bloody Buoy*, *The Scare-Crow*, *A Letter to the Infamous Tom Paine*, *The Cannibal's Progress*, and a dozen more vigorous pamphlets soon followed the first. And in 1796 Cobbett began, with the *Political Censor*, the first of his many ventures into controversial journalism. In 1797 *Porcupine's Gazette*, a daily newspaper, replaced the *Censor*, and continued to appear as long as Cobbett remained in Philadelphia.

There is a curious irony in the fact that the greatest of English Radicals thus began his career as a loyalist writer in hot denunciation of the French Revolution and all its works. There was nothing too vile for Cobbett to attribute to the Revolution and its upholders. He wrote a *Life of Paine*, in which he collected all the scurrilous stories he could find. He published pamphlets about the events in France, which were as good examples of horror-mongering as anything lately issued from Riga or Helsingfors about events in Russia. And he libelled the American partizans of France as unmercifully as he dealt with Paine or Robespierre.

Yet a reading of these pamphlets makes the truth plain. There is in them no trace of thinking on political questions, and no con-

sidered view of Cobbett's own. They are simply joyous tirades of a naturally combative spirit, loving his own country the more for his absence from it, feeling his countrymen and his own late profession of arms insulted by the friends of France who surrounded him, forgetting in his instinctive patriotism the abuses and the reaction at home, which had driven him forth when he attempted their exposure, and idealising an England which was represented in his mind by the pleasant memories of his childhood at Farnham. Opposition, moreover, always roused him. "I was never in my life," he wrote, "of an accommodating disposition." Once he was plunged into the controversy about France, everything written in reply to his tirades served to increase the vigour of his own denunciations.

Before long this indiscriminate lashing out brought him into trouble. Among the 'Democratic' politicians of Philadelphia was Dr. Benjamin Rush, the leading advocate of the 'bleeding treatment' for combating the prevalent yellow fever. Cobbett nicknamed him 'Doctor Sangrado,' out of *Gil Blas*, and pursued him and his treatment with a curious mixture of medical and political denunciation. Rush treated George Washington, who died. Cobbett accused him of murder. But before this Rush had found matter enough in Cobbett's strictures for a libel action. After long delays, he won his case, and Cobbett was heavily fined. He wrote a violent pamphlet attacking the judge, and actually started a new paper, the *Rushlight*, to pursue his campaign against the Democratic doctor. But America had become too hot to hold him. At length, in 1800, he gave up the battle, and set sail for England.

Cobbett was thirty-seven years old at the time of his return. His reputation as a pamphleteer ensured him a welcome from the Government at home. He met Pitt and William Windham, and was offered the editorship of a Government newspaper, with a certain prospect of good pickings. He refused, and started an independent paper of his own, *The Porcupine*, which, having no capital behind it, speedily failed. Then, with money supplied by William Windham and other friends belonging to the extreme anti-Jacobin group, he started the weekly newspaper with which, for the rest of his life, his name was associated in the public mind.

The first number of the *Political Register* appeared in 1802, at a time when England was just concluding with Napoleon that Peace which neither side meant as more than a breathing-space to be used in getting ready for a renewal of the long war. Windham and his group were violently opposed to the Peace, and the *Political Register* began its career as an extreme loyalist and anti-Jacobin journal. The stop-gap Prime Minister, Henry Addington, later Lord Sidmouth, who had been put into power by Pitt in order to conclude the Peace of Amiens, incurred Cobbett's special hostility. To Pitt he gave for the time a qualified support, but Windham was his real leader and patron.

In 1803 the war was renewed; and in 1804 Pitt again became Prime

Minister, forming a Government largely composed of the same elements as Addington's. Fox was excluded because the King would not have him ; and Windham and the Grenvilles would not take office without Fox. Cobbett found his political associations changing. With Napoleon Emperor of the French, Anti-Jacobinism was no longer a live issue. Fox, who had upheld the French Revolution, and Windham who, following Burke, had most bitterly opposed it, had joined hands against Pitt and Addington. Cobbett, who had denounced Fox up hill and down dale, found himself in the same political camp.

About this time began that change in Cobbett's political opinions which caused him, a few years later, to break completely with Whigs and Tories alike, and to pass over definitely to Radicalism. His new attitude to Pitt seems to have been the beginning of this change. The more Cobbett surveyed Pitt's policy with critical eyes, the more he saw in it to disapprove. Hitherto, he had written, and thought, almost wholly about foreign affairs. But now that all the political groups were united in support of the war against Napoleon, Cobbett began to think and write about home affairs as well. He awoke, with a start, to a sense of the abuses which were everywhere prevalent. The rapid increase of the National Debt and the no less rapid growth of pauperism in the countryside, the multiplication of pensions and sinecures by the Governments of Addington and Pitt, the squandering of public money, the enrichment of Government contractors and stockjobbers, the peculation and inhumanity prevalent in the army—of these he became consciously aware for the first time. He began to write about them, and to apply his power of invective to things and persons nearer home.

This does not mean that Cobbett became at once a Radical. For some time longer he continued to denounce all proposals for the reform of Parliament, and to demand the vigorous prosecution of the war. The real turning-point came in 1806, when Pitt died, and Cobbett's closest political associate, Windham, joined Fox and Grenville to form the Ministry of All the Talents. Cobbett at once presented to the new Ministers a drastic programme of reforms ; he expected Windham, as Secretary for War, to clear corruption out of the Army, and the Government as a whole to put a stop to the enormous abuses which he denounced as the "Pitt system." Naturally, he was disappointed ; the new Ministers merely carried on in these respects the traditions of the old. Within a few weeks, he had quarrelled with Windham, and shaken the dust of the orthodox parties for ever from his feet. Speedily he moved on to acceptance of the whole Radical programme, and became an advocate of Manhood Suffrage as well as of "economical reform."

This rapid conversion was not, however, wholly due to political disillusionment. During the years following his return Cobbett was gradually rediscovering England. From the time when he left Farnham in 1783 to his return in 1800 he had seen practically

nothing of the English countryside. He had lived in New Brunswick, in France, and in the United States, with only one brief and busy sojourn in England when he got married and sought unsuccessfully to expose the peculations of his officers. Even after his return in 1800, he lived in London, and paid for some years only a few short visits to the country. But he had not lost his love for the country-side, and at length, in 1805, he felt well enough established to settle down out of London, and combine his journalistic work with a little farming. He bought at Botley, near Southampton, a charming farm-house and some land, both of which he set to work vigorously to improve. His return to the country brought him again into touch with the life of the people, and opened his eyes to much that he had failed to realise before.

For the country round Southampton, as he now saw it in 1805, was very different from the memories of his boyhood at Farnham. The huge rise in prices due to war inflation had reduced the mass of the rural workers to destitution. Enclosures were being actively made, usually with little regard to their effect on the poorer commoners. The rural labourers, a class swollen by the peasants who had lost their lands or rights of common, were largely subsisting on poor relief, doled out under the Speenhamland system in aid of wages on which no family could live. Even the scale of this relief was being steadily cut down, as the poor rates and taxes together became an intolerable burden. The farmers, who had profited by war prices, aped the manners and expense of gentlefolk, and ground down the labourers in order to retain the means to luxury for themselves. The stockjobbers, contractors and placemen were busy buying up estates, or carving new great properties out of holdings taken from the peasants by enclosure.

All this Cobbett began to realise only when he returned to the countryside. It roused his indignation as nothing else could have done. All through his years in America he had comforted himself with an idealised picture of England, based on the pleasant memories of his own boyhood. With this in mind he had flayed the enemies of his country, who appeared to him the would-be destroyers of this rural paradise. Now, at length, he saw the reality, and his anger was proportionate to the contrast with the picture he had cherished.

Thus, Cobbett's Radicalism, as it developed from 1805 onwards, was in its essence a defence of the peasantry against the oppression under which they suffered. He saw the cause of their misery in the prevalent economic abuses—inflation, the growth of the National Debt, heavy taxation, money frittered away in pensions, sinecures, and inefficient and corrupt administration. Since the orthodox parties upheld these things, on which, indeed, their power and wealth were based, there must be a thorough Reform of Parliament, which would replace these by men prepared to pluck up abuses by the root. This involved, in Cobbett's view, no attack on monarchy, or even on the old nobility. The enemies of the people were the new classes which

were now dominating society by the power of wealth—the financiers, the cotton lords, the contractors, on whom Pitt and his successors relied for the means to finance the European struggle against France. It is significant that, in the zeal of his new Radicalism, Cobbett turned his invective mainly upon two things—the swiftly growing National Debt, and the transformation of Great Britain from an agricultural to an industrial and commercial country. Exports, he said, harmed the nation; an agricultural country would never have produced such a monstrosity as modern Manchester; the "commercial system" and the "funding system" were inseparable; as commerce grew, pauperism and the National Debt grew by corresponding stages.

Rapidly, Cobbett became a power among the Radicals. He developed close associations with Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane, Major Cartwright, Henry Hunt and other Radical leaders. The *Political Register* became by far the most influential of Radical journals. Naturally, he also incurred the strong hostility of the governing classes; and before long those in power were seeking eagerly for ways of suppressing him. He had, moreover, by this time become also a fluent and popular speaker. He had tried his power on the Radical side in several election campaigns, and had begun that series of "rustic harangues" which made him the greatest agitator as well as the greatest journalist of his day. This was an additional reason for his suppression.

The Tory Government's chance came in 1809. A small mutiny over unfair deductions from the soldiers' pay broke out among the local militia at Ely, and was quelled by the arrival of four squadrons of the mercenary German Legion. The ringleaders were tried by court-martial, and sentenced to five hundred lashes. Cobbett wrote a furious article denouncing the floggings; the Government promptly prosecuted him for sedition. After some negotiations, during which he hoped at one time that the charge would be withdrawn on condition of the *Register* ceasing publication, he stood his trial, and was sentenced to a fine of £1,000, two years' imprisonment in Newgate, and to give bail in £3,000, and find two sureties at £1,000 each, at the end of his term.

From 1810 to 1812, therefore, Cobbett was confined in Newgate gaol. But, according to modern notions, the terms of his imprisonment were quite extraordinarily lenient. He was allowed to hire comfortable rooms in the prison, where his children took turns to come and stay with him, and hampers of provisions were sent regularly from Botley. He could receive, and entertain to steak and porter, as many visitors as he liked. And, above all, he could go on writing and issuing the *Register* as freely as if he had been at large. For all this he had to pay, and pay heavily; but he suffered from no other disability than confinement within the walls of the prison.

The *Register*, then, was published regularly during his confine-

ment, and under his editorial control. In it appeared his *Paper against Gold*, his most considerable work up to this time, in which he stated at length his case against inflation, the growth of the National Debt, and the 'Pitt system' of finance, regarded as the source of the prevailing pauperism and distress. Inspired largely by Tom Paine's famous tract, *The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance*, Cobbett treated the flood of paper money, let loose during the war and the Industrial Revolution, as the sign of national decay and the source of the great rise in prices which had made the few unprecedentally rich and the many intolerably poor. His book is a queer mixture of true and false. It was right enough in its account of the effects of the war-time finance; but it took no account of the needs for more currency and credit in order to finance the swift expansion of industry under the influence of machinery. With all its faults, it became immensely popular, and confirmed Cobbett's position as leader of the Radicals outside Parliament.

Cobbett's life in prison was comfortable and productive; but it was also very expensive. When he came out of Newgate in 1812, he was a ruined man. Even before his imprisonment, his affairs were in a tangle, though he only discovered when he was in gaol the extent of his embarrassments. Never a good business man, he had allowed the business side of the *Register* and his other enterprises to slip into the hands of his assistant, Wright, who had made a thorough mess of them. The *Register* Cobbett saved from the wreck of his fortunes; but he had to sell his house at Botley, and two of his most considerable enterprises, the *Parliamentary History of England*, a great compilation of historical records, and *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, which bought by his printer, Hansard, has become the familiar *Hansard* of our own day. Despite these sales, his financial difficulties continued until 1820, when, by becoming a bankrupt, he got a fresh start.

During the intervening years, a great deal had happened. The long war at last ended in 1815, after the episode of the Hundred Days; and, after the first rejoicings, the country settled down to count the cost. Prices fell, indeed; but the burden of the War Debt rose in proportion. Unemployment was everywhere; and the blow fell with especial severity in the country districts, where the collapse of war prices fell on a labouring population already living on a bare margin of subsistence. With hunger came unrest. The Luddite disturbances of a few years before had shown the depth of discontent in the industrial districts. Now, the troubles became more general; and the governing classes lived in fear of revolution. The first mood, in which ineffectual attempts were made to relieve the distress, soon gave way, under the influence of fear, to a mood of repression. In 1817 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and the Government passed a series of 'Gagging Acts' directed especially against the popular press and the right of public meeting.

These measures had a direct reference to Cobbett's doings. Hitherto, the *Register* had been an expensive weekly, costing 1od.

or 1/-, and therefore bought only by fairly well-to-do persons and a few clubs and public houses patronised by the Radical workers. But in 1816, at the height of the unrest, Cobbett produced a special *Register* at 2d, containing an *Address to the Journeymen and Labourers*, in which he backed up their claims, and urged Radical Reform as the sole remedy for the distress. Intended as an isolated issue, the cheap *Register* had an instant success and Cobbett at once decided to issue it regularly. For some time he sold 50,000 copies weekly—for those days a quite unprecedented circulation. Within a few weeks, he had put himself definitely at the head of the Radical working-class agitation.

Undoubtedly, the success of the cheap *Register* and the growth of Cobbett's influence were among the chief reasons for the repressive laws of 1817. Cobbett at once realised that, if he stayed in England, arrest was certain, and that the conditions of his second imprisonment would be quite unlike those of seven years before. He made up his mind to fly, and, leaving England in secret, returned to the United States of America, where he remained for more than two years, sending copy regularly for publication in the *Register*, which was kept going by his agents during his absence.

Cobbett has been much criticised for running away at this critical time. His own answer to his critics was that he was better occupied writing in America than gaoled in England, and that he could have accomplished nothing by staying. But some of his Radical colleagues who stayed behind and went to gaol were naturally not content with his explanation. Posterity, whether it holds him right or wrong, can at any rate be grateful for the results of his going.

For this two years' sojourn in America begins what is, for posterity, the most fruitful period of Cobbett's life—the period of his greatest writings. At the farm which he rented in North Hempstead, he not only wrote his *Journal of a Year's Residence in America* and his *Grammar of the English Language*, but also planned out many of the books written during the last crowded fifteen years of his life. Escape from direct political contacts and the daily struggle set free a part of his mind which had been repressed. He began to write, not merely great political journalism, but great books, greater because he put into them more of himself, a broader view of life, a more abounding sympathy and virtue. His withdrawal was necessary, not only to save him from gaol, but still more to enable him to find out more fully his own powers.

Cobbett returned to England in 1819. The danger was not over. Indeed, unrest had grown, and the Government, on the morrow of the Peterloo massacre, was just pushing through the Six Acts, which went considerably further in repression than the measures of 1817. He came back, not because it was safe to come, but because he knew now what he wanted to do.

From 1819 to 1832 Cobbett's life is, in one aspect, the history of the Reform agitation. But it is also a great deal more. In 1820 he began

that series of rural rides which, part pleasure trips, part missionary tours, part journeys of investigation, are imperishably associated with his name through his greatest work. There never was such a work as *Rural Rides*; for there never was so eloquent a countryman as Cobbett. In it he left behind not only an unrivalled description of the English countryside, its beauty and wealth and the misery of its people, but also as plain a revelation of himself as man ever wrote by way of formal autobiography.

In these years, too, he published in swift succession a series of books any one of which would give him an honoured place in our national literature. *Cottage Economy* and *Cobbett's Sermons* in 1822, *The History of the Protestant Reformation* in 1824-26, *The Woodlands* in 1825, *Advice to Young Men*, and *The English Gardener* in 1829, the collected *Rural Rides* in 1830, are only a few of his works of this period, apart from the steady stream of his periodical writing and a long list of political pamphlets. He had rediscovered, above all, his capacity to teach and to give sound, homely advice. His *English Grammar* is still the best book for the young worker who wants to learn the habit of writing good English. The simple wisdom of *Advice to Young Men* still stands, for the most part as good as when it was written.

On his return in 1819, Cobbett had first, by bankruptcy, to clear himself of his financial worries. Then he plunged again headlong into the political fray. Through 1820 and 1821 all England was being stirred by the case of Queen Caroline. Popular opinion everywhere backed the Queen against the reprobate King and his unpopular ministers, and the Radicals enthusiastically took up the Queen's cause as a stick wherewith to beat the Government. Cobbett was swept off his feet, and became the Queen's most determined partisan. He wrote her famous open letter to the King, and took the lead in organising the flood of loyal petitions from town meetings, political societies, and working-class bodies. Queen Caroline, by no action of her own, had a great influence in furthering Radical and working-class organisation. In Cobbett's hands, she became a powerful instrument of the Reformers. Her death, after the withdrawal of the proceedings against her had been triumphantly secured, caused a momentary set back to the Radicals. But soon the movement for Reform went forward more vigorously than ever.

By this time there had been some recovery from the economic prostration which had followed the conclusion of the war. The condition of the workers in the countryside remained as bad as ever; but they were helpless. In the towns, trade was better, and unemployment had decreased. Distress was still severe; but the spontaneous hunger riots of the years after the Peace were already giving place to more systematic working-class organisation. Permanent Trade Unions were being formed; and in 1824 and 1825 the repeal of the Combination Acts enabled them to come out in the open

Under the influence of Owenite doctrines, the workers were beginning to create Co-operative Societies ; and working-class political societies were springing up in most of the larger towns. In short, the working-class movement was beginning to take shape as an organised protest against exploitation.

All this time Cobbett was incessantly writing and lecturing. He was now in close association with the chief bodies of working-class Radicals, and had come to appreciate much more fully the situation and the aspirations of the industrial workers. His Tours and Rides took him into the factory districts as well as the villages ; he was a greater power in Lancashire than in Hampshire or in Sussex. For it seemed as if the rural workers had been pressed down too far to have any power of resistance left. Radicalism had its strongholds, not in the villages, but in Lancashire and Yorkshire, the industrial Midlands, and the South of Scotland. But these industrial workers too were peasants—countrymen rooted up from the soil, and planted in the uncongenial atmosphere of the new factory towns. When Cobbett spoke tc them he spoke as peasant to peasant—and he was understood.

This is not to say that Cobbett had any clearly thought-out policy for coping with the new conditions. Industrialism he hated, and did not pretend to understand. His cry was all for the removal of abuses and oppressions, and he staked his faith in the reform of Parliament as the means to that end. He was for ever saying that he and the people of England wanted "nothing new," that they sought only a restoration of what had been filched from them by financial jugglery, by enclosures, by the power of the new rich, and by governmental oppression. He was looking back to the Old England that was gone past recall, not forward to the control of the new forces of mechanical industrialism. This disabled him from becoming the leader of the younger working-class Radicals who accepted the industrial Revolution, and were feeling their way towards a Socialist solution of its problems. Cobbett was no Socialist. But the very fact that he was not was a symptom of his unity with the main body of the workers. For these dispossessed peasants were no more Socialists than he. They heeded him, because he felt and thought as one of themselves.

So Cobbett played his part in the great agitation which led up to the Reform of Parliament in 1832. More than any other man, he held the agitation together. And in its final phases he played once more an oustanding part. In 1830, when the towns were shouting for Reform, the labourers of the South-Eastern countries, driven beyond endurance by the lowering of their standard of life, broke out into what has been called "the last labourers' revolt" in English history. For a time, whole districts were in the hands of the labourers, who marched from place to place demanding higher wages, the abolition of tithes, and other reforms. The Whigs, newly come to power and eager to show their zeal for law and order, suppressed the revolt with military force, followed by savage judicial murders and transpor-

tations. Cobbett, while opposing violence, wrote defending the labourers and attacking their oppressors, including the Whig Government. The Government retaliated by prosecuting him. He defended himself in a masterly speech, in which he rather constituted himself the Government's accuser. The jury disagreed, and he was discharged, the Whigs not venturing on another trial. He had scored a triumph, both for himself and for the cause of free speech and the rights of agitation.

1831 was the year of the Bristol Riots—a year of happenings which made reform inevitable. In 1832 the King and the Lords yielded, and the Reform Act became law. Cobbett, who had stood unsuccessfully in earlier years for Coventry and Preston, was returned to Parliament for Oldham, as the colleague of John Fielden, the Radical employer, prominent as a friend of Owen and a leader in the agitation for factory reform.

Cobbett was sixty-eight years old when he was returned to the House of Commons. But his energy was undiminished. From the outset he made himself the leader of a small group of extreme Radicals, opening his parliamentary career by opposing the re-election of the Speaker, and his maiden speech with the words "It appears to me that since I have been sitting here I have heard a great deal of unprofitable discussion." He supported the Factory Act of 1833, and spoke and voted regularly against all measures of coercion in Ireland. Again and again, he led his little band of followers into the lobby against the dominant Whig majority.

The Whigs he had always hated at least as much as the Tories; and, though he had been ready to act with them in securing the passing of the Reform Act, he was under no illusions about the policy they were likely to pursue. Before the election of 1832, he had done his best to get together a strong body of Radical candidates, who would be prepared to take an independent line. He realised that, in putting the middle-classes into power, the workers were only changing their masters. His worst fears were realised when, in 1834, the Whig Government produced its Poor Law Amendment Bill.

The last year of Cobbett's life was spent in an unavailing struggle against the great Whig menace—the systematic application of the principles of orthodox political economy to the problem of poverty. Ever since his first awakening to the state of the country thirty years before, Cobbett had been ceaselessly upholding the right of the poor, not merely to relief, but to adequate maintenance out of the abounding national wealth. To demonstrate this right had been the main purpose of his *History of the Protestant Reformation*, and he had driven home his argument in a score of pamphlets, and in hundreds of articles in the *Register*. Now, the economists and "feelosofers" of the Whig party, so far from improving on the niggardly relief granted under the old system, proposed to sweep even this away, and to apply the workhouse test and the principles of "deterrence" and "less eligibility" to all claimants for relief.

Cobbett divided the House of Commons against every proposal in the Bill, meeting always with overwhelming defeat. He also urged the starting of a national organisation to combat the Bill, not merely in the House of Commons, but when it came to be actually applied.

All through this time Cobbett, in addition to assiduous attention in Parliament, kept the *Register* going and wrote a good part of it, continued to write fresh books and pamphlets, spent his parliamentary vacations in lecturing tours as far afield as Ireland, and conducted the farm near Farnham to which he had moved, from a smaller farm at Kensington, a few years before. The strain was too great, even for his fine physique. For the first time in his life, illness beset him. Hacking coughs, an attack of influenza, prostrated him. In May, 1835, he insisted on sitting through a debate in the House on agricultural distress. He was then taken seriously ill; but he persisted on carrying on his journalistic work. On June 18th, 1835, after a few days in bed, he died peacefully. At his earnest wish, he was carried round his farm the afternoon before his death. On June 20th the *Register* appeared black-bordered, with an article by John Morgan Cobbett announcing that his father was dead.

Cobbett died, then, in harness, after an extraordinarily full life of seventy-two years. He retained all his powers to the end; his *Legacy to Labourers* and *Legacy to Parsons*, which contain some of his best writing, were written when he was over seventy. His most enduring work, *Rural Rides*, was nearly all written when he was over sixty. The years between sixty and seventy were his most fruitful literary period. All his life he lived hard, and had a most extraordinary power of work. And into all that he did he put an abounding vitality, which remains alive to-day in every line of his writing. He had, in a sense, no message or gospel to proclaim. He is not, like his contemporary Robert Owen, the father or founder of many of the movements of our own time. He was not a theorist; he could never form judgments that went beyond the lessons of his own immediate experience. Yet, in another sense, he is all the more alive for that very reason. He translates for us, into strong, expressive language, the actual feelings and thoughts of the common people of his day, showing us their perplexities and bewilderments in face of the swift movement of social change, speaking across the century with Old England's authentic voice. Against Whiggism and Toryism, against enclosing landlords and exploiting factory owners, against Hannah More and Wilberforce, Sidmouth and Castlereagh, Melbourne and Peel, against Scottish "feelosofers" and disciples of Parson Malthus, against every reactionary and crazy "reformer" who sought to take away the people's right to pleasure, Cobbett's great protest stands. He may be wrong here, and unfair there. Many of his "remedies" may seem to us, in the light of after days, no remedies at all. But he was right about the main thing, that he saw the people oppressed and degraded, and that he fought every oppressor with all his might, and with a deep

sagacity that struck down beneath the facile optimism of the political economists and the rising middle-class. He was a great egotist, and a hard man to stomach in his own day. But much of his egotism was really a personification. As Walt Whitman identified himself with Young America, Cobbett identified himself with his own people. Every blow struck at him was a blow at them; every blow at them was a blow at him. All blows were returned with interest.

It is a curious, and a revealing fact that this egotist, who had so many quarrels in his own day, is in ours almost universally popular and beloved. When I published my *Life of Cobbett*, reviewers of all shades of political opinion united to speak well of him; and even to claim him as belonging, in some sort, to their own sects. They did this because they all felt in him something peculiarly typical—something representative of England as only a few of the greatest writers, such as Dickens, are representative. Cobbett is, indeed, the one British working-class leader who has in him also the makings of a national hero. Would there were more!

A NOTE ON COBBETT'S WRITINGS.

Only a few of Cobbett's books are still in print; but they include most of the best. Here is a list of the most important :—

Rural Rides. (Everyman's Library. 2 volumes.)

A Grammar of the English Language. (Oxford University Press.)

Cottage Economy. (Hampshire House Workshops.)

A History of the Protestant Reformation. (Several editions.)

A Year's Residence in America. (Chapman and Dodd.)

The Last Hundred Days of English Freedom (Labour Publishing Co.)

Advice to Young Men, The Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine, Paper against Gold, The English Gardener, and others which are out of print can still be picked up fairly cheap by those who hunt in second-hand bookshops. But every year they grow more difficult to find.

My *Life of William Cobbett* is published by Messrs. Collins, at 18/- net. It contains a full list of Cobbett's writings.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY

25 TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.1.

Those willing to join the Labour Party, or desirous of obtaining information about its Programme and Principles, are invited to communicate with the Secretary of the Fabian Society.

The Fabian Society has been, from the outset, a constituent body of the Labour Party; and membership of the Society carries with it full membership of the Labour Party; eligibility for nomination to all Conferences and Offices, and qualification for Labour Party, candidatures for Parliament and Local Authorities, without obligation to belong to any other organisation.

The Society welcomes as members any persons, men or women, wherever resident, who subscribe to its Basis (set forth below), and who will co-operate in its work according to their opportunities.

BASIS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

(TO BE SIGNED BY ALL MEMBERS.)

(*Adopted May 23rd*, 1919.)

The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the reorganisation of Society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land, with equitable consideration of established expectations, and due provision as to the tenure of the home and the homestead; for the transfer to the community, by constitutional methods, of all such industries as can be conducted socially; and for the establishment, as the governing consideration in the regulation of production, distribution and service, of the common good instead of private profit.

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The Society, believing in equal citizenship of men and women in the fullest sense, is open to persons irrespective of sex, race or creed, who commit themselves to its aims and purposes as stated above, and undertake to promote its work.

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I. Members, who must sign the Basis and be elected by the Committee. Their Subscriptions are not fixed; each is expected to subscribe annually according to his means. They control the Society through the Executive Committee (elected annually by ballot through a postal vote), and at its annual and other business meetings.

II. Associates, who sign a form expressing only general sympathy with the objects of the Society and pay not less than 10s. a year. They can attend all except the exclusively members' meetings, but have no control over the Society and its policy.

III. Subscribers, who must pay at least 5s. a year, and who can attend the Society's Ordinary Lectures.

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(i.) Free lectures by its members and officers;

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(iii.) Answers to Questions from Members of Local Authorities and others on legal, technical or political matters of Local Government, etc.;

(iv.) Special subscription courses of lectures on new developments in thought;

(v.) Economic and social investigation and research, and publication of the results.

Lists of Publications, Annual Report, Form of Application as Member or Associate, and any other information can be obtained on application personally or by letter to the Secretary at the above address.

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SOCIALISM AND FREEDOM

By
HAROLD J. LASKI

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PRICE TWOPENCE

Socialism and Freedom

I.

NO accusation against Socialism is more common than the taunt that its exponents do not understand the worth of freedom. It is supposed to be a system under which men will lose all trace of individuality. They will, we are warned, be regimented and dragooned by a powerful bureaucracy which will prescribe each item of their daily lives. The Socialist State is depicted as though it were a Platonic Utopia in which the guardians were replaced by the grim henchmen of Lenin and Trotsky. The indictment varies in its emphasis. Sometimes it is against the family that the Socialist appeal is said to be directed; and we are bidden to compare the proud freedom of Laburnum Villa with the relentless organisation of some nationalised phalanstery. Sometimes it is the artist and the thinker who are said to be in peril; for in a state like the Socialist State the absence of a leisured class is held to involve the necessary disappearance of art and philosophy. Nor, we are told, will the adventurer's risk remain; the boy who is engaged as an apprentice in a motor factory can never dream of attaining to the eminence of Mr. Ford. A world reduced to plan and system will lose the colour and variety that are the essence of freedom. We shall lose the marks of separate and identifiable personality. We shall become items in a vast card catalogue, marionettes responsive to the control of others. Socialism, so it is said, involves a world of Robots living by the orders of officials. It is a system from which all chance and vividness have gone; in which no man remains, as now, eager and able to be master of the event.

We are advised, accordingly, to cling to what we have. Here, at the worst, is a world in which each man can control his own fate. The fortune that attends him he makes for himself. No barrier stands in the way of his ascent; and the humble engine driver may find himself the cabinet minister of a great empire. Freedom of conscience, freedom of political belief, an educational system which leaves open the high road to the best training society can offer, the power to share in the making of law, the opportunity, by energy and inventiveness, to attain the eminence of wealth and

position, these, we are told, now lie open to all. The prospects of a democratic society built upon the economics of industrialism represent a solid achievement won only after bitter struggle; and we are asked by Socialists to exchange them for a system under which no man can determine his own destiny. The progress of the world, so it is said, is built upon our present method of removing the shackles which fetter the free play of individuality. Socialism would replace that freedom by rigorous control. It would bring down the dead hand of the State upon the priceless initiative now possessed by the ordinary man. It would foster uniformity at the expense of uniqueness. It would fashion a world in the image of mediocrity. To-day, at least, the career is open to the talents, and the sovereign power of the electorate is an assurance that necessary changes will be effected.

It is not, of course, denied that there are disharmonies in the present order. There is disparity of wealth; but since real wages have increased in the last hundred years we have the assurance that the toiler has a larger claim upon the national dividend. There is grievous unemployment; but a system of social insurance has now mitigated its most serious consequences. Educational opportunity is still unequal; but a ladder is being rapidly built whereby all who can take advantage of it may reach its summit. There are slums and infant mortality, preventable accidents in industry, inequality before the law, a harsh penal system. But the conscience of the nation is awakened. Never was charity more widely organised. Never did the essential unity of classes appear more evident to those of our governors who knew the comradeship of the trenches. The spirit of progress permeates every part of the social fabric; and the keynote of our effort is the right of the individual.

It would be an idyllic picture did it possess the single merit of accuracy. But if it is compared with the facts we know, it shrinks at once into ineptitude. The lives of most are not made by themselves. The clerk, the docker, the shop assistant, the factory hand are driven in each item of their working lives to abide by the behest of other men. They do not share in making the orders under which they live; they are not invigorated by that stimulus to creative effort upon which alone a permanent social order can be built. Most of them fight an unending struggle with poverty, or the penumbra of poverty, in which, almost from the outset, they know they are bound to be defeated. In any sober analysis, the prizes of life are not within their grasp. Materially they are either the possession of men who have never had to do battle for them or have won them by methods often ethically disreputable; intellectually, it is only the rare few who can transcend the limits of an education as mean and narrow as that to which

most are condemned. Spiritually, doubtless, they can share not less than others in the gain of living. The splendour of conviction, the mystery of love, the opportunity to share in a great corporate effort lie open to them. But these do not and cannot lie open to them as a natural part of life. Most trade union leaders have had to pay a heavy price for their inability to accept the principles of capitalism; and few working women can hope to be more than unpaid domestic drudges once the first months of love have passed.

The true goods of life, in fact, security, knowledge, the enjoyment of beauty, only a few in the present social order can hope to know. The rest will live a life of unending routine, uncertain of the morrow, and on the threshold of a great spiritual heritage from entrance to which they are debarred. Their homes are mean and devoid of beauty. Their tastes are debauched by immersion in an atmosphere into which the life of the spirit can rarely hope to penetrate. Even if they have the joy of creating beautiful things, they cannot hope to possess them. Even if beautiful things are at their hand, they have seldom been taught to grasp their secret. They have political power; but they view the drama of politics as a play in which they are cast for the part of spectators. They could have economic power; but they have never been trained either to understand its principles, or the complex institutions through which these work. They are forced by their circumstances to remain private persons, whom only unwonted experience compels to report their wants. Their rulers can involve them in war; and they do not know how to judge its rights and wrongs. They are trained to be the recipients of orders which they obey from dumb inertia.

At the base of society their main desire is to be let alone. If they are the conquered, at least they seek to avoid the icy inquisition of the conqueror. At the summit, their main desire is for notice by that fourth estate which now lives with its ear glued to the keyhole. To be at the right first night; to be painted by the artist of the moment; to have the last celebrity at their receptions; to have read the book which they hear whispered those who know are reading; to divide their time so that in London and Cannes, Luxor and Scotland, they can wear the right clothes at the right moment, and leave other places empty when they are away from them; these are the hypotheses upon which they build their faith. Between base and summit, they are seeking either to avoid the abyss, or, by some superhuman effort, to climb beyond mediocrity into that charmed circle whose portraits are dispensed by the press photographer to the frequenters of doctors' waiting rooms.

The community, as Disraeli saw, is divided into the two nations of rich and poor. The one concerns itself in enjoying life while

there is yet time, and in seeking to postpone that period when the masses will refuse to suffer in peaceful silence. The other lives in half-impotent wonder at the events it knows of its own experience and those of that other species it sees dimly in the distance. Occasionally, indeed, from its wonder is born indignation, and from indignation thought. It may well be that therein is implied a new social order since thought is a disease against which no specific has been yet discovered. But the period of gestation is slow; and the degree of pain in birth is always a measure of its chance of survival.

Two freedoms we must grant to our own time. In the Western world, it is, on the whole, true that religious toleration is reasonably complete. The cynic might say that it is complete because the religious motive has lost its potency in our civilisation. Men may be what they will, from Atheist to Zoroastrian, only because the life of faith, the passionate communion with things unseen, has for the vast majority, lost its magic; and he might add that the main motive in the coming of religious freedom was the conviction, born of hard experience, that intolerance was commercially unprofitable. He might add, even further, that the acceptance of religious creeds is not held to involve the acceptance of the conduct implied in those creeds. A Dean of the Anglican Church need not preach the Sermon on the Mount so long as he does not doubt too openly the Athanasian Creed. A Nonconformist business man may attain eminence in his denomination; but he is not expected to insist that love of one's neighbour is a principle of business organisation.

There is, also, within the ambit of Western Civilisation, probably a wider degree of political freedom than in the past. Men, on the balance, have ampler room for the expression of intellectual conviction. There are even communities in which no penalty attaches to a belief in Socialism, and there are States which have permitted Socialist parties to hold office for a brief space of time. But, Russia apart, it is to be remembered that Socialism has not, so far, been powerful enough to strike at the heart of the capitalist citadel. Where it has been over-emphatic, as in Hungary and Italy, it has suffered appropriate penalty. In America, indeed, the rumour even of what it implies has been sufficient to make its opponents eager to revive every ancient motive of persecution. Yet faith in Socialism does grow, though it must be admitted that the tolerance of its opponents has not yet been put to a serious test. Faith in the power of reason is not the strongest of human impulses; and we shall know more of its tenacity when Socialism begins to move nearer the realisation of its central aim.

Upon one other aspect of freedom under the present order a word may be said. Certainly more amply than at any previous time there exists freedom before the courts of law. But that

freedom is limited and hampered by the conditions of the economic régime. A rich woman who steals from a Kensington shop will not get the same sentence as a poor woman who steals from a Whitechapel shop. What is called embezzlement in a junior clerk is often called high finance in a millionaire. What is called high spirits in an Oxford undergraduate is called assaulting the police in Barking and Limehouse. The divorce law bears unequally upon rich and poor. The average prisoner in the dock is attacked by all the legal ability at the command of the State ; it is only the wealthy criminal who can afford to pit equal talent against it. A London jury is fairly certain to award damages for libel to a Tory Member of Parliament ; but it is also fairly certain to assume that a labour sympathiser cannot be libelled. Our law, as it is administered, consciously reflects the division of the State into rich and poor ; and, unconsciously, the justice it makes assumes a different merit in either part.

For, so the Socialist would emphasise, all freedom is an intimate function of the property-system which obtains at any given time. At present, outside a small minority, no man has anything to sell except his power to labour. That means, for most, that they must work as the owners of capital permit them to work. They must struggle for each item of improvement in the condition of their labour ; and they will find the scales weighted against them in their effort. They will find, for example, that the Press emphasises the wickedness of builders who restrict their output ; but it does not emphasise the wickedness of employers' trusts formed to limit output. They will find that a strike like the miners' strike of 1921 means want and hunger and ill-health for them and their wives ; but it does not alter one jot or tittle the habits of royalty-owners like the Duke of Northumberland. Long hours of labour at a mechanical routine ; an education which ends just as the problems of knowledge begin to exert their fascination ; the possibility of dismissal through the caprice or incapacity of the employer ; a wage that can rarely mean release from material want at any standard of national adequacy ; a knowledge that ill-health or early death means ruin to the family he supports ; these are the normal items in the life of the average worker. Upon these things, the system of individual liberty bases its foundations. For the worker, let it be noted again, the compensation is the knowledge, first, that there are prizes to be won, even if he does not win them, and, second, that even the division of the product of industry in terms of a rigorous equality would not make an overwhelming difference to his position. He is bidden further to remember that so nice is the equipoise of the system that any sudden dislocation of the machinery may destroy even its power to satisfy such wants as it now meets. Its adjustment is so delicate that catastrophe would follow upon any revolt against its inequities.

It is from some such analysis as this that Socialists derive their scepticism of the freedom effected by the present order ; and their doubt is intensified by the complete absence of moral principle in the methods by which the division of the State into rich and poor is maintained. For either wealth is the result of inheritance, as from parent to child, or luck ; or it is the result of the power to satisfy demand. But the first has no moral basis ; I am not entitled to the profits of someone else's exertions. The second takes no account of the moral or even social character of demand. There is no necessary relation between the demands which ought to be satisfied and the demands which have the power to secure satisfaction. For the power to secure satisfaction in its turn depends upon the possession of property ; and since freedom means the power to satisfy demands, freedom is a function of property. The scales are therefore weighted in favour of the rich against the poor. The system organises response to demand without regard to human need. It regards wants as significant only at that level where they come armed with purchasing power. Freedom, therefore, in an essential way, is limited to the owners of property. That is why there is one law for the rich and one law for the poor ; that is why, also, the education of the poor trains them to habits of deference, and the education of the rich trains them to habits of command. To speak, therefore, of the present order as one built upon freedom is to regard the interest of the few who can achieve it as coincident with the general well-being of society.

II.

The Socialist approaches the problem of freedom from a different angle. The purpose of society, he argues, is to enable each man to be himself at his best. Freedom is the system of conditions which makes that purpose effectively possible. Those conditions define themselves out of the historic record. They are impossible in the presence of special privilege, whether political, or religious, or economic. They are impossible unless I can report fully to those who govern what my experience of life is doing to me. They are impossible also unless my education has been of such a kind as to enable me to make articulate the meaning of my experience. They are impossible, further, unless I am safeguarded against the pressure of material want. I must have a wage that gives me a reasonable standard of life. I must work each day only that number of hours which will leave opportunity for creative leisure. And, in the hours of work, I must live under conditions which I assist in making. I must have the sense that they are intelligible in the same way that the orders of a medical man or a sanitary engineer are intelligible ; they must be referable, that is to say, to principles which can be established as rational by scientific investigation. I must

feel that the State recognises my equal claim with others, in the things essential to the good life ; and that no one is admitted to an equal claim save as he pays for it by personal service. There must be equality in these essential things for all before there is superfluity for any ; and the differences that exist between the rewards of men must be differences that do not weight the scales unduly in favour of those above the minimum level.

It is the Socialist case that without these things there cannot be freedom. Broadly, they imply equality ; and their argument is that freedom and equality are inseparable. It is insisted, further, that in an individualist régime like the present anything in the nature of equality is unattainable. For those who own in any society the essential instruments of production are able, in the nature of things, to affect the emphasis of social good towards themselves. It is their view of what is right that prevails ; and their view of what is right will, in general, coincide with a policy which makes their own interest the index to what ought to be done. It therefore becomes necessary to socialise the ownership of the essential means of production ; and, both within that sphere and without it, so to modify the law of testamentary disposition that no one can acquire, by the efforts of another, a claim upon the national dividend without service proportionate to his reward. The Socialist does not dogmatise as to the forms such social ownership should take. All that he insists is that until they are effectively the possession of the community, they cannot be fully administered in the interest of the community. That means such administration as will realise the system of conditions we call freedom.

It is difficult to see any necessary antithesis between the theory so stated and the freedom at which the individual aims. He would, as now, marry and beget children ; he would, as now, enjoy entire freedom of religious belief. He would be certain, as he is not now certain, that his children would be trained to an understanding of life. He would be released from the fear that now haunts him of unemployment or of indigence. The rules of industrial life under which he had to live, would be rules in the making of which he had a right to share. Where he laboured in a socialised industry, the position he could win would depend, not upon nepotism, or caprice, or the ability to take advantage of his fellows, but in the capacity he showed for service. Where he laboured in an industry still left in private hands, the standards by which he was safeguarded would be far higher than they can possibly be in a system of which the profit of the employer is the predominating motive. Every political liberty he now enjoys he would possess in far wider measure than is now possible. He could get elected as now; he could attain office with the greater opportunity, since the prestige of birth and wealth would be removed. If he chose, as most men

would choose, to stand apart from an active political life, the process would be intelligible to him. He would be a significant part of it because he could, equally with other persons, hope to press upon it the impact of his experience. He could live, as now, enfolded within the margins of his little platoon; but he would have the sense, and he would be trained to act upon the sense, that his platoon was part of the great regiment of mankind.

It is said that such a régime is impossible for two reasons. It would need, in the first place, immensely greater productivity than now; and it would require a skill in management which is invariably absent from socialised enterprise. The ability to win profit, so it is argued, is the one sure motive to successful business enterprise; and once that adventurer's risk is stifled there is sure to be inertia and waste. But the first argument, so far from being a difficulty in the way of Socialism, is, in fact, one of the chief reasons for its adoption. The proofs accumulate that we cannot win either from worker or employer the best that he can give, under the present system. The heart of the first denies his allegiance to it; and the employer, by the very conditions of the system, is either driven to combination which limits output, or is not in a position adequately to grasp the nature of demand. The network of trade union regulations limiting output are the necessary consequence of capitalism; and they will disappear only with the establishment of that system of conditions we have called freedom. Under Socialism the motives to production are far stronger than they are now. The worker is assured of security. He is safeguarded against unfairness in the distribution of the product. He is assured that the standards upon which he depends constitute the first charge on the social income. He is freed, that is to say, from that baulked disposition which is to-day the real barrier against his effort. He becomes part of an order to which he can give a reasoned allegiance because it is no longer instinct with injustice.

Nor is there any reason to assume that collectivist enterprise is uninventive and wasteful. Municipal effort, in electricity for example, compares more than favourably with private effort; and perhaps the most dramatic industrial adventure of the nineteenth century has been that co-operative movement from which the concept of private profit has been eliminated. Nor, it should be insisted, does the socialisation of industry mean that it will be organised on some simple and uniform pattern. Most Socialists demand two things only. They insist, in the first place, that in the essential industries—banking, electric power, coal and railway transport—the only possible source of ownership, granted the claim of the public, is the community; and they insist, in the second place, that the constitution assumed by the government of socialised

industries shall leave ample room for the individual worker to feel himself a creative unit in its operation. They do not dogmatise about the form such constitutions should take, since they are aware that the needs of each industry are different. They do not, either, dogmatise about the range over which socialisation shall extend; they admit freely that this is a matter for enquiry and experiment. All that they demand is that when an industry is regarded as so fundamental to the community as no longer to be fit for the hazards of private enterprise, it shall not remain a source of private profit to the owner of capital, and that it shall maximise the creative ability of its working personnel.

It is not a serious argument against the socialisation of essential industries that particular experiments in public ownership have failed. Particular experiments in private ownership fail every day, but the supporters of an individualist system do not urge their failure as a conclusive argument against capitalism. Every defect in the working of public ownership can be paralleled from the working of private enterprise. Every merit in private enterprise has been displayed in the operation of public-owned industries. And no one who knows the history, for example, of the British civil service, can doubt that the opportunity to serve the State is a motive to effort every whit as compelling as the motive to win profit for oneself. The argument that socialised industries would be stifled by their own red tape is merely a gibe, and, at that, an ignorant gibe, taken over from a misunderstanding of the requirements of a modern department of State. Let a business man find a single error in the calculations of the Board of Inland Revenue, and he pants to start a correspondence in the *Times*; but the same man takes it as a matter of course that there should be mistakes in the monthly accounts that he receives from one of those vast emporia the growth of which the modern business man takes as the proof of progress. Most, indeed, of the accusations of bureaucracy brought against public ownership are the crude type of propaganda which seeks to postpone its inevitable victory.

III.

Nor is there the slightest reason to suppose that under a Socialist State art and science cannot flourish. If they receive patronage to-day, when only a minority can appreciate them, how much more secure is likely to be their foothold when understanding of their significance is open to the community as a whole? The artist to-day is, hardly less than the worker, the prisoner of the property system. The dealer, the patron, the critic are all affected towards him by his willingness to subordinate himself to the conventions of the time. If, like Byron and Shelley, he finds those

conventions outrageous, he is driven into exile ; if, like William Morris and Bernard Shaw, he devotes himself to their destruction, it is assumed without discussion that this is merely the madness of the artist. The capitalist state selects for its approval the artist and the thinker who either accept its philosophy or refuse to concern themselves with right and wrong. But in a world where our views of right and wrong either make or destroy freedom the artist and the thinker who are true to themselves can hardly do otherwise than protest against a view of life which makes gain instead of service the main motive of effort. Commercialism has destroyed the true liberty of the individual, by making him the captive of a social philosophy which declares that he is important not for what he is, but for what he has. There can be no true opportunity for the artist in such an atmosphere. He is watching the depression of personality, where his real mission is to secure its release. But in a world where living itself becomes an art, the enormous importance of the artist and the thinker will become apparent. They will cease to be regarded as decorative appurtenances of the leisured class. They will be recognised as the true leaders of civilisation. The system will not dictate to them the things they should say and the forms they should use, as it does now. Their perceptions and their insight will be their own ; and men will have learned to recognise that in the appreciation of their gifts lies the most joyous experience life can offer.

Implied in all this, of course, is the insistence that the true Socialism is a libertarian, and not an authoritarian, socialism. That is, I think, generally agreed among Socialists. Realising as they do more keenly than other people the slavery to which most people are now condemned, they do not propose to remedy its defects by ensuring the slavery of all. They realise that the rules made must be rules to which the average man has consented. They understand that the solutions accepted are solutions that arise naturally out of his experience of life. The record of history is before them to show that laws made by compulsion never win the free assent of men, and that in the end they work only as the allegiance given to them is willing and uncoerced. They do not believe that a social order as vast as our own can be maintained without discipline and plan ; freedom, for them, does not mean doing as one likes. But they do believe that the discipline ordained can be made instinct with justice and that it can, accordingly, win the intelligent, and even passionate, allegiance of erect-minded men. They do not suggest that freedom and nonconformity are synonymous. But they do insist that there can be no freedom until those things about which conformity is demanded have been established only with the common assent of the community.

It is only by freeing ourselves from the tyranny of things that we can enter into our real heritage. That freedom is impossible so long as the division of property is not referable to principles of justice. The absence of these principles under the present system poisons every relation into which we enter. It means that the many are the slaves of the few. It leads some to be angry and sullen rebels. It leaves others little more than dumb animals to whom life is a spectacle without meaning. Others, again, are led by crude convention to waste their effort in producing or enjoying the worthless and insignificant. Fear and hate haunt the margins of our civilisation as prospects instinct with disaster. In such an atmosphere freedom has no hope of entrance. For freedom cannot live where there is injustice, since it can flourish only where the souls of men are regarded as of a worth too eminent to be degraded by a mean struggle for bread. A system like our own which leaves men to fight their neighbours for what they can grab from them cannot produce the qualities which give joy to life. It means eternal war between classes and external war between nations. It means law as a code of wrongs, instead of law as a code of rights. The qualities that give their humanity to men emerge rather as protest than as nature. Aspiration towards the heights is destroyed by the scramble to snatch the chance advantage where, for a brief moment, we can breathe an atmosphere of peace. But it is for a brief moment only. For the millionaire has the pauper at his door. In the midst of his plenty there penetrates to him the angry murmur, from Russia and India, from America and France, and England, of men who are embittered by the sense of deprivation. We cannot, whatever our riches, be free save as we seek to be just.

"I feel sure," wrote William Morris,* in perhaps the noblest of his lectures, "I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community such as ours, having such command over external Nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do." But this, it is said, is all Utopian; it forgets the ignobility of human nature. It makes abstraction of the ignorance of men, their laziness, their brutality. It is to expect from them an effort and a quality of effort that they have neither the endurance nor the capacity to undertake.

That is the kind of pessimism that has always been an essential part of the tactic of reaction. We have to build our philosophy on hopes and not on fears. We have to lay the foundations of our systems on what the courage of men has achieved, not on what their cowardice has failed in achieving. Almost every progressive change has met opposition on the ground of its impossibility; and every progressive change has been achieved because a handful of

* "How we live and how we might live," in *Signs of Change*, p. 29.

idealists have refused to admit it was impossible. The real sin in social philosophy is lowness of aim. We need not cry for the sun; but, at least equally, we need not deny the possibility of light. Men, whether they will or no, are members of a commonwealth which can be preserved only as they discover the reality of fellowship. They will discover it only as they seek to experiment with the best of themselves. But, so to experiment, we need to be members of a State to which the allegiance of men is given with a passion at once vivid and intelligent, and, to that end, it must be a State conceived in justice. For justice is the twin-sister of freedom and each lives in the victory of the other.

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25 TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W. 1.

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(TO BE SIGNED BY ALL MEMBERS.)

(*Adopted May 23rd*, 1919.)

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THOMAS PAINE.

By

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THOMAS PAINE.

FEW great writers have lived so adventurously as Tom Paine. His great books, "Common Sense," "The Rights of Man," and "The Age of Reason," were only incidental to his career as an active revolutionist. The first made him a leader of the American Revolution, the second, the chief spokesman of the French Revolution, and, by the third, he brought to the working classes the new scientific outlook which had up till then been the preserve of the upper classes in England and France. He is one of the greatest English pamphleteers. Few men have so possessed the faculty for summarising in an unforgetable phrase the thought for which other men were groping, or been able so convincingly to reveal to their contemporaries the relation between the immediate issue and the general march of events. With him a general philosophy was always coupled with a practical activity, and to share his revolutionary enthusiasm was to be led to battle in the glorious certainty that the cause of the revolution was "the cause of all mankind." This is the reason why Paine was a greater man than his younger contemporary, Cobbett. For Cobbett fought always for a past which could not, in any case, be retained. Paine, with a truer, though too optimistic vision, was also conscious of the evils which resulted from the industrial and democratic upheaval of his age, but looked for help not to the dying forces of the past, but to the creative elements in the chaotic present. Thus, while Cobbett declaimed against the corruption of ministers and the immorality and obstructionism of George IV., Paine argued that these were the necessary results of aristocracy and hereditary monarchy. While Cobbett deplored bad landlordism and the degradation of the labourer through machinery, Paine declared himself for land taxes, motherhood endowment, and old age pensions, and looked forward to a time when machinery would bring wealth and not misery to the workers. While Cobbett hated the parsons who neglected and fleeced their flocks, Paine taught the workers to ridicule the superstitious doctrines of the Church, and to demand popular education, and a civilisation based on the knowledge which science could bring. Cobbett, as Mr. Cole has said, was a survival, even

though a great one. Paine was a prophet. Both Cobbett and Paine were persecuted during their lives, but while most of Cobbett's writing died with him and the England he fought to preserve, Paine's works lived on. If we may judge by their enormous sale in cheap editions and the persecution which the upper classes thought it worth while to enforce against those who circulated them, Paine's influence over the working classes grew steadily after his death, and was perhaps, on the whole, greater than that of any other single revolutionary writer in nineteenth century England.

I.—Obscurity and Failure, 1737-1774.

No one could have prophesied a great future for Paine when he arrived in America in 1774. He was already 37 years old, and his career had been singular but not promising. He had ventured upon many professions. He had been a sailor, a maker of ladies' stays, an exciseman, a schoolmaster; he had tried his hand at the evangelical novelty of lay preaching, and appears to have been prevented from taking holy orders only by his ignorance of Latin. He had been a shopkeeper and had gone bankrupt, and had lost one wife and unsuccessfully married another. His parents were small Quaker folk, who lived in the little town of Thetford in Norfolk. Paine does not seem to have enjoyed his mother's society or his father's trade of staymaking, and at seventeen escaped to sea on a privateer to fight against the French. Of his adventures as a sailor we know nothing. He seems soon to have returned, got married, and found employment as a staymaker in London. His spare time was devoted to science. He purchased a "pair of globes, and attended the philosophic lectures of Martin and Ferguson," made the acquaintance of Dr. Bevis, the astronomer, and followed the proceedings of the Royal Society. In 1760, however, his wife died, and Paine abandoned staymaking and procured a position as exciseman. He was soon dismissed for a species of negligence which was probably commonly practised by excise officials, but after an interval in which he starved as a teacher in Kensington, he obtained reappointment as excise officer, this time at Lewes. In 1771 he married a second time, and joined with his wife and her widowed mother in keeping a small shop and "tobacco-mill." He spent much of his time in the White Hart Tavern with a group of friends, with whom he composed humorous verses and patriotic songs. For the first time his ability seems to have been discovered, and he was chosen by his fellow excisemen to act as their spokesman in an agitation for higher wages and an improved status. In 1772 he wrote and presented to the Government an elaborate memorandum setting forth their grievances.

Whilst ineffectively pressing his suit in London, his shop and work were both neglected, and on his return he was finally dismissed from the Excise. The year 1774 saw the climax of his misfortunes;

not only was he once more without employment, but he was separated from his wife, with whom he had never been more than formally married, and he found it necessary to sell all his goods to avoid arrest from debt. Thus, already nearly middle aged, Paine found himself penniless and alone. He had, however, one asset—the acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin, who was then in London and at the height of his fame. Franklin had watched with interest Paine's efforts on behalf of the excisemen, and agreed with him in detesting the personal rule of George III. and the corruption of aristocratic politics. He suggested to Paine that he should seek his fortune in America, and supplied him with an introduction to his son-in-law in Philadelphia, to whom he described Paine as an "ingenious, worthy young man," who would do well "as a clerk or assistant tutor in a school or assistant surveyor."

II.—The American Revolution, 1774-1787.

"It was the cause of America," Paine once wrote, "which made me an author." He had already learned to condemn the Government of England, which had so signally failed to utilise his ability. In America he found anger against England already uncontrollable, and he immediately set to work to gather together the forces of the New World to pit them against the Old. Europe was decadent: America offered hope and opportunity. Dr. Franklin's introduction immediately obtained him work as a journalist, and in 1775 he became editor of a new paper called the "Pennsylvania Magazine." "Probably," says Mr. Moncure Conway, "there never was an equal amount of good literary work done on a salary of £50 a year." "America," he wrote in the first number, "yet inherits a large portion of her first imported virtue. Degeneracy is here almost a useless word. Those who are conversant with Europe would be tempted to believe that even the air of the Atlantic disagrees with the constitution of foreign vices; if they survive the voyage they either expire on their arrival, or linger away in an incurable consumption. There is a happy something in the climate of America which disarms them of all their power both of infection and attraction." In one instance, however, he saw that a foreign vice had survived and even thriven on the passage to America, and he opened with a denunciation of the slave trade, and suggested practical means of abolishing slavery where it was already established. Five weeks later the first American Anti-slavery society was formed in Philadelphia. Paine's other articles were equally before their time. His "Occasional Letter on the Female Sex" and his article on "Unhappy Marriages" were among the earliest expressions of the modern feminist movement. Paine here anticipated in many ways the "Rights of Woman" which Mary Wollstencroft, later to be his friend in Paris, published in 1792. He went on to expose the absurdity of duelling, to plead for humane treatment of animals,

and to advocate international arbitration as a means of preventing war. Most important, however, was his support of the American cause against England. He believed from the beginning that separation was inevitable, and, while Americans were still strongly royalist, he wrote, "Call it independence or what you will . . . if it is the cause of God and humanity it will go on." After the skirmish of Lexington he had no more doubts : it was the cause of God and humanity.

In January, 1776, he published "Common Sense." It is one of the world's great political pamphlets, and Paine's friends and enemies have agreed in ascribing to it an extraordinary influence. Cheetham, Paine's most hostile biographer, admits that "Common Sense," by "speaking a language which the colonists had felt but not thought," had a "popularity which was unexampled in the history of the Press, and terrible in its consequences to the parent country."

To understand its effects we must remember that even after Lexington few Americans had faced the idea of separation. Jefferson was still writing to ask John Randolph in London if he could help towards a reconciliation with England. Washington declared that if ever he was heard talking of separation he might be put down as "everything wicked." Americans had grown accustomed to the idea of armed resistance against bad government. Paine forced them to realise that this meant separation or ignominy. Reconciliation was an "agreeable dream" which had necessarily passed away. England, said Paine prophetically, offered "protection not from friendship but from self-interest. She would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz., the sake of trade and dominion." Protection of this kind was no longer of any service to America. All Europe was waiting to trade with her when English interference was removed. Moreover, it was time America realised her maturity, and slipped the leading strings of the Mother Country. "A greater absurdity cannot be conceived of than three millions of people running to their seacoast every time a ship arrives from London to know what portion of liberty they should enjoy. . . The sun never shone on a cause of greater worth. . . It is not the affairs of a city, a county, a province or a kingdom but a continent ; not the concern of a day, a year or an age : posterity are involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected even to the end of time. Now is the seed time of continental union, faith and honour. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak : the wound will enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full-grown characters."

In this plea for independence Paine carried with him the majority of Americans. Many loyalists, it is true, remained, but the choice had to be made, and the cause of revolution triumphed. "Common Sense," however, had a second message to convey. The war to Paine was not merely a war against George III., but also one against monarchy: not only against a corrupt oligarchic government, but against all attempts by a privileged few to govern the majority. He made the cause of the American revolution also the cause of democracy and republicanism.

In this second part of his message Paine was not uniting Americans but dividing them. For the moment they could agree on the issue of separation. But there were many who were willing to repudiate the government of England over America and yet continued to believe in the principles on which the constitution of that government rested. In opposition to these Paine may be said to have founded and led the Jeffersonian party. John Adams and those leaders who were afterwards to be known as Federalists, although united with Paine in the struggle with England, were at heart bitterly opposed to his principles. They believed in the English type of government portrayed in the writings of Montesquieu and Blackstone. They were, in fact, fighting to substitute an American President for an English King, not to overthrow aristocracy and establish democracy in its stead.

Paine, on the other hand, knew that English government was not as Blackstone painted it. Moreover, he was an admirer of Rousseau rather than Montesquieu. But he found one grave defect in Rousseau. By repudiating the principle of representation he refused the only mechanism which could have made democracy possible in the eighteenth century. "We find," Paine wrote later, "in the writings of Rousseau and the Abbé Raynal a loveliness of sentiment in favour of liberty that excites respect and elevates the human faculties, but having raised this animation they do not direct its operations, and leave the mind in love with an object without describing the means of possessing it."

For himself he saw no difficulty in achieving liberty. He was uninterested in Rousseau's argument that the general will could only be found in the city state. Majority government was the necessary political practice, and representation must take the place of the direct vote of the market place. In his account of the origin of society he closely follows the picture painted by Rousseau in the "Origin of Inequality," and does not try, as Rousseau tried in the "Social Contract," to found a society in which all men surrender their rights and yet retain their liberty unimpaired. "Society," he wrote, "is produced by our wants, government by our wickedness." The manifold advantages of co-operative life had irresistably led men to form societies. But government, "like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built on

the ruins of the bowers of paradise. For were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform and irresistably obeyed man would need no other lawgiver: that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest." Government, therefore, is a necessary evil, whose sole justification is the protection of the rights of individuals. If it fails to fulfil this function they have the right to institute a different one. Tried by this democratic test, the English government will not stand analysis. What is wanted in a government, if it is to safeguard the welfare of the people, is wisdom and responsibility. Hereditary monarchy and aristocratic government have neither of these qualifications. "There is something exceedingly ridiculous," he tells us, "in the composition of monarchy." It first excludes a man from the means of information, and then empowers him to act in cases where the highest judgment is required. "The state of a king shuts him from the world, yet the business of a king requires him to know it thoroughly." But if monarchy is bad, hereditary monarchy is the last of absurdities. "The idea of hereditary legislators," he wrote later, "is as absurd as an hereditary mathematician, or an hereditary wise man; and as ridiculous as an hereditary poet-laureate." Any wisdom that exists in the English monarchy or House of Lords is therefore purely accidental. And if wisdom is unlikely to exist, the second important attribute of government—responsibility—is wholly absent from the British Constitution. It is so complex that no one can say who is accountable for anything. Montesquieu's view that liberty was the result of a "separation of powers," and the praise which Blackstone and De Lolme bestowed upon a system of "checks and balances" seemed to Paine therefore wholly absurd. A mechanism in which every part was invented to check another must surely be a farce. If the people did not trust their king, why did they have him at all? If they had representatives, ought these not to have the power to govern unhampered by a House of Lords, and responsible only to those who have elected them? Why disguise it any longer? The only glorious part of the British Constitution was the democratic part, the right which the people had, in some measure at least, of electing their own House of Commons. Paine, therefore, advocated a single democratic chamber, with a plural executive responsible to no one except the representatives of the people. The American Constitution of 1789, therefore, although embodying some of Paine's principles, displeased him by the autocratic and lonely position of the President as well as by the existence of the Senate. The Constitutions of many of the States were, however, exactly founded on Paine's model.

The identity of "Common Sense" was not hidden, and Dr. William Smith, the President of the University of Philadelphia, attacked Paine's writings as the "foul pages of interested writers and strangers intermeddling in our affairs." Paine answered with a bitter

assault upon the Tories, but he did not then mention that he had given the copyright and all profits from "Common Sense" to the cause of Independence. Dr. Smith's sneer was certainly unfortunate, for no one was ever more disinterested than Paine. Within three months a hundred and twenty thousand copies of "Common Sense" were sold at two shillings each, and the sale probably reached about half a million copies in all, so that Paine, who had never yet had enough to live upon and who remained a poor man to the end of his life, had made and given away a fortune for the caused he loved.

Less than a year after the appearance of "Common Sense" its principles were incorporated in the Declaration of Independence. It appears to have been the work of Thomas Jefferson, who had become a friend of Paine's, and one paragraph, devoted to condemnation of the slave-trade, was, perhaps, composed by Paine himself. But most Americans held that liberty, as James Russell Lowell remarked, was "a kind of thing that don't agree with niggers," and the paragraph was cut out. By this time, however, Paine had given up his paper and joined the ragged and disjointed ranks of the revolutionary army.

Fighting by day did not prevent Paine writing by night. During the critical days when Washington was struggling, in the face of State jealousies and Congressional incompetency to keep the cause of America alive, nothing so effectively inspirited the army as the pamphlets which Paine wrote night after night by the camp-fire. The exhilaration of valiant struggle against odds never leaves Paine's pages. "These are the times that try men's souls," the "Crisis" begins. "I love the man who can smile at trouble, that can gather strength from distress and grow brave from reflection." He knew all the tricks of war propaganda. There is always the assumption that America must win, coupled with the reminder that the enemy, though feeble, can only be defeated by their best efforts. English "atrocities" are described, and Lord Howe reminded that England is used to winning in battle only because she is usually opposed by mercenary armies, not by a nation in arms. "After all," he adds, "Englishmen always travel for knowledge, and your lordship, I hope, will return, if you return at all, much wiser than you came." But Paine's best abuse is reserved for the Americans who stood aside in the struggle. Perhaps it was because he was himself brought up as a Quaker, and had, until now, believed himself a pacifist that he found it so difficult to be just to the non-resister, and so readily assumed that he was a coward or a traitor. Refusal to join the American cause he declared to be disloyalty, and the Quakers, who claimed the virtue of consistency when they remained pacifists in war-time, were "like antiquated virgins who see not the havoc deformity has made upon them, but pleasantly mistaking wrinkles for dimples, conceive themselves yet lovely, and wonder at the stupid world for not admiring them"

Ability to write like this was rare, and Paine was called from the ranks to help the government more directly. He continued to write the "Crisis" and, in addition, became in effect Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He was sent on various missions, including one to France, and was in part responsible for the negotiation of the French loan. At a most critical moment, when money was urgently needed, he opened a private subscription list with a gift of £100 himself and obtained from others a sum sufficient to tide over the emergency. After the establishment of peace Paine's services were not forgotten, though it seemed for some months as if a somewhat indiscreet though zealous watching over American interests which led to his losing favour in Congress, would prevent his obtaining due recognition. In the end, however, he was voted considerable sums of money and presented with a farm at New Rochelle, which remained his small but sufficient source of income for the rest of his life.

III.—The French Revolution.

In 1787 Paine returned to Europe. During his last months in America he had been much occupied with a new kind of invention—an iron suspension bridge. He seems to have been anxious to get the approval of French and English authorities for his invention, and he came also with a diplomatic mission. His bridge was exhibited at Hammersmith, its principles much praised, and, with improvements, generally adopted. His diplomatic mission brought him into contact with the leaders of the Whig opposition, and amongst other visits he spent a week with Edmund Burke. Of English politicians Burke stood highest in Paine's opinion: his American speeches had seemed to Paine incomparably fine. But though they had been at one about stamp duties, no two men could really have been farther apart. Writing to Jefferson at this time, Paine remarked that democratic changes were coming to pass, and that these might involve some disturbances. Rulers, he added, ought not to fear these for "the creation we enjoy arose out of chaos." The rulers of eighteenth century Europe, however, were satisfied with things as they were, and were not prepared to welcome the element of creation discernible in the French Revolution. Paine himself was so interested that he left the fascinating pursuit of bridge-building to visit Paris. In November, 1790, he returned in time for the publication of Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution." It was a magnificent piece of rhetoric, exactly calculated to rouse the aristocracies of Europe to the dangers of the democratic principles which had been implicit in his own "Speeches on America." "The forms of a free and the ends of an arbitrary government are things not altogether compatible," he had written. Could the Revolution then stop at establishing the forms of a free government? Burke still thought not, but whereas in the case of America this was an argument for reform,

in France, it seemed, repression was the only alternative to chaos. The strength of Burke's appeal did not lie in its argument. It was obviously inconsistent to denounce Dr. Price for declaring that the people of England by once choosing their own governors, "cashiering them for misconduct," and "framing a government for themselves" had forever forfeited their right to do so again. To claim finality for the "Contract" of 1689 was as absurd as Hobbes' effort to bind posterity to a monarch because our forefathers once accepted one. In such cases Paine's question, "Who is to decide, the living or the dead?" is a final answer. But Burke's appeal was an emotional one. He drew a picture of the young Queen of France, whose beauty had so enchanted him on a visit to France some years before, and her kindly and well-intentioned husband now helpless in the hands of revengeful and ignorant sansculottes: he prophesied that extreme would follow extreme till France was destroyed, and, through their example, drag other countries down to their own degradation. Such a picture could only rouse anger and horror in the minds of men who were ignorant of the actual conditions of France and were accustomed to identify a nation with its rulers. In the "Rights of Man" Paine answered on behalf of those who had in mind the common people of France. Burke, indeed, knew little of France, and, as Paine remarked, "When the tongue or the pen is let loose in a frenzy of passion, it is the man and not the subject that becomes exhausted." It was Paine's business to paint a different picture also incomplete, no doubt, but at least founded on some knowledge of the situation. "When Mr. Burke *cast his eyes over the map of Europe and saw a chasm that once was France*, he talked like a dreamer of dreams." The reality was very different. All the essential parts of France were still there—her people and her natural resources were unimpaired, indeed strengthened by the destruction of an arbitrary and corrupt government. To talk of indignity to the Queen of France was surely irrelevant. It was, as Paine said in perhaps the greatest of the phrases which give him immortality, "to pity the plumage and forget the dying bird." Burke's sympathy was concentrated on the plight of one foolish woman. Paine's mind was set on the age-long suffering of a misgoverned and tortured people. Under these circumstances there could be no argument between them, for they could not agree on the essential facts of the situation.

Early in 1791 Paine again crossed to France, leaving the publication of the first part of the "Rights of Man" in the hands of his radical friends, Godwin, Holcroft, and Hollis. He was disappointed to hear that the Parisians had thought it worth while to bring back Louis XVI. when once he had sought safety in flight. In America Paine had been the first to demand the proclamation of a Republic. In the same way Paris was still monarchist in sentiment when Paine arrived there, and begun his career as a French Revolutionist by placarding the streets and even the door

of the National Assembly with a manifesto declaring that, while France could not "stoop to degrade herself by a spirit of revenge," she would do well to repudiate "Louis Capet" as soon as possible. Paine never changed his view about this. He was later to engage in controversy with Sieyés, who argued that, though illogical, an hereditary monarchy worked better than an elected one. Paine could see no reason for accepting this choice of evils. Why have any kind of monarch?

This visit to France was also short: he returned to England with Horne Tooke and other English radicals, and proceeded to organise meetings in favour of Republican principles and social reform. In 1792 the second part of the "Rights of Man" appeared. It was an elaboration and expansion of the principles laid down in Part I. Men's rights were of two kinds: some of them, such as the right to free thought and its expression, ought never to be interfered with in any way: others, such as the right to the property whose value a man has enhanced by his labour, can only be secured by government regulation. Government, therefore, is an organisation for the control and security of those rights which men cannot secure for themselves without regulation. All governments except democratic republics are in the interests of a few and the new American Constitution, though not altogether to Paine's liking, supplied Europe with a pattern of a democratic system. Having explained the value of a written Constitution which guarantees the permanent security of rights with which government may not attempt to interfere, Paine proceeded to an amazingly bold series of practical suggestions for a peaceful English revolution. Spence and Ogilvie had already put forward schemes of land nationalisation. Paine was less socialistic but perhaps more practical, and he did not consider the landowner the only source of social evil.

He computed the population of England at about seven millions, and believed that, if the Poor Law was abolished, the four million pounds thus saved would be sufficient for a grant of £4 per head to each child under fourteen, and a pension, beginning at £6 per annum for workers after the age of fifty. The residue of the money saved would be spent in a grant for education, a maternity benefit of £1 at the birth of each child, and the setting up of government work for the unemployed. This, however, was only a beginning. The abolition of sinecure offices and ultimately of kings and their courts would bring further revenue. Most productive of all, however, would be a graded estate-duty, which, beginning with an annual tax of three pence per pound on estates worth £500 a year, would rise on each thousand pounds till it reached twenty shillings in the pound for all annual revenue over £23,000 a year. Thus an estate which brought in this sum annually would be taxed £10,630, and any annual increment beyond this would, in fact, be confiscated by the State. Taxation of this kind would make indirect taxes

unnecessary, and ensure the prosperity of the people. Finally, he hoped that reforms of this kind could be accomplished peacefully; that France, England and Holland would see the folly of rival armaments, and when they had formed an alliance and agreed to accept arbitration, be able to abolish their army and navy. What possible arguments, he asks, could his opponents bring against him? Would they dare to say that to "provide against all the misfortunes to which human life is subject" by devoting the national revenue to their prevention "is not a *good thing?*" Europe, in any case, had reached the end of aristocratic government, which alone stood in the way of reform. But "reason and discussion will soon bring things right, however wrong they may begin," and "if the good to be obtained be worthy of a passive, rational and costless Revolution, it would be bad policy to prefer waiting for a calamity that should force a violent one."

The book was an immediate success. Cheap editions were demanded by working class societies all over the country. Paine was burnt in effigy by upper class mobs in Plymouth, Warrington, and other places. The "Rights of Man" was at once translated into French, and so enthusiastically acclaimed that Paine was included in a special vote whereby Washington, Hamilton, Kosciusko, Pestallozzi, Mackintosh, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Bentham and Priestley were made eligible for membership of the National Assembly. He was at once elected as Deputy for four Departments. In England Pitt took alarm and decided to prosecute. Paine appeared and pleaded not guilty at the first summons, but prompted, it is said, by William Blake, who had heard a rumour of his impending arrest, did not wait his trial and fled to France. A letter from Washington amongst his papers induced the Customs Officer to allow him to leave England just before orders for his detention reached Dover. Although defended by Erskine in his absence, Paine was pronounced guilty by a jury which did not even wait to hear the judge sum up against him. Paine was never again able to visit England. This was the first of many trials in which the "Rights of Man" was to appear. It was also the beginning of the Reign of Terror in England which followed the outbreak of war with France.

Outlawed from England, Paine received a triumphal welcome in France. Everywhere he was fêted, and one of his companions wrote home that he seemed "in good spirits though rather fatigued by the kissing." On his arrival in Paris he was asked by Lafayette if he would act as intermediary in the presentation of the key of the Bastille to Washington. It was the proudest moment of Paine's life: he was the acknowledged link between the revolutions in the Old and New Worlds. He became for a time the unofficial ambassador of England in France, and extraordinary stories are told of the almost quixotic generosity he displayed in championing

suspects whom he thought unjustly treated, even at the risk of his own life. He was intimately associated with a party of the Gironde, aided Condorcet in drawing up the abortive Constitution of 1793, and found good friends in Madame Roland, Mary Wollstencroft, Captain Imlay, and others of the more moderate revolutionaries. His first act in the National Convention was singularly courageous, and made him suspect in the eyes of Marat, Robespierre, and the party of the Mountain. He was well known as a Republican, but he did all in his power in the Convention as well as outside it to save the life of Louis XVI. Paine was a determined opponent of capital punishment, and his dislike of bloodshed was as sincere and unwavering as his belief in republicanism. His disappointment when Louis was executed changed to a feeling of despair as he watched the growing violence of the Revolution which seemed to be fulfilling Burke's most gloomy prophecies. As the power of the Gironde weakened and the power of Robespierre increased Paine's influence vanished. In any case, he knew no French, and could carry little weight in the Assembly. He devoted himself to writing "The Age of Reason." The revolution at which Paine aimed was always primarily a mental one, and when he saw that the passions and the follies of men could survive a change of their institutions he felt, as Robert Owen felt thirty years later, that until men could be released from the bonds of religious superstition they were likely to remain subject to political chicanery.

In the "Age of Reason" Paine attacked Christianity and the accepted interpretation of the Bible in a manner scarcely less trenchant than that of Voltaire. His book did, in fact, for the working classes of nineteenth century England what Voltaire had done for the aristocracy of eighteenth century France. Like Voltaire, too, he believed in God, but his faith was far more fervent and less opportunist than Voltaire's. Neither was his purpose any less serious. He wanted not so much to attack Christianity as to usher in the "Age of Reason," when science and critical habits of thought should overcome political and social prejudices. At the end of 1793 he had just completed the first part of his work when the time came for him to follow his friends to prison.

Paine was not released until November of the next year. As an American citizen he expected the immediate intervention of Washington, who had been his friend in America. The American ambassador, however, was Gouvernor Morris, who disliked Paine and his opinions. He seems to have kept Washington in partial ignorance of the situation, but it is probable that, in any case, Washington, who was at that time seeking to make friends with the English government, was not anxious to offend them by interceding for Paine. For this Paine never forgave him, and his later attacks on Washington's politics were envenomed by a personal contempt for what he regarded as a betrayal of their friendship. It was not until

Monroe had taken Morris' place and Robespierre's power was at an end that Paine was released. According to the story Paine was once actually sentenced to the guillotine, and only escaped through the mistake of a warder, who placed the fatal chalk mark on the inner side of his cell door so that in the night when the condemned were taken out to death Paine's door was missed.

One pleasing incident occurred during Paine's imprisonment. His life had so far been romantic in action not in sentiment. But as he lay in prison letters full of hope and friendship reached him in an unknown handwriting. They were signed "The Little Corner of the World." He answered in verse. Later, he discovered that the writer had been Lady Smythe, whose husband he had tried to befriend when he was in danger, and the friendship thus formed continued and grew deeper after his release from prison. Paine was an arrogant man, willing enough to speak of himself and his public services. But he was a lonely man, and except in his letters to Lady Smythe and in one letter to an old friend in America, in which he speaks wistfully of "marriage as the harbour of human life" which he had missed, we have few records of his more intimate desires and regrets.

After his release from prison Paine stayed eighteen months in Monroe's house. Though broken in health he seems to have found a new happiness in friendship, and lost little time in beginning again to write. He composed the second Part of the "Age of Reason," wrote his "Agrarian Justice" and his famous pamphlet on the "Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance." Paine saw at once that the Revolution, made possible by the workers of Paris, was being used only in the interests of the middle-classes. In "Agrarian Justice," published immediately after the failure of Babœuf's insurrection, he declared that God did not, as the Bishop of Llandaff had said, make "rich and poor," but only "male and female, and gave them the earth for their inheritance." Since, however, he deemed it impossible for the land to be shared equally by all, he suggested that a tax should be levied on inheritances. This money was to be expended on money grants of £15 to all citizens when they came of age, and on annuities of £10 for all who reached the age of fifty. In his currency pamphlet he prophecied the suspension of gold payments by the Bank of England, which followed the next year, and declared that inflation was a method of robbing the people in the interests of government bondholders. It was this pamphlet which afterwards changed Cobbett from Paine's enemy to his enthusiastic admirer.

Paine remained in France till 1802. Of his many activities the most curious was his discussion with Napoleon as to the best way of invading England. Paine regarded England as the stumbling-block to the universal establishment of a European Republic, and he was so willing to help to defeat her that he actually went to Belgium

to watch the collecting of two hundred and fifty gunboats destined for the English invasion. Patriotism was never one of Paine's faults. Napoleon, however, without, so far as we know, thinking any apologies due to Paine for his trouble, preferred a descent upon Egypt. Paine returned to Paris to lead an interesting little movement which resembled a pre-Comtist Positivism. The Society of "Theophilanthropists" met together to worship God through his works in the simplest manner possible. It aimed at popular education through lectures upon natural science and "the religion of humanity."[1] In 1801 Theophilanthropy was suppressed, and in 1802 Paine knew that the Revolution was over.

He decided to return to America. The Revolution in England still tarried, and for France he prophesied that Napoleon would make himself Emperor, and "by his intemperate use of power and thirst of dominion cause the people to wish for their old kings, forgetting what beasts they were." "This is no country for an honest man," he said to a friend, "they do not understand anything at all of the principles of free government. I know of no republic in the world, except America, which is the only country for men such as you and I." "Ah, France! thou hast ruined the character of the Revolution virtuously begun, and destroyed those who produced it. I might almost say like Job's servant, 'I only am escaped!'"

But the cup of Paine's disappointment was not yet full. He found that even in America democracy was but partially established, and that its fruits were not so sweet as he had hoped. He could not approve of the Constitution. It was essentially aristocratic: it was English in structure, and its President was only a "fossilised George III." But democracy disappointed Paine in more momentous ways. He had been among the first advocates of the abolition of negro-slavery, and though his old friend Dr. Franklin was President of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the invention of the cotton gin had made slavery so profitable that he found few supporters. Washington, Madison, even Jefferson evaded the issue, and did nothing to aid the negroes who fled from oppression in Domingo. Finally, Paine found that democracy was not necessarily tolerant. Many who would have welcomed the author of "Common Sense" and "The Rights of Man" were virtuously cold towards the infidel who could write "The Age of Reason."

Paine, however, found friends, one of the best of whom curiously enough was Mr. Willett Hicks, a member of the Society of Friends, amongst whom Paine had been born, and whom he had at one time so manfully abused. But Paine remained a good infidel till his death in 1809 at the age of seventy-two.[2]

[1] Mr. Moncure Conway thinks that the Theophilanthropists were the originators of this phrase.

IV.—Social Philosophy and Influence.

The American and French revolutions brought into prominence three main types of political philosophy. Their best known exponents in England are Burke, Paine and Bentham. Hatred of the French Revolution led Burke to express in language which has become classic the principles of Conservatism. The essence of his doctrine is that at any time the existing régime, though perhaps capable of certain improvements, contains within itself the concentrated wisdom of the past, and must only be touched, if at all, with extreme reverence. Such institutions as private property, marriage, the Church of England and the British Constitution were therefore to him sacred and assured. If it was not always possible to find justification for them from considerations of immediate utility this was probably the result not of their inadequacy, but of our incapacity to see their true place in the evolution of the social organism. "We have," he wrote, "an inheritable crown, an inheritable peerage: a House of Commons and a people inheriting privileges, franchises and liberties from a long line of ancestors. This policy appears to me to be the result of profound reflection; or rather the happy effect of following nature, which is wisdom without reflection and above it. A spirit of innovation is generally

[2] Biographers have often a mistaken affection for the bodies of their heroes, and like to give us details of their funerals and graves. In Paine's case the future career of his bones was so unusual that it must be recorded. In 1819 Cobbett, then in America, struck with remorse for his early slanders on Paine, obtained permission to carry his bones to England. Christian burial had been refused Paine, even the Quakers denying admission to so famous a Deist, and his body had been placed in a corner of his own farm at New Rochelle. Cobbett carried it home to England in triumph, but failed to find anyone to take up his scheme for a mausoleum. Paine's bones remained in the Cobbett family till the bankruptcy of Cobbett's eldest son, when they became, as Mr. Cole remarks, an "unrealisable asset in the hands of the latter's creditors." After this we lose sight of Paine's bones until Mr. Moncure Conway discovered some of them later in the course of his indefatigable researches for traces of Paine. At the time, however, Cobbett's enterprise was a great opportunity for ridicule. Many stories had already grown up of Paine's "death-bed repentance," and the lie that Paine had died in fear of hell fire was the final tribute which outraged Christianity paid to his name. Enemies of Cobbett, who was always a good Churchman, were delighted at the opportunity of bracketting his name with that of Paine not only as a radical, but also as an infidel.

"O rascal, why my name afresh
Dost thou lug forth in canting tones?
The worms content were with my flesh:
But thou hast robbed me of my bones,"

said the ghost of Paine in one rhyme.

Byron, too, commented on the situation in a verse which he sent to Tom Moore but did not publish, since he did not wish to aid in the clamour against reform.

"For digging up your bones, Tom Paine,
Will Cobbett has done well;
You'll visit him on earth again,
He'll visit you in hell."

(Vide Cole, Life of William Cobbett, pp. 235-236.)

the result of a selfish temper and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity who never look backward to their ancestors." Existing institutions, therefore, have a sanctity which necessarily contains an element of the mysterious, and when the individual finds himself in conflict with them he must learn to bow his reason before the embodied wisdom of the ages.

Against this view Paine opposed the conception of individual rights. The British Constitution did not seem to him either "the result of profound wisdom" or of the "happy effect of following nature." He thought it merely a device by which an aristocracy could enjoy leisure at the expense of the people's rights. To Burke the organic flow of social unity was the important affair: to Paine the freedom of the individual in society. Freedom meant the exercise of certain rights which he called natural. According to the bad habit of the eighteenth century, he was apt at times to justify his belief in these rights by reference to a primitive society where they were supposed to have been freely exercised. The introduction of this makeshift support of the golden age and the social contract was unfortunate, because, when the historical fallacy was knocked away, the truth underlying Paine's doctrine was overlooked.

Paine's doctrine springs as Rousseau's did, from a passionate Protestantism. By nature and upbringing he felt it intolerable that any authority should stand between the individual and the use of his own reason. Sixteenth century Protestantism began in the same way but failed in courage, and set up the Bible in place of the Pope. Only Anabaptists and Quakers had accepted the whole faith of Protestantism in matters of religion. Paine, following the Encyclopædists, carried the same spirit into all departments of thought. The methods of science were to him, as to them, the only means of obtaining truth. Authority could order, but it could not prove. "Religion," he said, "is a great affair between man and his maker, and no tribunal or third party has a right to interfere between them." "Who then art thou, vain dust and ashes! by whatever name thou art called, whether a King, a Bishop, a Church or a State, a Parliament or anything else that obtrudest thine insignificance between the soul of men and its maker? Mind thine own concerns. If he believes not as thou believeth, it is a proof that thou believest not as he believeth, and there is no earthly power can determine between you."

With this in mind the doctrine of natural rights becomes intelligible. Its evil lay in an *a priori* mode of expression. But if Paine lacked the historical background of Burke, Burke's method had a corresponding weakness. Burke started no less than Paine from certain *a priori* assumptions, but while Paine left his bare to the most casual glance, Burke covered his with a generous parade of historical generalisations, which were in reality just as much the

servants of his philosophy as the simple deductions of Paine. Moreover, it is possible to find just as strong a support in history for Paine's view as for Burke's. Paine might profitably have put the matter thus. Society is made up of individuals who have spiritual as well as economic needs. Now it is of the very nature of a spiritual existence that it develop from within, that no outside force can direct it, and that its development will be individual and unpredictable. Thus, there is a large part of the life of every man which must not be regulated by any government. Any society is self-condemned which does not give an opportunity to this spiritual life to develop, and we have the long record of history to show that men are willing to suffer imprisonment and torture, to give up ease and even life itself in pursuit of this freedom. On Burke's own historical grounds, therefore, it is clear that no government can last which fails to recognise and give scope to these fundamental needs of man. In this sense, therefore, natural rights are, as Paine says, in part at least, anterior to the State, since they arise out of the continuous demands of human nature, and, though the content of these demands change and is in part modified by the State, they remain superior to any other interests of the State and their fulfilment is, in fact, the test by which the State must be judged.

Paine's attack on existing institutions is, therefore, essentially, a moral and not a utilitarian one. So far, his philosophy is identical with that of Rousseau. But both were faced by a dilemma. Pressed to its logical conclusion the doctrine of indefensible natural rights leads to anarchy. Yet both were confronted with the fact of government, and knew that without it rights would not obtain any security. Rousseau solved the dialectical problem of accepting government and yet retaining complete liberty for the individual by a metaphysical juggle which opened the way for Hegelian conservatism. By the fiction of the general will, for whose expression he provided no machinery applicable to the eighteenth century, he claimed that popular sovereignty would restore to each individual the liberty which he had given up when he surrendered his personal rights to the community. Paine was more realistic. He saw that some rights needed governmental regulation if any but the strongest were to exercise them, while others could best be realised if left freely to the discretion of the individual. In this latter class the right to free thought and its expression was paramount. He did not claim that toleration was desirable, because the government was as likely as the individual to be wrong, or because truth was best served by the free interplay of ideas. He would have agreed with these utilitarian arguments but, to him, the heart of the matter was simply that no one, priest or king, could be permitted to stand between that individual and his conscience. "Toleration," he said, "is not the opposite of intolerance, but is the counterfeit of it. Both are despotisms. The one assumes to itself the right of with-holding

Liberty of Conscience, and the other of granting it." But there were other rights, such as that of private property, the exercise of which could not be left to the individuals unlimited discretion. Unlike thought, land was limited, and its possession by one individual excluded ownership by another. Its regulation, therefore, Paine wished to entrust to a representative government. But lest this government should forget that some rights were outside its sphere of action, a Constitution must be drawn up and a Bill of Rights declared fundamental. This Constitution, though revisable from time to time by the people, seemed to Paine essential to good government. With Paine there can be no such thing as sovereignty, popular or monarchical, for in the last resort the individual is supreme and no majority, however great, can justly deny to him the ultimate right to follow his own conscience. In teaching this doctrine Paine was once more re-echoing the stoic conception of a Law of Nature as interpreted by English seventeenth century lawyers. There were contemporary Americans who could have expressed his demand for a fundamental law in legal phraseology. In England the result of the seventeenth century battle between Law, Parliament and King had been to establish the doctrine of Parliamentary sovereignty. But this doctrine had never reached America, and lawyers there were still quoting Coke's argument that the judiciary had the right to nullify a law which was "against common right and reason," and Chief-Justice Marshall was ready to accept a Constitution which should take the place of the "fundamental law of Magna Carta," against which the passing waves of popular will might beat in vain. The doctrine of judicial revision was quite to Paine's taste, though the subsequent history of its exercise by the Supreme Court would scarcely have pleased him.

No conception of a fundamental bill of rights could find place in England, where Bentham was revising English law on Utilitarian principles. Bentham, in sweeping away the doctrine of natural rights as "nonsense, nonsense on stilts," lost sight of the importance of Paine's attack upon sovereignty. He assumed naturally enough that the democracy for which he worked would safeguard the rights of the individual. But, in truth, as de Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill were to teach later, there is no necessary connection between popular government and individual freedom. John Stuart Mill, indeed, in fear of the tyranny of the majority, was driven to advocate on Utilitarian grounds just that dividing line between the spheres of individual and State action which Paine had championed in the "Rights of Man." Moreover, Mill was led in another direction to revert to Paine's conclusions at the expense of Bentham's philosophy. For before the end of his life, Mill had learned to agree with Paine that the achievement of liberty depends upon a just regulation by the State of the rights of private property.

In his analysis of natural rights Paine had seen that there was no sphere in which State interference was so necessary as the economic. Under different circumstances, the doctrine of the greatest happiness of the greatest number might have led Bentham to the same conclusion. But the corrupt incompetence of the eighteenth century State, and the industrial needs of the middle class for whose advantages he was unconsciously theorising, led Bentham to believe that the greatest happiness would best be served by economic individualism. Thus, while agreeing with Paine that the State should not interfere with matters of belief, he differed from him in including the unlimited right to control of private property in the same category. In both these views he was supported by the evangelical thinkers who so much differed from him in theory and yet were so often in practice his allies. So it came about that in nineteenth century England, the thought of which was dominated by evangelicanism and utilitarianism, the doctrine of "laisser-faire" was applied not only to the rights which Paine called "personal," but also to that of private property.

There has, therefore, been a curious complication in English nineteenth century political theory. The battle for the right of free speech put the believers in natural law, the Utilitarians and Evangelicals all into one camp. They were united against the State by a long struggle which had begun in the sixteenth century, when the English Church had first become identified with the English State. Bound up with this was the middle class opposition to State interference in the economic sphere, and it was partly because Paine and Robert Owen after him were both opponents of Christianity while the majority of the working class in England remained evangelical Christians, that English working men have been very slow to accept Paine's conclusions that the State could usefully regulate the rights of property. Socialism and infidelity have been connected in England not only because leading Socialists have often been infidels, but because there has been a traditional belief that State interference with industry also involved interference with those spiritual rights for which nonconformists had fought so boldly in the past. Indeed, until Darwinism had gone far to discredit orthodox religion and the crying evils of industrialism had time after time necessitated the rejection of a "laisser-faire" policy, the workers themselves were commonly united with the middle classes in their dislike of State interference. With the exception of the Tory democrats, there is no English school of thought which looked to the State for help between the early land reformers, the most important of whom was Paine, and the Fabian Society which began its propaganda nearly a century later. It is a significant fact that when at length the connection between non-conformity and laisser-faire should have broken down, the first Labour Prime Minister of England should himself be an Evangelical Christian.

The failure of the Utilitarians to make Paine's distinction between personal rights and rights which the State should regulate had a further interesting result. The absolute right to the control of private property rested in origin upon the double theory of Locke and the Physiocrats that, by mixing his labour with the soil, the worker had a "natural" right to the produce which resulted from his efforts, and that, without this incentive to labour, industry would languish. Thus the right of private property meant, in fact, the right of the peasant to freedom from feudal dues. It was a theory of peasant proprietorship. When the classical economists, stressing the Utilitarian side of this argument, transferred the right of private property to all forms of ownership, they failed to note that the control of industry involves power of a different kind from that of the peasant proprietor. Soon, in fact, with the advance of the new industrialism, Locke's theory was being used in a manner precisely opposite from that for which it was intended, and it was left to Hodgskin and Marx to argue that, if labour created value and was entitled to the produce of industry, this was a condemnation and not a justification of the rights of capitalist ownership. The most remarkable of all Paine's claims to fame is that he, a man of middle class origin himself, saw the distinction between the old and new form of property, and advocated the rights of private property, not as the Utilitarians in practice did, for the advantage of the new industrial capitalist, but also for the wage earner whose only property now was his labour. [1]

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[1] The confusion between the right to own what you make and the right to do what you like with what you happen to own still exists. It would be interesting to know, for instance, whether Lord Leverhulme, in claiming for himself the proceeds of negro labour in Nigeria, does so on the grounds that he has a "natural right" to the labour of other people, or whether he takes the Utilitarian view that the constitution of a negro-labourer is so different from that of a white Capitalist that his industry is stimulated by other persons reaping the fruits of his labour rather than himself.

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A complete collection of Paine's works was made by Moncure Conway :—

"The Writings of Thomas Paine." Four volumes. 1894-96.

"The Rights of Man" is in the Everyman Edition.

The Rationalist Press (Watts & Co.) have published (in paper covers) :—

"The Rights of Man." Edited by Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner.

Paine's Political Writings during the American and French Revolutions, including "Common Sense," "The Crisis," and "Speeches upon the Trial and Death of Louis XVI." Edited with an Introduction by Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner.

"The Age of Reason," with a biographical introduction by John M. Robertson.

The numerous early lives of Paine are not trustworthy. Moncure Conway's "Life" is the result of patient research and the work of a fervent admirer. In spite of this, however, it is fair in its judgments, and not as dull as most biographies. A cheap edition was published by the Rationalist Press. Robertson's biographical Introduction to the Age of Reason is an excellent short account.

Mr. F. J. Gould has recently written a narrative of Paine's life in the "Roadmaker Series." It contains no adequate appreciation of Paine as a political thinker.

Other books are :—

J. Morley : Burke.

The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin.

H. N. Brailsford : Shelley, Godwin and their Circle.

C. Kegan Paul : William Godwin, his Friends and Contemporaries.

W. Hazlitt : Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft

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THE COUNTY COUNCIL:

What it Is and What it Does.

BY

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THE COUNTY COUNCIL:

What it Is and What it Does.

INTRODUCTORY.

Extent of Subject Matter.

This booklet deals with the County Councils of England and Wales *minus* the London County Council. It is concerned with their powers and duties under the existing law and not with changes which may result from the adoption of proposals for reform or from legislation which has not yet passed the initial stages.

The County Council's "Charter."

The County Council is a "body corporate," that is to say, it has by a process of legalisation obtained the status of a separate "person" as distinct from the various persons who are its members. The legalisation or "incorporation" of bodies corporate takes place by a charter or statute—(*e.g.* a limited company—the commonest form of a "body corporate"—is formed either under the Companies Acts or by Royal Charter). The County Council was formed as a body corporate by the Local Government Act, 1888, which laid down detailed provisions as to its constitution, at the same time both transferring to it functions hitherto exercised by other bodies or individuals and providing for further transfers of functions in the future. The Act is a lengthy one, and is divided into five parts as follows :—

Part I.—Formation and Powers. Constitution (ss. 1—2), Powers (ss. 3—19), Exchequer Grants (ss. 20—27), Power to delegate, Settlement of disputes, Standing Joint Committee (ss. 28—30).

Part II.—Special Places. County Boroughs and Non-County Boroughs (ss. 31—39), London County Council (ss. 40—45), Administrative counties with special boundaries (ss. 46—49).

Part III.—Boundaries. Electoral divisions and areas within county (ss. 50—63).

Part IV.—Finance. (ss. 64—75).

Part V.—Supplemental and Miscellaneous Provisions (ss. 76—end).

Since this is the Act which created the County Council, one has not to go further back in seeking the authority for any of that body's powers or duties, but on the other hand the latter have been greatly extended by statutes passed subsequently,* the more important of which we shall notice in the course of these pages.

* For a list of these statutes the reader is referred to Appendix I in "The Country Councillor," by H. Samuels (Labour Publishing Co.)

The Administrative County.

The County Council is then a body corporate formed by the Local Government Act, 1888, and—to complete the definition—governing the "administrative county." The administrative counties are in most instances the same as the geographical counties we see marked on the map, except that large cities which were in 1888 or later given the status of county boroughs are not included. In certain cases too there are other differences. Thus Yorkshire and Lincolnshire are each divided into three administrative counties, Suffolk and Sussex each into two, while the Isle of Ely, the Isle of Wight and the "Soke" of Peterborough are each separate administrative counties. The Moot Hall in Newcastle-on-Tyne is an instance of part of the administrative county lying outside its area, Newcastle itself being a County Borough and the Moot Hall being part of the Northumberland County Council's sphere. England has 49 administrative counties outside London, Wales 12. The following is a list of the Administrative Counties showing the County Boroughs in the corresponding geographical counties.

ENGLAND.

Counties.	County Boroughs in the corresponding geographical counties.
Bedfordshire	
Berkshire	Reading.
Buckinghamshire ...	
Cambridgeshire ...	
Cheshire	Birkenhead, Chester, Stockport, Wallasey.
Cornwall	
Cumberland	Carlisle.
Derbyshire	Derby.
Devonshire	Exeter, Plymouth.
Dorsetshire	
Durham	Darlington, Gateshead, South Shields, Sunderland, West Hartlepool.
Essex	East Ham, Southend, West Ham.
Gloucestershire ...	Bristol, Gloucester.
Hampshire	Bournemouth, Portsmouth, Southampton.
Herefordshire ...	
Hertfordshire ...	
Huntingdonshire ...	

ENGLAND—*Contd.*

Isle of Ely	
Isle of Wight ...	
Kent	Canterbury.
Lancashire	Barrow, Blackburn, Blackpool, Bolton, Bootle, Bury, Bromley, Liverpool, Manchester, Oldham, Preston, Rochdale, St. Helens, Salford, Southport, Warrington, Wigan.
Leicestershire ...	Leicester.
Lincolnshire (Holland)	
„ (Kesteven)	
„ (Lindsey)	Grimsby, Lincoln.
London	
Middlesex	
Monmouthshire ...	
Norfolk	Great Yarmouth, Norwich.
Northamptonshire ...	Northampton.
Northumberland ...	Newcastle-on-Tyne, Tynemouth.
Nottinghamshire ...	Nottingham.
Oxfordshire	Oxford.
Peterborough ...	
Rutlandshire	
Shropshire	
Somersetshire ...	Bath.
Staffordshire ...	Burton-on-Trent, Dudley, Smethwick, Stoke-on-Trent, Walsall, West Bromwich, Wolverhampton.
Suffolk, E.	Ipswich.
„ W.	
Surrey	Croydon.
Sussex, E.	Brighton, Eastbourne, Hastings.
„ W.	
Warwickshire ...	Birmingham, Coventry.
Westmoreland ...	
Wiltshire	
Worcestershire ...	Worcester.
Yorkshire (East Riding)	Kingston-upon-Hull.
„ (North Riding)	Middlesbrough, York.
„ (West Riding)	Barnsley, Bradford, Dewsbury, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Rotherham, Sheffield, Wakefield.

WALES.

ANGLESEY	
BRECKNOCKSHIRE ...	
CARDIGANSHIRE ...	
CARMARTHENSHIRE ...	
CARNAVONSHIRE ...	
DENBIGHSHIRE	
FLINTSHIRE	
GLAMORGANSHIRE ...	Cardiff, Newport, Swansea.
MERIONETHSHIRE ...	
MONTGOMERYSHIRE ...	
PEMBROKESHIRE ...	
RADNORSHIRE	

CONSTITUTION.

Composition.

The County Council consists of councillors and aldermen presided over by a chairman. The number of councillors was originally fixed by the Local Government Board (the predecessor of the Ministry of Health) and is subject to alteration by the Home Secretary. The Councillors hold office for 3 years and retire together. Aldermen number one-third the number of the councillors, and are elected by the latter from among themselves or from persons qualified to be elected to the Council. They hold office for six years, half retiring every third year. If a councillor is elected alderman, his seat as councillor becomes vacant. The Chairman is elected by the councillors and aldermen from among persons qualified to be elected to the Council.

The Franchise: Qualifications of Candidates.

Persons who are on the list of local government electors for the county are alone entitled to vote at elections for the Council. Aliens, minors, persons suffering from insanity, are disqualified both from registration as electors and from standing as candidates. In order to be registered as an elector one must also have occupied as owner or tenant land or premises in the county for the last half year ending January 15th or July 15th. Where a married man is so qualified in respect of premises in which he lives with his wife, the latter if she has reached 30 is also entitled to be registered. (A person who takes furnished rooms does not "occupy" them; a lodger whose rooms are let to him unfurnished does. A caretaker, railway worker or other person whose work carries with it the use of a house to live in is an occupier if the employer does not also live there).

Candidates for the council must either be thus qualified for registration as electors, or must own property within the county, or

have lived there for the whole of the last twelve months. But they are disqualified if they hold a paid post under the Council, or have been convicted or made bankrupt within the last five years, or have a share or interest in contracts with the Council. This last ground of disqualification is not as simple to understand as the others. A County Councillor or candidate may have an interest in any of the following without being disqualified : a lease, sale, or purchase of land, a loan, a newspaper which publishes advertisements relating to the Council's work, a company which lights, insures against fire, or supplies with water any part of the county, a railway company, or a company formed under royal charter or Act of Parliament (this of course includes a limited company). Apart from these statutory exceptions, the words " having an interest or share in a contract " have as a rule been interpreted on the principle that the intention of the statute is to remove, in the interests of clean government, all possible chances of corruption and abuse creeping into the work of our public bodies and destroying the foundations of good administration. Thus the words have been held to disqualify a member of a local education authority who sold gravel to a builder of a school for the authority, a person whose contract terminated before the election but after his nomination, and, to take a third instance, a member of an authority who makes a contractor a loan on the security of the monies earned by the contracts. Subject to what the House of Lords may still have to say thereon, the decision in the recent case of *Lapish v. Braithwaite* has on the other hand shown a tendency, not discernible in former decisions, to restrict their application, for it was there held that a managing director being a salaried official of the company had no " interest " in a contract and was therefore not disqualified.

Elections.

Elections to the council took place in 1925 and are held every third year during the first week in March. One member is elected by ballot for each electoral division in the county. Where it is desired to contest the validity of an election, two courses are open, (a) by proceedings " quo warranto," whereby the member is called upon to show " by what warrant " he holds his office, (b) by Election Petition, where an application has to be lodged within 28 days if bribery is alleged, and within 21 days otherwise.

Committees.

Most of the work of the County Council is carried on by means of Committees. This system is one of the essential features of English local government. With us the councillor is more than a member of a deliberative body merely : he has also to share the responsibility of the carrying out of the main body's decisions and of the general work of local government in one or more of its departments, since each department is entrusted to a committee consisting wholly or mainly of councillors.

Some of these Committees are " statutory "— that is to say, the Council is obliged to form them by some statute or other which also

as a rule prescribes how they shall be formed and what powers they shall have. These "statutory committees" are:-

Name.	Statute.	Composition.	Powers.
Standing Joint Committee	s. 30 of 1888 Act.	Half appointed by C.C., half by Quarter Sessions.	Controls police expenditure.
Finance Committee	s. 80 of 1888 Act.	Councillors only ...	Controls all C.C expenditure.
Pensions Committee	s. 8 Old Age Pensions Act, 1908.	Not less than 7 or more than number of Council: women and non-councillors may be included.	Full powers to decide claims.
Visiting Committee	s. 169 Lunacy Act, 1890.	7, appointed annually.	v. page 16
Distress Committee	ss. 2-4 Unemployed Workmen Act.	Non-councillors may be co-opted.	v. page 21
Education Committee	s. 4. Education Act, 1921.	Scheme to be approved by Bd. of Education: women and specialists to be included.	May have any powers delegated to them except raising a rate or loan.
Committee for the care of Mental Defectives.	s. 28 Mental Deficiency Act, 1913.	Must include some women and some experts.	do.
Agricultural Committee	s. 7 Ministry of Agriculture Act. 1919.	Majority to be Councillors: women and nominees of Ministry of Agriculture to be included.	do.
Diseases of Animals Committee	s. 31 D. of Animals Act, 1894.	May include rated occupiers.	do.
Small Holdings and Allotments Committee	s. 50 Small Holdings Act, 1908.	Must include representatives of tenants.	do.
Hospital Committee	s. 10 Isolation Hospitals Act, 1893.	May consist partly or wholly of representatives of hospital district.	do.
Public Health and Housing Committee	s. 71 Housing Act, 1909.	Only Councillors.	do.
Maternity and Child Welfare Committee	s. 2 Maternity and Child Welfare Act, 1918 ...	2 women at least: one-third may be non-councillor experts.	do.

Meetings : Rights of Press and Electors.

Besides the annual meeting, at least one meeting must be held every three months. One quarter of the members must be present to form a quorum ordinarily, but two thirds for the purpose of passing bye- laws. The Council makes its own Standing Orders to regulate its procedure. Minutes must be kept of all meetings, whether of the Council or of the Committees. The Press is ordinarily entitled to attend meetings of the Council, but not if a special resolution of the Council forbids it in the interests of public policy, nor has the Press the right of attending meetings of a Committee. Any elector may inspect and copy the Council minutes on payment of one shilling.

ADMINISTRATION.

No machine can be efficient unless it works smoothly, and members of councils should make it their business to ascertain whether the organisation of the staff is so good that it calls for no improvement.

The **Clerk** of the Council is also Clerk of the Peace and is almost invariably a barrister or solicitor. He is appointed by the Standing Joint Committee, and holds his office for life.

The **Chief Constable** is also appointed to the Joint Committee, subject to the approval of the Home Secretary. He is removable by the Joint Committee.

The Coroner is appointed and paid by the Council. His office is permanent, but he may be removed for misconduct or incompetence by the Lord Chancellor. He can, subject to the approval of the Chairman, appoint a deputy : the latter is paid by fees, and can act in the event of the Coroner's death. In the larger counties, the Council appoints separate coroners for different areas. It also appoints coroners for those boroughs which have their own Quarter Sessions.

The **Medical Officer of Health** is appointed and paid by the Council, but can only be dismissed by them with the consent of the Ministry of Health. He can hold no other public appointment without the Minister's consent and is debarred from engaging in private practice. His executive duties are chiefly in maternity, child welfare, tuberculosis and venereal disease ; otherwise his function is mainly advisory and co-ordinating. The Medical Officers of the District Councils are not subject to his authority, but they must send him copies of their reports (see page 15).

Other officers are the Treasurer, County Surveyor, Public Analyst, Director of Education, and Inspectors under various Acts. The conditions of their appointment are not determined by statute.

Relations Between Departments.

Authorities differ very considerably in the internal organisation of their offices. Some prefer to look to one officer in all matters, that is to say. the Clerk, the other Heads of Departments having to submit their reports to the Council through him. This arrangement

has a certain backing in official quarters, but Councils should exercise independence in this matter. While it possesses a certain simplicity it is doubtful whether there is any other gain, and very strong reasons should be shown before one officer is put in a position of virtual responsibility for other qualified persons who are directing spheres in which he has no special knowledge.

Legal Position of Officers.

Officers cannot be considered to hold any privileged position in the eyes of the law except in one respect, viz., all proceedings against them for acts done in the performance of their public duties must be commenced within six months of the acts in question (Public Authorities Protection Act, 1893). On the other hand, they are subject to certain special restrictions. They may not receive any fees other than their salaries, and may not have an interest in a contract with the Council except (1) as shareholders of joint stock companies, (2) in the case of contracts to sell or acquire land, rooms, or offices ; and in these excepted cases two-thirds of the members of the Council must have given their sanction.

The Council can at any time call for a written account from its officers of money and any other matters entrusted to them, and it is usual to take a guarantee from officers whose work involves the handling of sums of money.

Pensions.

The Council, if it has an establishment of fifty or more, may adopt the Local Government and Other Officers' Superannuation Act, 1922, and set up a Pensions Fund. Each member of the Fund contributes 5% of his salary, and the Council contributes an equivalent amount. The benefits are : one-sixtieth of the average salary earned during the five years preceding retirement for every year's service, with a minimum of ten years service, and a maximum of forty-sixtieths. Retirement takes place either at age 65 or at age 60 after 40 years' service, or on incapacitation owing to permanent ill-health. Funds established under these provisions are too new to afford conclusive evidence as to their financial stability, but it should be mentioned that some leading actuaries have expressed grave doubts on this point.

FINANCE.

Income.

All receipts are paid into the County Fund, and all payments are made thence. There is a special account called the *Exchequer Contribution Account*, to which are credited all moneys coming from the national exchequer in the form of grants-in-aid. For the Council's work is rightly held to be in many respects of national rather than merely local import, and the State normally (*i.e.*, if satisfied with the Council's work in the sphere in question) contributes about half of the expenditure incurred by the Council on the following services : education, the more important highways

(called Class I Roads), police, child welfare, treatment of tuberculosis, care of mental defectives, and three quarters of the expenditure on the prevention and treatment of venereal disease. Besides these, there are other grants of fixed amount, *viz.*, the Estate Duty Grant, the Licenses Duty Grant, and the Customs and Excise Duty Grant.[1] In a different category is the Agricultural Rates Grant, instituted in 1896 to compensate the counties for the loss of the rates on agricultural lands which were then exempted to the extent of half their values. The Agricultural Rates Act, 1923, increased the amount of the exemption to three-quarters and provided for a corresponding increase in the State grant.

Other sources of County income are dues on licenses which the County Council issues (game-dealers, motors, locomotives, carriages, guns, armorial bearings, manservants), fines for contravention of bye-laws, etc., tolls, property dues and royalties.

These sources do not together suffice for county needs, however, and the deficiency is made up by the **County Rate.** It is levied in the same way as the Poor Rate, the Council serving its "precepts" on the Board of Guardians, and the latter in turn looking to the overseers who have charge of the collection from the individual ratepayers in the parishes.[2] The Council may, and in most cases does, adopt the same basis of valuation of properties as is used for the Poor Rate, but it is not bound to do so.

Expenditure.

The Finance Committee must examine the estimates of expenditure both of the Council itself and of the various Committees at the beginning of the financial year, and no payments may be made without the signature of three members of the Committee.

Expenditure is classed as "general" or "special," the former comprising that incurred for the benefit of the whole county or for which the whole county is assessed, while the latter is expenditure on those purposes towards which part of the county is exempt from contributing.

The sums placed to the credit of the Exchequer Contribution Account are earmarked. The grants-in-aid are refunds of monies already expended. The Licenses Duty and Estate Duty Grants are in the first instance to be applied to paying the salaries of poor law officers, contributing to the salaries of Medical Officers and Sanitary Inspectors in the service of sanitary authorities in the county, and in the maintenance of pauper lunatics, while the Customs and Excise Duty Grant is primarily for the needs of higher education. If any

[1] The history of these grants is somewhat complex. In theory taxes belong to the area in which they are raised. As compensation for taxes going direct to the State, Parliament till 1888 made annual grants to the counties. The system was revised in 1888 on the basis of actual amounts, and again in 1908, when fixed amounts were substituted.

[2] The Rating and Valuation Bill now before Parliament proposes that the Borough and District Councils be given the functions, hitherto exercised by the Boards of Guardians, of meeting the County Council's precepts.

balance remains after these requirements are met, it may be used for general county purposes.

The expenditure of County Councils is in practice distributed in something like the following proportions: 40% Education (30% elementary, 10% higher), 15% Roads, 15% Police, 10% Agriculture, 10% Mental Hospitals, 10% miscellaneous services.

Loans.

Subject to the sanction of the Ministry of Health in each case, a Council may borrow for a period of thirty years sums to the total extent of one-tenth of the rateable value of the county. Statutes have however in many cases authorised loans to be contracted without regard to this limitation. Again there are temporary provisions which will remain in force till 1st April 1926: according to these, temporary overdrafts may be contracted, and loans for providing work for the unemployed are not to be included in the total debt, while the Ministry of Health if satisfied that a Council is unable to pay a debt owing to post-war conditions may vary the arrangements as to repayment, and may suspend the obligation to repay loans on productive works during their initial stages.

Audit.

The accounts must be submitted annually to the District Auditor, as official of the Ministry of Health. The auditor has powers of compelling the production of information, disallowing any illegal payment, and of surcharging it on the person paying or authorising the payment. He must however give time for objections to be raised; he may be required to state his reasons for a decision in writing; and he cannot disallow an item already sanctioned by the Ministry of Health. There is an appeal from his decision to the Ministry of Health which also has power to "remit," or excuse, the payment of a valid surcharge: alternatively an aggrieved person may appeal to the High Court.

FUNCTIONS IN GENERAL

The main functions of the County Council lie in the spheres of education, public health and housing, roads, police, and agriculture, and the description of functions which this pamphlet gives follows this classification. But besides the simple differentiation of powers and duties according to subject matter, we shall have to notice other less obvious lines of demarkation.

In the first place the administrative county itself contains non-county boroughs, urban districts, and rural districts, and rural districts contain still smaller units of local government, the parishes. All these areas have their elective bodies, and no two classes of elective bodies have identical functions. Consequently, the County Council, which stands so to speak at the top of of the ladder, is differently placed in respect to each other class of authority. Its powers are less in non-county boroughs than in urban districts, and less in urban

than in rural districts, and they are greater than ever in the rural parishes.

Another important distinction is that between functions which only the County Council may exercise and those for which one of the other authorities may have some measure of responsibility. The second class may again be sub-divided according to whether the County Council has the right to act concurrently with the other authority or its province is that of supervising the latter with power to act in the event of the latter's default—the exercise of this power being as a rule contingent on a complaint being addressed to the County Council by ratepayers or interested persons.

EDUCATION.

The Council and the Child.

The County Council may truly be looked upon as the "Guardian of the young." As we shall notice later, it has functions which even precede the child's first appearance on this planet, and its activities do not cease with the child's elementary school career, for by the assistance it can give in the matter of choice of employment and by its powers of regulating the employment of children it can keep watch over the critical period when the youth first goes out into the world. It can protect by bye-laws children who are in employment and may altogether prohibit the employment of a child if harmful to its development. Indeed, of all its independent fields of activity, there is not one which offers more scope for the display of initiative and the execution of progressive ideas than the educational sphere.

The Council acts through its Education Committees which can appoint sub-committees for any purpose, *e.g.*, the Juvenile Employment Committee. It is the sole authority for higher education in its area: and is the authority for elementary education in all parts of its area except boroughs with over 10,000 population, and urban districts with over 20,000 popuiation, according to the 1901 census.

Elementary Schools.

A sufficient number of elementary schools must be maintained by the Council, but its obligations differ in detail according to whether a school is "provided" or "non-provided." It has an absolute duty to maintain those of the former kind in an efficient state. With regard to the latter it has the same duty as long as they are run as free public elementary schools, are open to the inspection of the Council's officers, satisfactory instruction in secular subjects is given, and its consent is obtained to appointments and dismissals of teachers. In regard to the last condition, however, the Council can veto an appointment only for educational reasons, and may not interfere when a teacher is dismissed on purely religious grounds. (The words "educational" and "religious" are interpreted in their strict sense, *e.g.*, the Courts have ruled that the need for economy in education or disobedience of a rule that "no teacher should absent himself without leave of the Council" are not 'educational grounds,'

and that a report that a teacher has changed his religious opinions is not a sufficient 'religious ground.'

For purposes of management there is a minor authority, *viz.*, the borough council in boroughs, the urban district council in urban districts, the parish council in rural areas. The County Council appoints not more than four, and the minor authority not more than two, managers for each provided school: in the case of non-provided schools, the Foundation Managers appoint up to four, the County Council may appoint one, and the minor authority one. But the County Council may increase a managing body as long as it keeps to the same proportion: where more than one parish is served by a school, it may provide for a joint management, it may group schools under one management, and settle the number of managers—with the consent of the latter in the case of the non-provided. It can also give directions as to the organisation of children in non-provided schools of the same denomination subject to the approval of the Board of Education.

Elementary schools in general have to be carried on according to the rules of the Board of Education. No religious test is allowed: attendance at prayers and religious instruction may not be compulsory: no fees are payable, and the schools must be open to inspection by the Board of Education's officers.

The Council has the duty of ensuring that all children between 5 and 14 receive elementary education, subject to its discretion to vary 5 to 6, and 14 to 15. Bye-laws may be passed to enforce this, and penalties up to 20/- may be imposed on parents or guardians, truant children being sent to an industrial school.

Special duties lie on the Council in respect to blind, deaf, epileptic and mentally defective children. Suitable education must be provided for them till they reach 16. Arrangements are to be made to board them out in cases where this is considered desirable, and the parents may be called upon to pay for this wholly or in part, disputes being referred to the magistrates for settlement.

Medical inspection and treatment have to be arranged for scholars at elementary, secondary and continuation schools, and the cost in any instance has to be recovered from the parent if he can afford it. The Council has in addition powers with regard to the inspection and cleansing of verminous children.

Meals may be provided, and the cost may if necessary be borne by the rates when the children are otherwise too ill-fed to benefit from the instruction given.

The Education Act of 1918 placed a further duty on County Councils to provide continuation schools and to compel the attendance of children over 14. This provision has, however, become practically a dead letter as a consequence primarily of the activities of the Geddes Committee; nor is there any likelihood of anything being done in this direction in the near future.

Reformatory and industrial schools must be provided by the Council for the maintenance of youthful offenders who are sent there.

If the Council has undertaken to administer unemployment benefit to persons under 18 in accordance with a scheme approved under the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1923, it may then also give information and advice to such persons regarding the choice of employment, and would be well-advised to entrust this work to specialists. Germany in its go-ahead manner has realised sooner than we how important this sphere of activity is both to the increasing of the country's productive capacity and the lessening of unemployment, and its local "berufsämter" have reached a very high stage of development and utility.

Higher Education.

The Council must provide for the "progressive development and comprehensive organisation" of education in respect of its area. It has the same powers here as it has in the elementary sphere with regard to acquiring land for building, medical inspection, physical and social training. It may, and if the Board of Education requires, must, submit a scheme for higher education, taking into account the existing supply of schools and university extension classes. In particular, it may train teachers, supply technical instruction or instruction in subjects not taught at elementary schools, and give scholarships, maintenance allowances, establish schools for science and art, and aid research. It can act as a library authority, maintain public libraries and museums. Within the limits of a penny rate, a Borough or Urban District Council may aid the the County Council in the sphere of higher education.

It should be noted that the Board of Education may withold the grant-in-aid if it does not agree with a Council's scheme of education, whether elementary or higher. Should the disagreement continue, the Board has to present a report to Parliament. The Council's loans for educational expenditure are not within the limits of its borrowing powers.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

In this sphere the County Council's most important functions are supervisory. Before the County Council was set up the County had already been divided into Sanitary districts under the control of separate authorities whose powers were subsequently merged in those of the District Councils. But the County Council has been made the watch-dog. If a District Council fails to take proper measures for safeguarding public health, the County Council can step in and, with the Ministry of Health's sanction, carry them out at the other's expense. Again it is the duty of the District Medical Officers to send to the County Medical Officers copies of their health reports, and as far as rural districts are concerned, copies of reports of unhealthy houses, while the County Council itself can notify the Ministry of Health where it is dissatisfied with the state of health in a district. Every County Councillor ought therefore to make himself acquainted with the District Council's detailed functions in this sphere—the provision of sewers, abatement of nuisances, food

inspection, milk supply, regulation of factories and workshops, prevention and treatment of disease, water supply, slum clearance, closing orders and demolition orders for unhealthy and obstructive buildings, reconstruction schemes, and other services for which space here does not suffice, but which are explained more fully elsewhere.[1] While it is necessary to preserve the smaller area for the work itself in all its details, it is obvious that the District Council with its limited staff and the limited means at its disposal has both its hands full in keeping abreast of everyday requirements, while the County Council with its larger resources, and without the hindrance of matters of detail, can take a wider vision and do much to promote both economy and efficiency by suggesting to District Councils how and where schemes of work can be co-ordinated. In some cases the duty is specified and defined by statute, *e.g.*, in the matter of infectious disease, the Council has to form Hospital Districts, and may provide, contribute towards, or take over Isolation Hospitals.

But this does not exhaust all the Council's functions in this sphere. It can take the initiative in particular matters and indeed is obliged to do so in some. To these we now proceed.

Tuberculosis.

Consumptives must either be maintained in hospitals or sanatoria or have dispensary treatment. Their after-care may also be provided for. The District Councils have powers in the matter, but in practice the work is done by the body which gets the government grant—that is, the County Council.

Lunacy.

Asylums must be provided by the Council for pauper lunatics and may be provided for non-paupers. It acts through the Visiting Committee which may buy and hire land, but must obtain the Council's sanction to expenditure over £400 in one year on one institution for anything beyond necessary repairs, and also for the charging to any Union of any amount over 14/- per week per head. Individual members of the Committee are obliged to visit the institution and their inmates regularly.

Mental Deficiency.

The Council has the duty of ascertaining the number of mental defectives in its area and of giving them care and accommodation. It acts through the Committee for the care of Mental Defectives. Expenditure on work which the Council is not obliged to do is limited to the proceeds of a ½d. rate. Loans may be contracted for 60 years and are not reckoned as part of the total debt.

Reports must be sent at stated intervals to the Board of Control.

[1] The reader is referred to "The Country Councillor" by H. Samuels (Labour Publishing Co.) Chapters IV—V.

Habitual Drunkards.

For the benefit of this class of persons the Council may maintain or contribute towards the upkeep of inebriates' homes. (In boroughs this may also be done by the Borough Council.)

Venereal Diseases.

The Council is required to take steps to prevent the spread of syphilis and the maladies akin to it, and to submit schemes for Ministry of Health approval.

Welfare of the Blind.

Recent legislation has imposed on the County Council the duty of looking after the blind. In this work it may maintain homes, hospitals and workshops.

Maternity and Child Welfare.

Here too though the lesser authorities have concurrent powers in matters other than the supervision of midwives, the County Council is generally the body to act, and it does so through the statutory Maternity and Child Welfare Committee. With regard to midwives, it has to exercise general supervision and may contribute towards the cost of their training. It may appoint health visitors, and attend to the health of expectant and nursing mothers and of children under 5 who attend schools not recognised by the Board of Education. The establishment of crèches, ante-natal clinics, and the provision of infant foods are other matters to which the Council may attend. Under the Milk and Dairies Act, 1915, which comes into operation on the 1st September, 1925, it is given the further power to open depôts for the sale of infants' milk at cost price in any district where this has not been done by the District Council.

Inspection of Food, etc.

It is the duty of the Public Analyst, an officer of the County Council, to inspect samples of food seized by Sanitary Inspectors and other officers within the area. And under the Milk and Dairies Consolidation Act, 1915, already referred to, the Council will, from September, 1925, have the responsibility of stopping the supply of milk likely to be tuberculous.

River Pollution.

Concurrently with the Borough and District Councils the County Council has the right to prosecute in cases of river pollution.

HOUSING.

The County Council has, in common with the District Councils in the larger districts, power to help owner-occupiers by means of advances under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899, and

amending legislation—that is to say, it may (1) advance 90% of the price of the freehold, if the latter is not more than £1,200, over 30 years : (2) advance 90% of the price of the freehold, if the latter is not more than £1,500, to persons building or adapting houses or flats to the type specified in the Housing Act, 1923, or buying such houses built since April, 1923. It may also guarantee a building society's loan in respect of such houses.

TOWN PLANNING.

The functions of the Council here are supervisory. It may obtain powers from the Ministry of Health to make a town-planning scheme at the expense of a District Council which fails in this duty. As superior local authority for roads it has a particular interest in this sphere. It should protect the dignity of our main roads and the English country-side from being ruined by bungalows and cottages thrown down in heaps anywhere and anyhow.

ROADS, Etc.

All main roads in the county belong to and are subject to the control of the County Council which has power both to declare new main roads and to have an existing one dismained by Ministry of Transport order, subject to the sanction of the Borough Council in the case of roads lying in boroughs. It is liable for the repair of its main roads, unless it exercises its power of compelling a District Council to undertake the duty in return for an annual payment, the amount of which is agreed between them or else settled by the Ministry of Transport.

All **bridges** in public use within the County have to be maintained and kept in repair by the County Council ; it can only avoid the obligation in particular cases by showing either (*a*) that some other person or body is liable for the bridge by prescription or (*b*) that the bridge was built after 1803 without the County Surveyor's certificate. In the case of a bridge built after 1834 for which it is thus responsible, it is also responsible for the approaches for the space of 300 yards on either side. A Council may enter into an agreement with another highway authority by which the latter undertakes the building or improving of a bridge.

Another function of the independent kind which the County Council exercises in this sphere is the licensing and registration of locomotives and motor cars and the levying of duties thereon. It can make regulations regarding the form of their wheels, the weight of loads, and the putting up of gates on highways, and can exempt from lighting regulations vehicles carrying farm produce in harvesting time.

As regards roads other than main roads the Council has important supervisory powers. It can compel the authority responsible for a road to repair it or appoint a person to do it at the authority's

expense. If a District Council fails to carry out its duties of protecting a public right of way or a roadside waste, the County Council can step in and take action instead, and where a District Council wishes to charge road expenses on a particular parish or parishes rather than on the whole district it must obtain the County Council's sanction.

As regards powers of the concurrent type, a County Council has the same power as other road authorities of sharing in the cost of upkeep of highways or of drainage works designed to protect or improve highways, of buying and working ferries for the use of its area, and of applying to the Ministry of Transport for a loan from the Road Fund. In the latter case no conditions can be imposed on a Council accepting a loan without the Council's consent or that of the Ministry of Health. Further, it may, with the sanction of the Ministry of Labour, obtain powers of acquiring land to build or improve a road where the work is likely to relieve unemployment.

POLICE.

The Standing Joint Committee of the County Council and Quarter Sessions (see page 8) is the authority controlling the County Police. Boroughs with a population of 10,000 or over were originally allowed to have a separate force, but at present only those with a population of 20,000 have this privilege. This, however, does not prevent any borough or even a county borough from arranging that they should come into the administrative county for police purposes, and not a few have availed themselves of this possibility, the terms being settled by a formal agreement in each case.

The police area is divided into districts by the Standing Joint Committee. The latter manages police buildings, settles the number of police and the rules governing the force, and appoints the Chief Constable, subject throughout to the approval of the Home Secretary and the detailed regulations from time to time issued by his department.

Half the expenses are paid by the Government grant and the balance is met by the County Rate and other receipts, the Joint Committee directing whether any items are to be charged on particular districts only.

LICENSING AND BYE-LAWS.

The Council is the licensing authority for explosives factories and the sale of agricultural poisons, as well as for locomotives and motor cars: it may also license theatres and cinemas, and, again in its rôle of guardian of the young, must proceed against any place of entertainment holding its license which does not comply with the regulations of s.121, Children's Act, 1908, as to child safety. It may, by agreement with the Commissioners of Customs and Excise, collect entertainment duty. If a war charity or charity for the blind wishes to launch a public appeal, it must first be registered by the Council.

Subject to Home Office approval in each case, bye-laws for good rule and government may be passed by the Council regulating advertisements, bathing, public shows, restricting the use of roundabouts, swings or shooting galleries, the vocal exuberance of charabanc parties and such like, or prohibiting definite nuisances like dangerous animals in streets or spitting on pavements.

AGRICULTURE.

The Council must refer all matters relating to Agriculture, and if the Ministry of Agriculture so orders, agricultural education, to its Agricultural Committee, which has as sub-committees the Small-holdings and Allotments Committee and the Diseases of Animals Committee. Where an Agricultural Education sub-committee is appointed, it is desirable that it should include members both of the Agricultural and the Education committees.

Land may be acquired by the Council for division into small-holdings: if the Ministry of Agriculture approves, the Council may force an owner to sell or let his property for this purpose, as long a this is not part of a park, pleasure ground, house farm or dwelling-house. Labourers who are displaced in the process are entitled to compensation. The Council leases or sells the holdings to persons who intend to cultivate them themselves or to co-operative bodies of such persons. It may advance them the purchase price and the cost of equipment.

The Council may be called upon by the Ministry to carry out these powers. It may not exceed a penny rate but may have its necessary losses refunded by the Ministry. It may contract a loan for fifty years—(if for the purpose of buying land, for eighty).

Other duties devolving on the County Council are (*a*) to appoint a veterinary inspector and administer the Diseases of Animals Acts (*b*) to enforce the Rats and Mice (Destruction) Act and the Destructive Insects and Pests Acts ; (*c*) to carry out the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act, which provides that an agricultural analyst and one or more official samplers be appointed subject to the approval of the Ministry of Agriculture. And by no means the least of its duties and one which gives the Council an excellent field for the display of its initiative is that of putting forward schemes for the development of rural industries and rural social life.

In the matter of the provision of **allotments** the Council has important supervisory powers throughout the whole of its area. It has to ascertain what demand exists in each locality, and if the council of a borough, urban district or rural parish does not adequately meet the demand, it may exercise the defaulting authority's powers at the latter's expense, with the Ministry of Agriculture in the background ready to take action itself if dissatisfied with the County Council's rate of progress. The power of conducting local enquiries which the County Council exercises in the matter is of no little assistance to the lesser authorities, many a recalcitrant landlord being brought to see reason by the mere threat of such a step.

Lastly, the Council may apply to the Ministry of Agriculture to be made sole or joint drainage authority for any district in its area, with powers to levy a drainage rate.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Council is the authority for enforcing the Shops Act in its area apart from boroughs and those urban districts which have a population of 20,000 or over. It must, further, provide local standards, and appoint inspectors, of weights and measures: it has to appoint inspectors of gas meters for the protection of consumers, and take steps against retailers giving short weight in coal or tea: it has to prevent the sale of textile fabrics as non-inflammable unless they are up to the Home Office standard. It has power to acquire or contribute towards the upkeep of historic monuments; to apply for orders prohibiting the killing of wild birds at certain times or the stealing of their eggs; to promote or oppose Bills in Parliament, if a resolution to that effect is taken by a majority of the whole Council and has Ministry of Health sanction. Under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, it forms Distress Committees to aid the Labour Exchanges by providing work or helping individuals to emigrate, while under the Unemployed (Relief Works) Act, 1920, it has power to take possession of land for roadmaking or afforestation in the interests of the unemployed.

With regard to rural parishes the County Council has a variety of functions. It can alter their boundaries, split them up, or group them together: it can settle matters relating to elections and election disputes, and fix the number of councillors. It can establish or dissolve a Parish Council: can confer the powers of a Parish Council on the Parish Meeting: where a parish with a population of less than 100 desires to have a Parish Council, it must obtain the County Council's sanction. Its approval is likewise necessary where a parish wishes to contract a loan or to acquire property for parish purposes by compulsory purchase, or to obtain an open space for a park or recreation ground under the Open Spaces Acts (1877—99), or where a Parish Meeting desires to act as lighting authority under the Lighting and Watching Act, 1833; it can alter the boundaries of parish areas for purposes of Adoptive Acts; it can set enquiries on foot and hear disputes as to the custody of parish documents.

With regard to Urban and Rural Districts its powers are also considerable. It can alter their boundaries, change their names, divide them into wards and form new ones: it fixes the number of councillors, may direct their retirement simultaneously at the end of the third year on their application (to be backed in the case of an Urban District by a two-thirds majority of the District Council), and settles matters relating to elections. It distributes the portions of the government grants in respect of the salaries of Medical Officers and Sanitary Inspectors employed by the District Councils. Elections to the Board of Guardians, the number of guardians, and the date of their retirement are matters falling similarly within the County Council's purview.

CONCLUSION.

From the above account of the County Council's functions it will have been observed that it holds a kind of half-way house between the Central Government and the lesser organs of local government. In this it has a unique position not held by the Council of the County Borough, for the latter is a self-contained area.

On the one hand the hold which the Government Departments exercise by means of the grants-in-aid, and the audit of accounts, keeps the County Council in close touch with Whitehall, while it must itself maintain a vigilant watch over its Borough, District and Parish Councils. Nor is the system entirely rigid, for ss. 10-28 of the 1888 Act make it possible for the County Council to be given powers hitherto exercised by Government Departments, and in its turn to transfer some of its own to the lesser bodies. In the former case the procedure was more definitely specified by the Local Government (Transfer of Powers) Act, 1902, which ordained that any County Council might obtain such additional powers on application. Strange to relate, County Councils have shown no eagerness to avail themselves of these provisions, as not a single application has as yet been made. There is no doubt that the Government Departments transact a considerable amount of business of mainly local interest which could with greater effect be done by responsible and efficient authorities closer to the scene of action.

While the County Councils have been slow to make use of their opportunities of widening their sphere of responsibility, they have been looking with a jealous eye on the inroads made therein by the extensions of the county borough system. True it is that the growth of the municipalities has meant the cutting off of large slices of most productive territory from the administrative county—as is most visible in the most highly industrialised counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire: and there is something solid in the grievance that this continued process puts the County in a state of permanent uncertainty and dislocation. On the whole, however, while one recognises that fuller use should be made of the County Council as a co-ordinating authority in matters like town planning, electricity and water supply, the impression produced on the reader of such evidence as that given by the County Councils' Association before the present Royal Commission on Local Government is that the attitude of the Councils is of too self-commiseratory a kind, and that they would be in a stronger position if they made further use of those powers of which nobody seeks to deprive them. And if a Council, while admitting the justice of such criticism, feels its powers of inventiveness exhausted, it were high time it opened its windows and admitted some of the freshness from outside, even at the risk of making room for that more progressive section of the electorate to which the County Councils as a whole have for too long remained strangers.

For the reader will have satisfied himself that the powers the County Council now possesses are of no mean order. In its keeping

lies in great measure the mental, moral and physical development of the children on whom our main hope for the future rests: to it likewise is entrusted the care of our countryside, and the fostering of that back-to-the-land movement which many regard as the surest means of our rehabilitation after the ravages of a world war. Add to this that the reform of the Poor Law, promised for the near future will almost certainly widen its scope. With such considerations in our minds, our fear will not be lest its work should fail the County Council, but lest the County Council fall short of its work. Our apprehensions would be lessened by the abolition of some obvious anomalies to modern ideas of representative government—the times of Council meetings, and the expenses attached to candidature for Council elections. That improvement in such detailed matters will help, there is no doubt: for the rest it is for the elected councillor, whoever and from whatever party he be, to approach in a spirit free from political prejudices, and regardless of particular interests already adequately protected, those all-important functions which he is called upon to use to the fullest advantage of the community.

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SOCIALISM AND THE STANDARDISED LIFE.

BY

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SOCIALISM AND THE STANDARDISED LIFE.

By WILLIAM A. ROBSON,

(*A Member of the New Fabian Group.*)

IF the society in which we live were an aristocratic plutocracy, and the amount of wealth possessed by individuals were determined exclusively by their virtue, wisdom, biological excellence, creative vitality, and functional needs (assuming that it were possible to discover acceptable objective standards of measurement for those qualities), many of the most effective arguments put forward by Socialists for the reorganisation of the social and economic fabric of society would fall on deaf ears. As things are, however, there is no perceptible relation subsisting between private wealth and human virtue; and one result of this is that the Socialist argument is able to make an increasingly powerful appeal to the reason, instincts and emotions of an ever-growing multitude of plain men and women.

A very large number of persons with a strong sympathy for the under-dog remain nevertheless impervious to the irrefragible economic reasoning and the serried rows of statistics, the heart-rending pictures of sweating and disease in the underworld, the dramatic horrors of poverty and unfulfilment, by means of which Socialist writers and speakers endeavour to seduce them from their allegiance to the "divine right of things as they are"; and impervious they will remain until the crack of doom, unless and until a certain belief has been shattered. That belief is the fear that in a Socialist state we should undergo the sort of existence which may shortly be called the Standardised Life.

The Spectre of Monotony.

A number of vague and inconsistent and confused ideas are mixed up in that phrase, but the underlying conception is a notion of life being lived according to rote and order; of whole armies of citizens being regimented and dragooned in all the activities of their lives down to the smallest and most personal details of the day's round. An imaginary picture is raised in people's minds of a nightmare of barren and unfruitful Order; of men being allowed to shave only between certain hours; of the length of women's skirts being prescribed by Order in Council; of artists being authorised to paint only such pictures as are authorised by a Ministry of Fine Arts; of poetic licence being converted into an actual licence for poets (issued by the local authority on the recommendation of two resident ratepayers, not being undischarged bankrupts or convicted of a punishable offence within the preceding five years); of the menu for each day of the week being scheduled (like the Lessons in Church) in an Act of Parliament, and examined by the local Inspector of Dietetics—and so forth and so on, *ad nauseum*. Worse still, we should all be driven to talk alike, dress alike, and think alike; to give notice to

the police before changing our minds concerning any matter referred to in The Public Opinion (Change of Mind) Act of 1953 ; to become, in short, docile, unspontaneous, regulated automata. Over and above all that is the fear that in an egalitarian society there will be, quite apart from external regulation, a minimum of colour, variety and oddness, and a maximum of sameness and flatness. The knobs will be knocked off people's lives, the corrugated eccentricities ironed out of their characters, as it were, and the advent of Socialism become the apotheosis of mediocrity.

When people attempt, as they often do, to adumbrate in some form such as that the apprehensions they feel on this score, Socialists are wont to scoff at the notion as though it were a fantastic absurdity, and then dismiss the whole matter with a laugh. But it cannot be dismissed in this way ; and many enlightened and generous-minded individuals feel acutely that so long as the advent of Socialism appears to present a menace to the spontaneity of human nature and to threaten the development of personality, for so long will the Socialistic idea, however desirable on other grounds, be utterly and completely detestable to them. " The spice and flavour of life would be gone with flat equality," observes Professor Taussig,* the American economist ; and even so sympathetic a lover of his fellow-creatures as the late W. H. Hudson, compared the condition of a sheep, who cannot " follow his own genius " without infringing the laws we have made for his kind, with " that of human beings under a purely Socialistic form of government. . . . In that state every man did as he was told : worked and rested, got up and sat down, ate, drank, and slept, married, grew old and died in the precise way described.† Professor Graham Wallas, himself one of the early Fabian essayists, and at one time a leader of Socialist thought, points out that the old objection to the " dull uniformity " of Socialism, which has always seemed so absurd to the Socialists, nevertheless constantly reappears.‡

It appears to be time, therefore, that those who are Socialists should realise that this brooding apprehension of what I have called the " standardised life " is an obstacle which must be fairly faced and dealt with ; and, if not overcome, frankly acknowledged as an evil which cannot be avoided. Mere evasion does no good at all, and only serves to alienate people by making them believe that Socialists are not even aware of the non-economic human values in life which seem of deep significance to many men and women who are not profoundly interested in political machinery, but whose support or acquiescence is nevertheless essential if any far-reaching scheme of social reform is to be carried through. Many avowed Socialists are prepared to admit that if the advent of a Socialist Commonwealth were likely to produce a marked increase in the uniformity of existence as regards character, intellect, and the activities of work, culture and leisure, they would be prepared to vote steadily and consistently against its introduction, regardless of all other considerations. If it could be shown, conversely, that the present economic system tended to produce a greater diversity of character and environment, to yield a richer harvest, as it were, in terms of human nature, than any

* Principles of Economics. Vol. I., p. 136.

† The Book of a Naturalist, p. 123, 2nd Ed.

‡ The Great Society, p. 372.

alternative system, then, despite all its evils, it would doubtless be worth enduring for the sake of that one supreme irreplaceable good.

How Capitalism Produces Uniformity.

But the assumption, commonly made, that the existing economic organisation of society does in fact prevent the standardisation of life and that it produces, despite other evils, the maximum diversity of life and character, is a statement whose validity requires careful investigation.

It does not appear that any defence of the existing order of society can be based on those grounds. In the first place we may note that the very inequality of wealth which is brought about by the present state of affairs often leads to exactly the kind of standardisation in regard to " personal " matters which is most dreaded under Socialist rule. That is to say, each economic class, particularly those at the top end of the scale, tends to set up uniform standards of behaviour, dress, and manners, and to compel every member of that class to conform thereto with an exactitude and a rigour which would make a liquor-law enforcement officer in an American coastal city turn green with envy. The further up the scale we go, the more standardised the life of the individual tends to become in its small details ; and the existence of wealthy persons leading a fashionable life in a great city is far more prescribed than that of the poor, whose class distinctions and class-appearances have reference to comparatively few matters. The most expensive hotels and restaurants in Paris, Berlin, London, New York, Timbuctoo, Brighton, and the Andaman Islands have a deadening uniformity which makes them almost indistinguishable ; service, commodities, waiters, furniture, and visitors are standardised to a point which makes it impossible for a man to remember in which city he is staying, until he gets outside and sees what the ordinary run of people look like.

Wealthy people, indeed, tend on the whole to be even more alike than poor people, not only in speech and dress, but also as regards their mental outlook and habits of life. The cause of this is a matter of extreme importance to our discussion. The main driving force behind the tendency to standardise the way of life is the desire " to keep up appearances "—that is, to maintain the unmistakeable outward semblance of belonging to a particular economic class. Thus it comes about that the more anxious a group is to attain an exclusiveness and an identity of its own, the more standardised do the forms of conduct and outward habits which it prescribes for those who would appear as belonging to it tend to become. The costume of a man in well-to-do circles invited out to dinner in London or New York is prescribed as rigidly as the dress of a convict or a soldier ; in each case the clothing is uniform, and is produced by the desire for a recognisable symbol of similarity. At the English public schools, the standardisation of life is carried to extreme limits, and a boy does something which " isn't done "—that is, which isn't done by all the other boys—only at the peril of facing consequences of a particularly unpleasant kind.

This maintenance of a standard mode of life is by no means confined to the wealthier classes of the community, though it is among the members of what is regarded as " fashionable society " that it

reaches its extreme limits. The lower middle classes, the small shopkeepers, and many other sections of the community, bear the insignia of their class, and coercion is placed upon them to don it, ranging from the enormous silent pressure whereby a struggling artisan is forced by his neighbours to provide an ugly and expensive funeral for his wife, to the elaborate disregard for standardised conventions which must perforce be exhibited by the artist who wishes to pose as a Bohemian, which is itself an inverted form of standardised class conduct arising from group consciousness. The groups which seek to standardise behaviour and outlook are, of course, by no means always income-groups; sometimes they are occupation-groups, though it may be said that occupation-groups approximate roughly to income-groups on the whole, despite wide individual deviations from the average.

In so far, then, as the existing economic order leads to inequality of income ; and in so far as inequality of income leads to this group standardisation of life, we can say that the present state of society in Western civilisation definitely tends to produce a standardised life. The greatest diversity of life is to be found in those quarters where the least effort is made to keep up the appearance of belonging to an economic class—in academic and scientific circles, for example, where private wealth is not as a rule highly regarded.

How Socialism may promote diversity.

From this point of view, therefore, it is true to say that in so far as the measures advocated by Socialists will tend to abolish economic class distinctions by bringing about a greater equality of income, to that extent also will they release individuals from the tyranny of having to carry out many standardised conventions which they at present follow somewhat slavishly for the sake of identifying themselves with the particular class which has adopted those practices.

In what has so far been said, the standardisation of life has been discussed in a quite general way, and no attempt has been made to differentiate the various kinds of matters which are capable of being subjected to a standardising process. But a clear distinction may be drawn between (a) the standardisation of individuals from a biological point of view, (b) the standardisation of environment, (c) the standardisation of behaviour, (d) the standardisation of thought, feeling, speech and outlook. It is obvious that there might exist a society in which there were a great diversity of character, physique, intellect, and feeling, and yet in which a great uniformity of conduct prevailed ; or, conversely, people in a given community may narrowly resemble one another physically and in respect of their natural biological dispositions, and yet act, feel and think differently under approximately similar conditions, and the society in which they live may be such that each is free within certain limits, to act, feel and think more or less as he pleases.

So far as the standardisation of human nature itself is concerned, the best safeguard for the preservation of diversity would appear to be " a fair field and no favouritism " arising from economic class distinctions in the marriage market. That is to say, the free play of natural selection must not be burked and thwarted and crabbed within narrow limits through the operation of extraneous causes. The existing economic organisation of society is, as Bernard Shaw has often pointed out, dysgenic ; the field of selection for nearly all

men and women is narrowed down to those whose economic and social position is approximately similar to their own. This hampering of biological instincts by environmental circumstances clearly tends to prevent human nature from propagating itself in the most variegated manner possible ; and those Socialist measures which are likely to effect a widening of the field of selection in marriage, by removing some of the barriers founded on economic class distinctions, will certainly tend to promote a greater differentiation than we at present experience rather than a lessening of it.

We must not be led, in our anxiety to safeguard and develop the spontaneity and diversity of human life, into supposing that any question of social advantage or ethical value attaches necessarily to the conception of standardisation in connection with the existence of human beings. Far from it. In itself, standardisation is neither good nor bad. If we examine the matter impartially, we can see that the entire fabric of modern civilisation depends in no small measure upon life being highly standardised in some respects, and upon human beings being treated in identically the same way for certain purposes. One of the conceptions which has done most to free Western society from the bondage of capricious tyranny is the idea of equality before the law ; but this essentially involves the standardisation of human activities and human beings into certain fixed categories. Political democracy, again, results inevitably in a standardisation of human rights and duties and a standardised equality of voting rights. The whole system of governmental administration as we know it in England to-day relies, in fact, on an equality of treatment being meted out, and a potential equality of service being rendered, by the executive agent to all falling within the ambit of a particular class ; and, therefore, on a standardisation of the mutual rights and duties of all persons coming within each category. Although Sidney Webb has pointed out with great wisdom that a modern democracy must cater essentially for minorities, the fact remains that in catching hold of the various minorities, as it were, whether it be the sick, or the blind, or the epileptic, or the orphan widows over seventy, or the illegitimate gasworkers under twenty-five, it is the similarities of the individuals in each class which is insisted upon rather than their differences ; and so the process of standardisation marches steadily forward.

Standardisation in Industry.

It is true, of course, that mere size has a certain connection with standardisation. When an institution exists on a small scale, individual function is not highly differentiated, and it is impractical to standardise activities. As the institution grows in size the work becomes more specialised and, partly from necessity, life becomes more standardised. The enlarged scale of life in the modern world has had a good deal to do with the marked increase of standardisation.

One of the outstanding results of the industrial achievements of our age is the attainment of a high pitch of standardisation, for the first time in history, of commodities and services produced by man. Scientific knowledge and economic advantage have conspired together to produce huge quantities of goods of every description, so undifferentiated that one example is indistinguishable from another to the

unaided human eye. The day of the master craftsman is almost gone ; and only the wealthy can now afford hand-made articles bearing the slight imperfections which make them perfect. The old uniqueness has given way to a degree of standardisation which makes it possible to replace the entire engine of a Ford car with a similar unit in twenty minutes ; and to order by telegram a set of false teeth or a geared spindle that shall be correct to the thousandth part of an inch.

This standardisation of dead matter has been accompanied by a no less remarkable standardisation of human industrial capacity. Men and women are nowadays often spoken of in industrial life as " hands," and the underlying significance of that term is the fact that employers expect to find a specialised and standardised industrial capacity at their disposal, rather than a diverse human being possessing unknown productive qualities. The great majority of wage-earners are now regarded as being hardly less standardised than the commodities which they produce ; and if a man has a special economic value peculiar to himself he is to be accounted not only fortunate, but exceptional.

Furthermore, the whole tendency of the industrial side of the Trade Union movement has been towards the universal establishment of the Common Rule : that is, towards the standardisation of the conditions of work and rates of pay for all engaged in a given trade or occupation. In recent years efforts have been made to extend this standardisation of industrial conditions to the international sphere, and much of the work of the International Labour Office has been directed towards this end. Mr. Frank Hodges, Secretary of the Miners' International Federation, remarked the other day that the consideration uppermost in the minds of himself and his colleagues was " the question of standardisation of the conditions of labour in the principal coal-producing countries of the world," and the leaders of the thirty or more international trade associations affiliated to the Amsterdam International are all more or less concerned with the same question. Trade Union leaders have no greater natural inclinations for uniformity than other people ; but the bitter logic of events has driven them irresistibly towards making and enforcing a demand for standardised conditions of employment.

It is sometimes said that the standardising activities of Trade Unions are merely due to the economic conflict in which they are at present perpetually involved, and that when the economic structure of society has been transformed to a more harmonious design that they will recognise and even encourage a freedom now impossible. But this argument is difficult to accept.

In any case we must take into account the fact that the demands of productive efficiency have of recent years been making new claims on the workers in the direction of standardisation. The industrial psychologists, the " fatigue " experts, and the " efficiency engineers," allege that a larger output can be obtained with less strain on the worker if methods of manipulation and muscular operations are standardised and carried out according to plan. We must probably reconcile ourselves to an extension of this kind of functional guidance under any system of economic production.

Standardisation in matters industrial seems, indeed, to be not only an accomplished fact, but a process which must be pushed to its

logical extreme if productive efficiency is to be improved and the world enabled to attain that desirable point where it will be able to earn its living by working not more than three or four hours a day. When that time comes, the real work of the work will be done for non-economic motives during the intervals we now call leisure.

What we have got to beware of, both then and now, are two things : In the first place, we must be careful not to tolerate any standardisation in the industrial sphere which cannot justify itself economically. A great deal of monotonous uniformity which is imposed to-day is entirely unwarranted and unnecessary on the grounds of efficiency, as everyone who has been in the Army or the Civil Service can testify. In the second place, we must take care that increased standardisation in the industrial sphere does not lead to habits of mind and body which extend standardisation to the realm of leisure and non-economic pursuits. If that were so, we should merely have used our increased wealth to purchase slavery.

Where Standardisation is Desirable.

Despite the general caveat which we have just entered, there are, apart from purely economic advantages, certain fields in which an increase of standardisation is highly desirable on quite other grounds : for standardisation in some fields involves interchangeability, and interchangeability tends towards improved communication, a greater mobility of action, a greater ease of coming and going, which leads in turn to a wider vision and a fuller comprehension of strange nations and the common lot of man.

Thus a greater standardisation of the world's currencies, of weights and measures, of passport regulations, is something to be desired ; and so is the adoption by Western European countries of a standardised system of university regulations, which would enable students to go from one seat of learning to another without loss of academic " time." Sometimes international hostility definitely militates against forms of standardisation which are obviously desirable on other grounds, as, for example, when before the war the gauge on the West Russian railways was deliberately made larger than the standard Continental size, in order (as it was vainly hoped) to prevent the German trains from running on the Russian lines in case of war.

When we come to consider the standardisation of non-economic behaviour, of thought, feeling, speech and outlook, the problem immediately becomes far more subtle and profound. It is obviously desirable that the tendency to shake hands with the right hand must be standardised if the custom of hand-shaking is to be preserved. It is, again, necessary and desirable that mankind should utilise certain standardised instruments of thought, such as mathematical symbols and written characters ; and further, that the very thought of mankind itself should be standardised in regard to many kinds of matters. The standardisation of intellectual conceptions concerning various phenomena in the world of reality is, indeed, one of the main effects of scientific investigation. We all think alike (or nearly alike) about the strength of vanadium steel, the theory of quadratic equations, and the atomic weight of rare earths, in so far as we think about those matters at all. The standardisation of thought does not, however, necessarily involve true scientific analysis ; and the conception

of the universe common among the ancient Romans was the standardised but erroneous belief that it was bounded by a flaming rampart. But *per contra* scientific analysis, no less than the rule of law, does involve the standardisation of intellectual concepts to a very marked extent.

Since scientific progress is generally believed to be desirable, the standardisation of knowledge which accompanies it must be accepted for better or for worse; we cannot have the smile without the Cheshire Cat in any circumstances. What is much more serious is the standardisation of thought in regard to many of the matters on which science has not yet shed her light, whether it be the effectiveness of the death penalty as a deterrent from murder, or man's place in the universe. It is precisely the tendency and desire of all traditional religions to standardise human thought on matters of pure speculative belief which is the one overwhelming disadvantage of all organised churches. The very basis of formal religion is, indeed, the standardisation of the outward forms of faith. Just because the progressive march of science tends to produce a standardisation of ideas in regard to those phenomena concerning which an exact knowledge has been gained, it is all the more necessary that a complete absence of standardisation should prevail in the realm of speculative belief. The realm of speculative belief is usually regarded by philosophers as being that part of the universe which is not susceptible of being experienced by our sense perceptions. But one may easily include within its province also all those parts of the world of reality which are knowable, but hitherto unknown, and as to which human speculation is often as positive, dogmatic and standardised as it is in regard to the purpose of creation, man's place in the universe, or his chances of immortality. A great many of our ideas concerning political and social matters are mere standardised beliefs which have been adopted from consciously or unconsciously interested motives,* or accepted as the line of least resistance, or assimilated and repeated from mere habit.

Habit as a Standardising Force.

Habit plays a part of great importance not only in the formation of standardised forms of thought, but also in the creation of standardised modes of conduct. A man's "habitual" conduct is his normal conduct in any given set of circumstances; and so powerful is the influence of habit that it is quite a startling and exceptional occurrence for an adult person to make a real break with the habits of speech, thought and action which he has acquired.

The influence of habit in standardising behaviour is not confined to the human race, but is also to be found among animals. And among them, too, we trace the same lack of vivid impulse and spontaneous freshness which we associate with the conception of human beings acting under the influence of habit. Professor Kohler, a distinguished psychologist who spent some years at the Anthropoid Station in Teneriffe making careful and valuable observations of chimpanzees, points out that among these animals, processes which were originally very valuable "have a disagreeable tendency of sinking to a lower rank with constant repetition. This *secondary self*

* See J. A. Hobson: Free Thought in the Social Sciences.

training (i.e., the development of habit), is usually supposed to bring about a great saving, and it may be so, both in man and in anthropoid apes. But one must never forget what a startling resemblance there is between these crude stupidities of the chimpanzees arising from habit, and certain empty and meaningless repetitions of moral, political or other principles in men. Once these all meant more, one cared about the ' solution ' in a predicament deeply felt or much thought about ; but later the situation does not matter so much, and the statement of the principles become a *cliché*."*

The deadening effect of habit on the conduct even of animals is clearly shown by Professor Kohler ; and he definitely observes that he liked the behaviour of the chimpanzees during their tenth or eleventh repetition of a " solution " less than in the first or second. Something is spoilt in the chimpanzee even when many different experiments follow each other in quick succession, but particularly when the same ones are repeated.

There can be no doubt whatever that the constant repetition of thoughts, sayings and actions leads to the development of habits ; that such habits tend to produce the standardised life ; and that the standardised life is antithetic to the highest activities of mankind. Development involves individuation ; and in a cultured society in which great equality of wealth and cultural opportunity existed, there *could* not be at one and the same time a high average cultural level and a high degree of standardisation at that level. The former precludes the latter in the very nature of things.

Standardisation in Russia.

What has all this got to do with Socialism, it may be asked. The point we are trying to make is that as a matter of fact it has very little to do with it. The two countries where the greatest amount of standardisation of thought and feeling appear to have been imposed on the inhabitants at the present time are Russia and the United States. In Russia the oft-repeated story of Marxian Economics decreed by Ukase, of the labour theory of value endoctrinated at the point of the bayonet (or with the hilt of it at least menacing the teachers' trousers), of atheism declared by statute, is an old and well-worn tale, supported rather convincingly by the recent publication of the Soviet Criminal Code, with its savage penalties for such offences as " propaganda and agitation intended to assist the international bourgeoisie," " the insulting expression of disrespect towards the Russian Socialist Federation Soviet Republic," and " the teaching of religious doctrines to young children and persons under age " in public or private schools.†

A recent example of Soviet methods tending to standardise Russian thought is a decree issued by the Soviet Government regulating the supply of literature to libraries.*

" The following books are to be removed from the libraries of the workers' clubs, travelling libraries, and small libraries in towns and villages :—

* Kohler. Mentality of Apes. Eng : Tr. 1925, p. 204/5/6.

† The Criminal Code of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. H.M. Stationery Office, 1925.

* The Times, 12th November, 1925.

(a) In the section of philosophy, psychology, and ethics all books written in the spirit of idealistic philosophy, mentalism, occultism, spiritualism, theosophy, and also books on phrenology and magic, oracles, dream-books, etc.

(b) The section on religion must contain solely anti-religious literature ; historical and philosophical books that had formed part of this section must be included in the corresponding sections.

(c) From the section dealing with political and social questions must be removed :—(1) Anti-revolutionary books published in the time of Tsardom by Government institutions and various religious and patriotic organisations.

(2) Propagandist pamphlets against the Communist movement, the Bolshevists and the champions of peace, published during 1914-17, and the propagandist literature of 1917 advocating a constitutional monarchy, a democratic republic, civic freedom, constitutional assembly, universal suffrage, etc.

(3) Propagandist and reference books and pamphlets issued by Soviet organs in 1918, 1919 and 1920 concerned with matters that have been differently dealt with by the Soviet Government and are consequently out of date (land, taxes, free trade, food policy, etc.) are to be removed from small libraries.

(4) Reference books on law, collections and explanations of the now superseded laws of the Tsar's and the Provisional Government must be removed from small libraries.

(d) From the pedagogic section must be removed books on religious education, church schools, etc.

(e) In the section of natural science, small libraries must be purged of books that confound science with religious inventions and speak of the wisdom of the Creator, the immorality of Darwinism, etc.

(f) In the section of history, literature and geography the books to be removed include books and manuals for school children and the masses published in the days of Tsardom and containing praise of monarchism, of Tsars, Ministers, the nobility, the Church, the war, and capitalism."

And in the United States.

In the United States the degree of standardisation which is imposed in regard to speech and behaviour is even more striking but far less widely known. The trial of Mr. Scopes at Dayton, Tennessee, for teaching the theory of evolution propounded by Charles Darwin attracted a good deal of attention in Europe, where it added to the gaiety of nations; but it was only one incident in a whole series of episodes which are standardising the mind of America. Two years ago, for example, the Senate of the State of New York passed by a large majority a measure entitled the Higgins Patriotic Text-Book Bill, which attempted to lay down for educational authorities minute requirements as to the historical text-books which might be used in the State schools. Any book which " fails to emphasise the scope of the victory of the United States in any of its wars " was to be banned; and no book might be used if (among other things) it falsifies, distorts, doubts or denies the acts of oppression recited in the Declaration of Independence. Also, any book which " belittles, ridicules, doubts or denies, or which, if a text-book dealing with the revolutionary period, omits to mention the services and sacrifices of American patriots

by which national independence was won, or which emphasises or enlarges upon the possible human failings or shortcomings of such patriots without giving at least equal prominence to their virtues and merits" would be barred from the public schools. This measure did not become law, but its passage through the senate of the leading State in the Union is significant. In Chicago a women's society has been actively engaged in attempting to purge the schools of all history books which tend to "lessen the heroic measure of the men who have made history for the United States." Unofficial bodies like the Ku Klux Klan and the National Civic Federation are exerting a powerful influence in coercing huge masses of American citizens to conform to certain standard sentiments and customs set up by a minority of coarse and brutal politicians; and even when applying for a passport visa the visitor or emigrant to America is made to declare that he is neither an anarchist or a polygamist.

A similar development is to be observed in the universities of America. At Princeton, it has been decreed by the Student Council that "No Freshmen shall wear fur coats,"* and black "slickers" must now be worn; at Yale, Freshmen are not permitted to sit in the orchestra of the Students' Theatre, or to eat in Morey's Restaurant. Each must carry a box of matches. At Lafayette College, Freshmen are permitted to smoke only corn-cob pipes! At many of the other universities similar standardising regulations are in force; at one well-known seat of learning in the West law students must carry canes, and engineers wear Stetson hats.

Not content with all these existing and potential forms of standardisation, Professor McElroy, the Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford, remarked in his inaugural address recently that if America was to continue great, "her polyglot population must think common thoughts on things essential, and acknowledge common standards of right and wrong."† That is to say, the standardisation of thought and of ethical values throughout the population is regarded as a paramount necessity, quite regardless of the truth and validity of the standard so established.

Whatever the cause may be, it is undeniable that in the United States on the one hand, and in Russia on the other, we have two vast countries presenting a high degree of standardisation in regard to many of the things where diversity would seem most desirable. Yet the political and economic systems of the two countries are poles asunder. In Russia, even after allowing for the New Economic Policy, an extreme form of Communistic Socialism obtains, side by side with a peculiar political organisation based partly on occupation and partly on geographical vicinity, and dominated by a small group of able and despotic intellectuals. In the United States, on the other hand, individualistic capitalism has reached a point of development unparalled elsewhere, and its attendant features of combination and monopoly have been carried to lengths undreamed of in the old world. The theoretically democratic political system on which the social structure is based has in many ways produced the worst features of a plutocracy. Clearly, then, the example of Russia and America demonstrate that there can at any rate be no

* The New Student. N.Y., 26th April, 1924.

† The Times, 30th January, 1926.

direct and inevitable connection between the Standardised Life and either capitalism or socialism. An inequality of riches may lead to the standardisation of existence under certain conditions as easily as a dead level of equality of income. Public ownership may be the bedfellow of uniformity no less easily than private enterprise.

Diversity under Public Ownership.

The absence of any necessary connection between the general economic organisation* of a community and the diversity of life enjoyed by its inhabitants is borne out by an examination of existing institutions. We talk glibly of capitalist industries and public undertakings; but, if truth were told, when the question has been decided as to whether a particular service or productive undertaking should be privately or nationally or municipally owned much less has been settled than at first sight appears. For there is a huge variation of type within each category. The police force, the Navy, the British Museum, the public houses at Carlisle, the printing factory run by the Stationery Office at Harrow, Prince Henry's Room in the Strand, the local sewage systems, the electrical supply in Manchester, secondary education, and the Suez Canal, can all be said in some senses to be publicly owned and publicly controlled; but there is as great a diversity in the methods by which they are managed as there is between the way in which the Midland Bank is run as compared with the little oil-shop at the corner of a village street in Gloucestershire. In some ways, indeed, there is a closer resemblance between the Post Office and the privately-owned Great Western Railway (or even the Southern Railway) than there is between the railway company and a Bond Street milliner's shop.

It is clear, then, that the cornerstone of Socialist theory, "Production for service instead of for profit," with its actual expression in public ownership of the means of production does not necessarily involve any narrow stereotyping of methods or types of functional activity. Diversity in the economic sphere can as well be maintained under socialised ownership as under profit-making enterprise.

In what has been said so far an attempt has been made to show: *first,* that the standardisation of certain kinds of thought and behaviour, organisation and material, goods and services, is in many respects essential for the maintenance of Western civilization; *second,* that the process of standardisation could with advantage be extended to various fields in which a chaotic and hampering diversity now obtains; *third,* that standardisation has no necessary relation to any particular economic system; and *fourth,* that uniformity of thought and human activity in certain directions is highly undesirable.

The problem which confronts a community at any given time, is, therefore, not whether it should standardise the life of its members in every possible respect, or attempt, conversely, to maintain a complete diversity; but to what extent, in what measure, how, why and when it should resist or promote measures tending toward uniformity. That is the *crux* of the whole matter; and a question which may often present very great difficulty. There is a point

* By the word organisation here I mean the method of production, distribution and exchange prevailing at any time. I do not mean the stage of economic development which has been reached.

of maximum return or advantage in this realm no less than in the field of economic production. The little more or the little less one way or the other in the process of standardisation may make all the difference between a community merely " carrying on " and in its being able to make a creative contribution to the life of mankind.

Some Guiding Principles.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to lay down any abstract rules on the subject. But certain broad generalisations present themselves for consideration. The first of these is that what we call personality or individuality begins where standardisation leaves off, as regards human beings no less than objects. If any proof of this self-evident truth were necessary, we have only to turn to the realm of artistic endeavour. Individuality is a comparatively late development in the march of evolution, although we find distinct manifestations of it in the higher reaches of the animal kingdom.* Even in so recent an epoch as the civilisation of Ancient Egypt there is a curious impersonality to be observed in the gorgeous display of art treasures which have recently come to light; the rigid conventions and modes and superstitions of the time seem to have weighed down the creative activities of the artist within narrow limits, and in a subtle way deprived him of much of his individuality, despite all the superb craftsmanship which he was encouraged to lavish on his work.

So far as our own age is concerned, the chief danger which Socialists will have to guard against if they wish to avoid producing a barren uniformity of existence, is the temptation to connect things which do not necessarily hang together. Socialism is a doctrine of reform having to do primarily with economic matters; and it will lose rather than gain in force and attractiveness if it is linked up with divorce reform, vegetarianism, the abolition of capital punishment, anti-vaccination, trousers for women, religion and what-not. Some progressive minded people think alike on all or many of these subjects; but many others do not. If Socialists wish to establish a society in which life shall be tolerable, they will have to pay more attention to the differences between human beings than to the similarities among them. A man may feel that the existing distribution of property is disadvantageous; but it does not follow that he is also in favour of wearing sandals or prohibiting intoxicating liquor. And if a condition of subscribing to the one tenet is being committed to the others, he will either refuse to join the association which aims at redistributing property, or enter it and feel mentally uncomfortable. The Socialist doctrine must accordingly be confined within narrow limits if it is to be kept wide enough to embrace those who want a full and deep and diverse life. If it is made so " comprehensive " that it takes up a point of view and establishes a dogma on every important question, Socialism will become a strait jacket. The points of contact and separation between human beings must, in short, be multiplied and kept isolated; and opportunities for association and dis-sociation provided by a complex system of mutating groups confined to particular matters.

* See, for examples of it among chimpanzees: The Mentality of Apes. Kohler. Kegan Paul. Eng. Tr., 1925.

The Separation of Categories.

The relevance of all this to the present discussion is that nothing tends to produce the undesirable forms of standardisation more certainly than the welding together of categories which are not necessarily connected.

And similarly in the realm of morals. If a man cannot be a Socialist and a member of the Socialist party yet also a liar, an adulterer, a wife-beater, a bully, a hypocrite and a gambler, life under Socialism will be intolerable. If under Socialism he continues to be all those things life will also be intolerable and Socialism a proved failure. This may shock a good many people who feel rightly that the attitude of mind which results in the Socialist outlook towards property with all its altruistic implications cannot and must not be indifferent towards other aspects of life; that it is wrong and dishonest to divide the mind into water-tight compartments working independently of each other, and to separate the moral aspects of property from other ethical questions. No such thing is advocated. It is admitted that a man without an intellectual and spiritual unity, who does not see life "whole," as it is sometimes said, and perceive the relationship between apparently unconnected phenomena, is a drifter, and without mental poise and integrity. But this comprehensiveness of outlook, and the reconciliation of conflicting impulses and values which produces it, is a development which should take place in the mind of the individual, and no attempt should be made to reflect it rigidly in external institutions and group organisations. If such an attempt is made, highly undesirable forms of standardisation of thought and action will result, and a strong element of coercion will be introduced into spheres wherein freedom and diversity are of the first importance.

We come finally to one further consideration. Socialism, as commonly conceived, represents the apotheosis of the Many, the giving to the great mass of the thwarted and unfulfilled under-dogs of this tormented world an opportunity for development and good living which is denied to them under the existing conditions of poverty, squalor, brutality, and ugliness in which they now dwell.

The Many and the Few.

All that is true; but it does not follow that Socialism either must or should ignore the Few. By the Few one means the handful of exceptional men and women to be found in every walk of life who are actually or potentially capable of making a creative contribution to the wealth of the world in some particular direction. Nearly all progress is due to the Few, and any community which neglected and made no attempt to nourish them, would be doomed to a barren fate. A Socialist society would probably find the encouragement of exceptional ability to be necessary on general grounds; we are concerned with it here only on account of the sidelight it casts on this question of Standardisation. The relevance lies in the fact that the development and encouragement of the Few, not at the expense of the Many but side by side with them, would almost inevitably check any tendency to over-standardisation. The Few, by their very nature, cannot be

standardised, will not submit to uniform treatment, and would be entirely suffocated and frustrated if they did. So that if a Socialist community were aware of the importance of the Few in the scheme of things, a strong anti-standardising tendency would be likely to manifest itself; and processes and measures aiming at producing uniformity in regard to matters in which diversity had previously prevailed, would be scrutinised not only from the point of view of how the proposed change would affect the great mass of human beings, but also from the point of view of its effect on the exceptional individual of special capacity. The activities of the United States in the field of education are a good example of the evil effects resulting from a tendency to cultivate the Many at the expense of the Few, and one which might well serve as a warning. Everyone in America now has an implied right to go to college, and the result is that the universities are indiscriminately crammed to overflowing with youths and maidens of whom large numbers derive scant benefit from the curriculum, but who nevertheless often succeed in lowering the whole atmosphere of the institution.

America in this respect has broken down not only the barriers of wealth and kinship which bar the way for most people to the higher reaches of educational opportunity in England, but also the barriers of mental endowment and "educable capacity": and it is not at all certain whether she has not emptied the baby out with the bath. The present condition of higher education in the States is all in the direction of nourishing and standardising the average student and of starving the student of exceptional ability.

Having regard to all this, I suggest that one important step in Socialist thought which appears to be needed in order to counteract the possibility of excessive standardisation, is a much greater concentration on Maximum Standards. Hitherto, the Minima have had it all their own way, as it were, and we have heard endlessly of a National Minimum Wage, National Minima of Health, leisure and so forth. The Minima are essentially important. But some attention should also be devoted to National Maxima: that is, how opportunities for maximum fulfilment may be provided in the Socialist Commonwealth. We tend to think rather fatalistically that the great pictures are painted, the great inventions made, the great scientific laws formulated, the great medical facts discovered, the great mathematical theories invented, the great sonatas composed, and all other works of genius achieved by a congeries of accidental events over which we have no control, and, therefore, that it is neither necessary nor useful for Socialists to think or worry about them, since all that can be done is to "level up" the bottom strata.

It may not be possible to "organise" the production of great work in the way in which the production of munitions was organised during the war of 1914-18; but it does not follow that a society, Socialist or otherwise, cannot do a great deal towards either keeping the ring for genius, as it were, or conversely, in cramping its development.*

The Socialist movement in England does already in a vague way dimly perceive the place and value of the creative Few; and there is good reason to believe that its appreciation will grow in scope and

* Since this was written Mr. Graham Wallas's "Art of Thought" has appeared, which deals in a fascinating and constructive way with this problem.

intensity as the movement enlarges its horizon. In that event, there should be no serious danger of a Socialist community making misguided attempts at promoting uniformity and thereby producing anything like the kind of existence which we have called the Standardised Life.

Life in the Socialist Commonwealth will in many ways be far less standardised, mechanical and monotonous for most people than it is at present. One of the reasons why the present system is breaking down is that it no longer arouses the kind of individual initiative and creative diversity which is most needed by the age in which we live; and what Socialism is really aiming at is to bring about an environment which will be far more conducive and stimulating to individual diversity and the originating effort which springs from it than is the present one. The ideal Society would be one in which the marriage of individual capacity and environmental opportunity yielded an infinite diversity of life where to-day squalor, monotony, flatness, sameness, and stultification hold sway. Socialism alone offers the promise and the possibility of such an enrichment of human existence.

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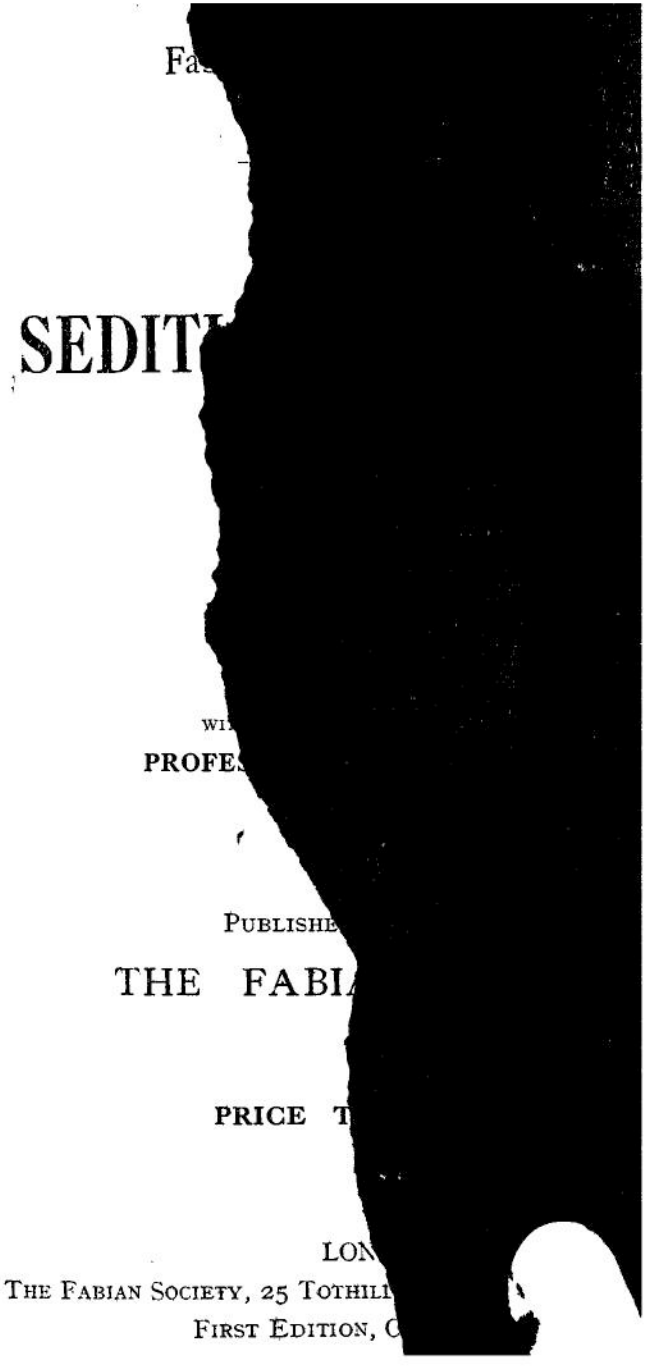

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

SOCIALISM is above all a challenge to the existing system of property. If its theses are translated into facts, it is incompatible with the existing distribution of wealth, the existing industrial technique, and the existing leisure-class. Propaganda on its behalf, seemed, when the Fabian Society was founded, an amiable weakness to which no attention need be paid. There was little desire, because the existing order seemed so secure, in any serious way to molest its exponents. To-day the situation has changed. Socialism is the recognised alternative to Capitalism, and the latter system has now no sure prospect of survival for any long period outside the United States. It has been demonstrated in Russia that revolutionary communism may, at a heavy price, be imposed upon a people by force. Vistas such as these have aroused deep indignation. They threaten an existing order as Lincoln's decision to relieve Fort Sumter threatened the security of the Southern slave-owners. The problem for those who live by the present system is to decide upon the means by which their defence is to be organised.

There is in the State a party, of which Sir William Joynson-Hicks seems the accredited representative, who insist that criticism of the existing order is tantamount to original sin. They are prepared to invoke against it the musty legal weapons of the panic induced by the French Revolution, and to imprison where they are unable to argue effectively. Englishmen in the past have held dearly their right to free discussion; and a long experience of its benefits has made them a little forgetful of the tenuous legal basis upon which it rests. It has seemed necessary to the Fabian Society to recall the character of the present law, and the points in which reforms seem essential. Since the Society stands for a freedom of opinion limited only by the duty of good manners to your neighbour, on the one hand, and the contingency of imminent disorder as a direct result of speech on the other, the tendencies which Sir William Joynson-Hicks embodies seem to it at once unfortunate and retrograde.

For they are the natural weapons of a panic, and they have not even the merit of originality. Every critical age of history has seen their resurrection, and their failure, just as the succeeding period of calm has invariably condemned their use. No one now

defends the policy against supposed sedition into which the ignorant rhetoric of Burke tempted his terrified generation. No one now supposes that the calculated oppression of Pobiedonostev was any answer to the grievances he disliked to hear. Bismarck's gaols could never imprison the principles of Socialism. The House of Commons that expelled John Wilkes only announced its own degradation.

And this for the simplest of reasons. No social order is a final arrangement, and criticism is the only avenue of change. But in their terror, the party of inaction does not examine that sober-minded induction from experience. For them, to admit that grievances are real is to open the flood-gates of revolution. They do not believe in solution by discussion. For them dissent and disorder are corollaries. A spasmodic outbreak of violence, born of a sudden fit of a passing unwisdom, becomes for them the index to a deep and calculated resistance to authority; and, inevitably, they charge its presence to the political philosophy they happen to dislike. They do not remember, as Burke so wisely pointed out, that "the people have no interest in disorder." They insist that the error of some is the crime of all. To yield to it at once becomes a weakness unworthy of a powerful nation. Every measure at all calculated to allay unrest becomes at once untimely. The fear of revolution is harped upon unceasingly. Every new plan is represented as its precursor, and the final assault on society is predicted if men stay to examine its substance. The theme and its temper are well suited to men devoid of ideas. They are thus enabled to divert attention from the realities of grievance to the fears of the unknown which the admission of grievance brings into perspective. They play upon these fears to use the oppressive instruments which, as they think, prevent the discussion of their own ineptitude.

It yet remains true that thought cannot be broken by fear and its instruments; the most they can do is to drive it underground. No one will believe in the existing order, save those who have an interest in maintaining it, unless it can answer by argument the criticism of its opponents. Otherwise, assuredly, it represents a *credo quia absurdum* which those only will accept whom it pays to do so. It is this, above all, which makes inexpedient the attempt legally to classify ideas as right and wrong. Every social order begins to court destruction exactly where it postulates its own infallibility. Legislation may drive the timid to acquiescence, but it drives the bold to desperation.

It does even more. For law involves the use of the Courts and its operation gives to ideas a currency they could rarely hope otherwise to attain. The folly of every intellectual censorship lies exactly in this, that it arouses in us the natural curiosity for the

forbidden. If the clergy had left Darwin alone, it would have been unnecessary for Huxley to purvey his doctrine in popular form. If Tsarism had not penalised the theory of constitutional government, it would not have led directly to the triumph of Lenin.

These are the maxims of elementary political prudence. But there is a wider case for their observance which, in the present temper of the time, may too easily escape our notice. What we fail consistently to realise is how much the overwhelming force of social habit weighs against novelty, however right or true. We live by our routines. We believe firmly in that to which we have grown accustomed long after it has been found to lack foundation in the logic of fact. It cannot be otherwise. The work of discussion is so slow that it can only transform piecemeal the habits of our social inheritance; it has to eat its way through an iron wall of prejudice and inertia. Yet few governments have the wisdom to allow their principles to be discussed; they feel, like General Cavaignac, that they are lost if they have to justify themselves. Yet that is to forget, in turn, that their principle cannot face discussion, and that discussion rarely turns to action unless it reflects some neglected human need.

The real argument, in fact, against the temper of Sir William Joynson-Hicks and his like, is that only a wide toleration can give us an accurate index to the desires of men. And, after all, at least in a democratic society, the test of wise government is responsiveness to those desires. If we allow that type of person to prevail in government, who has strong opinions, and finds the engines of the State the easiest means of propagating them, we either produce a tragic inertia or a violent revolution. In every society there are one-idea'd men who, posing as its saviours, develop a mania for persecution. If they make use of the power of the State, they either destroy the honesty of their opponents or feed higher the flames of vengeance. But they have nowhere produced conviction. Even, indeed, if their success could be assumed, it would be the success of intellectual starvation. It is the failure of such men, on the grand scale, which produced the Russian Revolution.

The only safeguard of social structure is, in short, its ability to admit criticism. We must cease to think that wisdom is permanently resident in any group of men or principles. That is the natural desire of little minds tired after a great effort of will, and terrified at the forces that effort has called into being. Truth, like Art, is a matter of dirt and sweat. It comes only from the clash of innumerable men and countless opinions. Some fragment may come from a West Indian orphan who finds his way to the staff of a revolutionary army; another from a half-starved German who

is driven like a hunted deer from the capitals of Europe. The vision is never whole, nor is it immediate. It never comes, even in the most inchoate form, save when the mind is free to play untrammelled with the facts of life.

A temper of persecution may delay for a moment the organisation of forces hostile to the present system ; assuredly it rather guarantees than prevents their ultimate onset. It brings to the army of the discontented converts innumerable whom it might not otherwise win. It gives fame to obscurity and martyrdom to the undeserving. It is a blind weapon, which strikes without knowledge. Nor is that all. An oppressed cause always solicits support from men of undefined belief who yet care for freedom. Communism in England, for example, makes its way less because of what is said on its behalf than because Sir William Joynson-Hicks has no answer to its exponents save prison. The cultivation of openmindedness is the only way to temper by wise moderation the victory of extremes. An epoch of panic does not pass into the calm of co-operative endeavour by a blind refusal to admit the existence of wrong or by persecution of those who seek, however unwisely, solutions we think mistaken. Thought is the one weapon of tried utility in a difficult and complex world ; without it, we are as sailors on an uncharted sea. But thought has no soul save where it has freedom. Its conquest and preservation are the central human task. We cannot abandon it to men who are ignorant of its meaning and careless of its possibilities.

HAROLD J. LASKI.

SEDITIOUS OFFENCES

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I.

IT must be emphasised at the outset that the word Sedition as used and understood by the popular mind in connection with the matters to be discussed in this tract has no legal significance. The law knows nothing of Sedition. In the words of Mr. Justice Stephen (1): "As for Sedition itself, I do not think that any such offence is known to the English Law." Instead, it prefers to classify those offences against internal tranquility which are not accompanied by, or which do not lead to, open violence, and which are loosely described as Sedition, as Seditious Offences. In this way the general heading is found to be divisible into three groups, namely :—

Seditious Words,
Seditious Libels, and
Seditious Conspiracies,

according as to whether the Seditious Intent—the essential part of the crime—manifests itself by means of the spoken word, the written word, or simply by a conspiracy on the part of certain persons. But in each case it is presumed that dissatisfaction exists with the Government of the day, together with a desire to censure those responsible for its carrying on ; and the actual offences consist in the display of such dissatisfaction through one of the above-mentioned channels.

The accepted legal definition as it at present stands in relation to these three heads and to the question of what is seditious intention is as follows :—

(1) Seditious Words and Libels. (2)

"Everyone commits a misdemeanour who with a seditious intention speaks any words or publishes anything capable of being a libel. If the matter published consists of words spoken, the offence is called the speaking of Seditious Words. If the matter so published is contained in anything capable of being a libel,* the offence is called the publication of a Seditious Libel."

(1) Stephen's *History of the Criminal Law*, Vol. 2, p. 298.

(2) Stephen's *Digest of the Criminal Law*, Article 96.

* The words, "capable of being a libel," refer to the writing, caricature, &c., which in law is an essential ingredient of libel.

(2) **Seditious Conspiracy.**[1]

"Everyone commits a misdemeanour who agrees with any other person or persons to do any act for the furtherance of any seditious intention common to both or all of them. Such an offence is called a Seditious Conspiracy."

(3) **Seditious Intention.**[2]

"A Seditious Intention is an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the person of, His Majesty, his heirs or successors, or the Government and Constitution of the United Kingdom, as by law established, or either House of Parliament, or the administration of justice, or to excite His Majesty's subjects to attempt otherwise than by lawful means, the alteration of any matter in Church or State, by law established, or to incite any person to commit any crime in disturbance of the peace, or to raise discontent or disaffection amongst His Majesty's subjects, or to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of such subjects.

An intention to show that His Majesty has been misled or mistaken in his measures, or to point out errors or defects in the Government or constitution as by law established, with a view to their reformation, or to excite His Majesty's subjects to attempt by lawful means the alteration of any matter in Church or State by law established, or to point out, in order to their removal, matters which are producing, or have a tendency to produce, feelings of hatred and ill-will between classes of His Majesty's subjects, is not a Seditious Intention."

(4) **Presumption as to Intention.**[3]

"In determining whether the intention with which any words were spoken, any document was published, or any agreement was made, was or was not seditious, every person must be deemed to intend the consequences which would naturally follow from his conduct at the time, and under the circumstances in which he so conducted himself."

This position of the law has only been reached as the result of an historical development extending over a long period of time and influenced by a variety of causes; and which, in its final analysis, has oscillated between two extreme points of view as to the proper relation of a ruler to his subjects. On the one hand there have been those who have regarded the ruler as being always, in every way, superior to, and above and beyond, his subjects. In which case, even in the event of a mistake made by him, the subject may at

(1) Stephen's *Digest of the Criminal Law*, Article 97.
(2) *Ibid* Article 98.
(3) *Ibid* Article 99.

the most demonstrate such a lapse only with the utmost respect and with no censure aimed at lessening the existing authority. On the other hand, a rival school of thought has regarded the ruler simply as an agent or servant ; presupposing, therefore, an inherent right of criticism ; and reserving, by the very nature of the definition, a right to depose him or to remodel his household, i.e., the constitution, as and when it may be desirable. Clearly, in this latter case, there can be no such things as Seditious Offences in the sense in which the term is understood to-day.

In the result, the present state of the whole question represents a compromise between these two extremes, and a compromise which is typically English ; but at the same time, as will be seen subsequently, it has not been reached without a vast expenditure of blood and tears, of oppression and cruelty, and of bitter and intense suffering. The very names in the reported cases—names like Paine, Cobbett, Burdett, Horne Tooke, or O'Connell—fill the mind with thoughts of some of the blackest days in this country's history, and speak still of the struggle which has taken place to obtain even the existing position ; and with the memory of another case in our own time still fresh it must be obvious that the end, the position of final development, is not, and cannot be, yet.

II.

There is no date at which Seditious Offences came suddenly into being. Their origin is obscure ; but it seems probable that they were developed in the first place by the extension of the then existing law along two separate lines, and that these two independent developments were subsequently blended into one. These two sources were Treason and Libel. Treason, from a very early date—certainly from the Statute 25 Edw. III. c. 2—was a statutory offence, and, in addition, required the proving by two witnesses of an overt act. As a consequence, a number of borderline cases began almost immediately to appear—generally where violent language was uttered against the king—which in spite of all the efforts of the lawyers could not be squared with the requirements of the statute. These cases were known as " Near Treason " ; and to deal with possible contingencies of this nature it was commonly the practice in early days to make express statutory provision. For this reason many of the early cases of seditious words are found to be classed as " Near Treason," and convictions, as will be seen, were at first almost invariably obtained under special statutes. In this way the connection with Treason can be traced well into the 17th century.

The second line of development, namely Libel, occurred through the early subdivisions of libels into those uttered against ordinary persons and those uttered against great men and Magistrates.

This differentiation was well recognised by Coke and was subsequently acted upon by the Star Chamber. Only by the end of the 17th century were Seditious Offences, as we understand them to-day, a clearly defined class of crime ; and only then can they be regarded as having shaken themselves free from the ordinary forms of libel on the one hand, and from those hybrid offences known as Near Treasons on the other.

The first mention in a vague kind of way of Seditious Libel is by Bracton (1) in a general enumeration of crimes and punishments at the beginning of his book *De Corona*, speaking of : "*facta puniuntur . . . . ut falsa et libelli famosi.*"

The next definite instance of a quasi—Seditious Offence is a provision of the Statute of Westminster(2) :

" Forasmuch as there have been often times found in the country (devisers) of tales whereby discord or occasion of discord has many times arisen between the king and his people or great men of the realm, for the damage that hath or may therefore ensue, it is commanded that henceforth none be so hardy to cite or publish any false news or tales whereby discord or occasion of discord or slander may grow between the king and his people or the great men of the realm ; and he that doth so shall be taken and left in prison until he hath brought him into the Court which was the first author of the tale."

There are no reports of any convictions under this Act.

The first reported case which is in any way a seditious offence is Udall's case (3) in the reign of Elizabeth. Here, Udall, a Puritan, was indicted for " That he . . . did maliciously publish a slanderous and infamous libel against the Queen's majesty, her Crown and dignity." He was tried under 23 Eliz. c 2 (1581), which made it a felony " to devise, write or print or set forth any book, &c., to the defamation of the Queen or the stirring or moving of any rebellion." —A very typical example of the way in which Seditious Offences were at first based on particular statutes. The only question left to the jury to decide at the trial was the mere technical one as to whether publication had taken place or no ; the judge telling them that the law was clear. Eventually they brought in a verdict of guilty, but only after repeated pressure from the judge. This is the first indication of the struggle which was afterwards to take place throughout the 18th century and right down to the passing of Fox's Libel Act, as to the true scope and function of the jury in these cases ; the judges continually contending for the sole right to decide questions of law. Not until the passing of Fox's Act in

(1) Lib. iii., Chaps. V. and VI., Vol. ii., pp. 150—160.
(2) (1275) 3 Edw. I. c. 34.
(3) 1 St. Tr. 1271.

1792 was the whole position made clear and given statutory definition, and only then was the right of juries to consider the whole question of intent in respect of Seditious Offences made absolute.

Some few years later, Coke, in his passage "*de famosis libellis*"(1) stated the law as it then stood in respect to libel with reference to its bearing on these particular offences. He there defined Libels as falling into two classes—against private persons, and against "Magistrates or public persons," and remarked "if it (the libel) be against a magistrate or other public person, it is a greater offence." He also pointed out that it was immaterial from the legal point of view whether the Libel was in fact true or false—in other words that truth was no defence.

It was upon this definition that the Star Chamber acted until its abolition, and the King's Bench during the late 17th and the whole of the 18th century; and in fact this is actually the only definition of a Seditious Libel until Fox's Libel Act of 1792.

In 1615, in St. John's Case (2), the Star Chamber imposed a fine of £5,000 for words spoken against the King. This is a good example of the connection between Seditious Words and Treason and the late date at which it is still traceable, for the words spoken, which concerned a benevolence, were expressly designated by the Court as being "Near to Treason."

It is to be noted that there was no jury in the Star Chamber: the Court decided both Law and Fact. The importance of this lies in the fact that when the Star Chamber was abolished and Seditious Offences were dealt with by the King's Bench Courts, it was this which fortified the judges in their insistence that in charges involving Seditious Offences the scope of the jury ought to be limited strictly to questions of fact.

During the Commonwealth and immediately after the Restoration trials for Seditious Offences continued to come before the Courts, but were based chiefly on particular Statutes. In R. *v.* Field(3) a distinct connection between seditious words under the modern definition and Treason is still discernable. Even at this late date Field was indicted under a Statute (as in Udall's Case) of 13 Car. 2 for using "treasonable words" in connection with religion. He was fined £500.

The functions of juries as interpreted by the Bench in these cases at the close of the 17th century are clearly stated in Barnardiston's Case.(4) In 1664 Sir Samuel Barnardiston was tried

(1) Vol. iii., p. 254.
(2) Noy. 105.
(3) (1662) 1 Sid. 69.
(4) 9 St. Tr. 1334.

on an information filed by the Attorney General for publishing a Seditious Libel in the form of four private letters dealing with gossip and rumours of the day. Lord Chief Justice Jeffries who tried the case told the jury that they had to deal simply with a question of fact : " Were the letters written ? " If so, they were (in Jeffries' opinion, which was not for the jury to question), " factious, seditious and malicious." He, therefore, scouted the question as to whether it might not be necessary to prove Seditious Intent (the line of argument so successfully developed by Erskine a century later), and declared that the letters, " as it were, trod on or near the borders of High Treason itself." And this of four letters which to-day would be dismissed as being inordinately dull ! Finally, the jury having returned a verdict of guilty, the defendant was fined the immense sum of £10,000.

During the reign of William III. the judges took another opportunity of consolidating their position. This arose out of the case of R. *v.* Beere(1), where it was held that in a trial for Seditious Libel, the words complained of must be set out in the indictment " according to the tenour " and not with reference to their effect, the reason being that under the former method they remained matter for the consideration of the Court ; while in the latter event they would have to be left to the jury. A possible loophole was thus effectively closed.

The existing position was again emphasised in 1704 in Tutchin's Case(2). Tutchin was convicted of a seditious libel published by him in a political paper caller the *Observator* attacking the Ministry on the grounds of corruption and mismanagement. Lord Holt, the presiding judge, directed the jury that as a matter of law the paper was a libel, and that they were simply to find aye or nay on the question of publication. This they did, and the direction was never questioned. Tutchin, it might be mentioned in passing, would seem to have been a singularly unfortunate person, for after Monmouth's Rebellion he had been sentenced by Jeffries—evidently in a more violent mood than usual—to be imprisoned for seven years and whipped every year through every market town in Dorsetshire, which, in point of fact, meant a whipping every fortnight for seven years.(3)

A curious and amusing trial took place in 1719.(4) Hendley, the Vicar of Islinglon, and some Jacobite friends had taken a number of school children—twenty boys and thirty girls—on tour in the country as a kind of living background for a course of charity

(1) (1698) 12 Mod. 219.
(2) 14 St. Tr. 1095.
(3) Stephen's *History of Criminal Law*, Vol. ii., p. 317.
(4) R. *v.* Hendley, 11 Mod. 221.

sermons. An indictment was now preferred by the Crown alleging that the whole thing was a seditious and wicked attempt to extort taxation illegally ! The two defendants were solemnly convicted and fined 6s. 8d., and the matter dropped. But the case has a certain significance as showing how easy it was then (and the same thing applies to-day although in a less measure) for an Executive, if it wished, to so twist and stretch the definition of Seditious Offences as to bring within the net cases which by no stretch of the imagination would be regarded in normal circumstances as containing any element of Seditious Intent at all.

An interval of 12 years produced the Case of R. *v.* Francklin(1), a prosecution in respect of a newspaper known as the *Craftsman* published by the Opposition for the purpose of criticising Walpole. The article complained of was said to have been written by Bolingbroke and censured the Ministers in connection with the lately-concluded treaty with Spain—its whole tone being that of a moderately incensed leader in, say, the present-day *Times*. When the hearing came on the trial became a huge social event, and the Court was packed. Lord Raymond, C.J., who presided, ruled emphatically that the only question for the jury was the single one of publication. As he remarked : " then there is a third thing, to wit, whether these defamatory expressions amounted to a libel or not ? That does not belong to the office of the Jury, but to the office of the Court . . . . so Gentlemen, if you are sensible that the defendant published the *Craftsman* of the 2nd January last . . . you ought to find the defendant guilty." He was so found. Here, the principle for which the judges had contended so vigorously is quite clearly and unequivocally set out.

In 1752, Owen(2) a printer, was prosecuted for a libel on the House of Commons. His counsel took the line that as his publication had not been proved to be malicious or false the jury should acquit. Lord Chief Justice Lee, however, directed a conviction if the jury was satisfied that publication had been proved. This they refused to do in spite of repeated pressure from the Bench, and in the end their verdict of not guilty generally was accepted. Lord Mansfield, commenting on the case, says that it is the first occasion since the trial of the Seven Bishops where a jury had exercised their undoubted power to return a general verdict of not guilty in a case of Seditious Libel. It is also the first sign—and this is infinitely more important although Lord Mansfield failed to notice it—that the Bench's doctrine, in regard to Seditious Offences, was at last beginning to be definitely challenged.

(1) (1731) 17 St. Tr. 626.
(2) 18 St. Tr. 1203.

In 1770 excitement again ran high over the trials in the matter of the Junius Letters.(1) Three booksellers, who had sold the letters —Almon, Miller and Woodfall—were in turn charged on information before Lord Mansfield with having published Seditious Libels. The prosecutions were conducted with great vehemence by DeGray, the Attorney-General, assisted by a dazzling array of Crown Counsel. Almon was convicted, Miller acquitted, and Woodfall found guilty of publishing only. In the latter case a new trial was ordered on the ground of the inadequacy of the verdict, but the proceedings were afterwards dropped.

In Almon's case the Attorney-General submitted to the jury that he was obliged to satisfy them on two points, viz. :—

(1) That the publication concerned the King; his administration of Government; the public affairs of the nation; the great officers concerned in Government; and the members of the House of Commons.

(2) That publication had in fact taken place.

The Defence concerned itself solely with the question of publication.

Lord Mansfield told the jury that they had two matters to consider :—

(1) Publication.

(2) Whether the dots and dashes in the letters showed the interpretation sought to be put upon them (this referred to the practice common at that time of printing the first and last letters of names and substituting asterisks for the missing letters).

The jury returned a verdict of guilty.

In Miller's case the Solicitor-General, Thurlow, prosecuted with extreme bitterness, and Serjeant Glynn—the radical lawyer, who afterwards appeared for Wilkes—defended. The defence attacked Thurlow's interpretation of the letters as being seditious and malignant, and described them as containing manly, wholesome, and dutiful advice to the king.

Lord Mansfield again sought to confine the jury to the two questions of publication and innuendo; but this time they were less pliable than at the trial of Almon. As their fellows had done 18 years before in Owen's case, they refused to be limited in their consideration of the case, and under cover of a general verdict of not guilty showed very clearly that they were not prepared to accept the Judge's ruling. The verdict as found was perfectly sound, and to the great disgust of the Crown lawyers could not be upset.

(1) R. *v.* Almon, 20 St. Tr. 803.
R. *v.* Miller, 20 St. Tr. 870.
R. *v.* Woodfall, 20 St. Tr. 920.

The verdict in Woodfall's case was guilty of publishing only—a kind of half-way position between that in Almon's and Miller's cases. An application for a new trial was granted, but the matter was not proceeded with.

All three cases produced a profound impression on the public mind, a great deal of attention being directed to the unsatisfactory state of the existing law under which the wide definition of Seditious Offences could be used by a designing Executive to inaugurate whenever they desired, a veritable reign of terror ; while the protection which a jury might ordinarily be able to provide if public opinion was not prepared to back the Ministers was completely removed according to the judicial doctrine that publication and innuendo were the only matters for the jury's consideration. The Judges, in other words, remained in actual fact the sole deciding body as to the merits or otherwise of a particular case once proceedings for Seditious Offences had been launched.

Shortly after the prosecutions had been concluded Lord Mansfield's directions to the juries were severely attacked in both Houses of Parliament. By way of defending his position he had left with the Clerk of the House of Lords a memorandum entitled a "Copy of the unanimous opinion of the Court of King's Bench in the case of R. *v.* Woodfall," which showed that his action was thoroughly supported by his brother judges. In connection with this document, Lord Camden, in the Lords, propounded a series of questions expressing the popular view of the law in this connection as it was in process of being administered, and seeking to show the great hardship which such a practice entailed. These were :—

(1) Does the opinion mean to declare, that upon the general issue of not guilty in the case of a Seditious Libel, the jury have no right by law to examine the innocence or criminality of the paper if they think fit, and to form their verdict upon such examination ?

(2) Does the opinion mean to declare in the case above-mentioned, where the jury have delivered in their verdict guilty, their verdict has found the fact only and not the law ?

(3) Is it to be understood by this opinion that, if the jury come to the bar and say that they find the printing and publishing but that the paper is no libel, the jury are to be taken to have found the defendant guilty generally, and the verdict must be entered up ?

(4) Whether the opinion means to say that, if the judge, after giving his opinion of the innocence or criminality of the paper, should leave the consideration of that matter together with the printing and publishing, to the jury, such a direction would be contrary to law ?

The whole position was thus stripped of its covering and mercilessly laid bare. Lord Mansfield, however, refused to answer. —There was nothing to be said.

In the meantime matters remained unaltered, until in 1784 the Dean of St. Asaph was prosecuted for publishing a seditious pamphlet entitled " A Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer." This was the celebrated case of R. *v.* Shipley.(1) Erskine defended, and used the case as a means of expounding as fully as he was able the criticism of the existing state of the law.

The trial was at Shrewsbury Assizes before Buller, Erskine travelling down by coach in great pomp and state in order to conduct the defence in person. The line taken was that the pamphlet was innocent; and that it was the jury's province to decide as to its innocence or guilt. In his summing up the Judge gave the jury the usual directions :—that their concern was with publication and innuendo only. Their verdict was : " Guilty of publishing only "; and then followed the famous scene in Court between Erskine and the Judge as to what the words actually meant. After a long and excited discussion the jury said that the verdict intended to say " Guilty of publishing, but whether it was a libel or not they did not know."

In the following term Erskine—whom it was said had received a record retainer—moved for a new trial in a speech which is still outstanding both for its clarity and for the admirable closeness of its reasoning. In essence his argument amounted to this : intent was an integral part of Seditious Libel and speech ; and the question as to whether the words complained of came within the definition as laid down by the Court was one of fact for the jury.

Lord Mansfield, in an elaborate summing up of the effect of the decisions from the Revolution onward, held to the old point of view and said : " Such a judicial practice in the precise point from the Revolution, as I think, down to the present day, is not to be shaken by arguments of general theory or popular declamation." The application was refused.

Legally, and according to precedent, the Court was perfectly right ; the limited scope of the jury to consider fact and innuendo only, and not intent, was amply supported by the cases ; there was no question of straining the law to support the Judge's view. What had happened was that in the course of years the Bench had developed a particular doctrine as to the function of the jury in cases of this character which had become stereotyped and fixed ; in the meantime popular opinion for a variety of reasons—chiefly through the growth of Liberal thought—had come to reject this view and to demand its modification. The result was a deadlock.

(1) 21 St. Tr. 1043.

Even had they so wished, the Judges, from the very nature of the position which they had created, were powerless to intervene. It had become a part of the very fabric of the law; the only method of removal was by an operation which they themselves were unable to perform. Legislation could alone cope with the matter. Eight years after the case of R. *v.* Shipley this knife was used; the tangle of cases and precedents was cut sharply across, and the huge tumour of reactionary pedantry removed. With Fox's Libel Act there ended a phase which had begun at least as far back as the days of Elizabeth, which had extended through the times of the Star Chamber, and which had covered almost the whole of the 18th century. The year 1792 thus marks very clearly a turning point in the history of Seditious Offences, and from now onward there begins what may be called the modern period of development.

III.

From the part Fox played in the agitation which brought it about, the Libel Act of 1792(1) has been known ever since by the title of Fox's Libel Act. It is quite short, its relevant portions being as follows:—

". . . . on the trial of an indictment or information for the making or publishing any libel . . . . on the plea of not guilty . . . . it shall be competent to the jury . . . . to give their verdict of guilty or not guilty upon the whole matters put in issue . . . . and they shall not be directed by the Court or Judge . . . . to find the defendant or defendants guilty merely on the proof of publication of the paper charged to be a libel . . . .

"Provided: that the Court or Judge . . . . shall according to his or their discretion give their or his opinion and directions to the jury on the matter in issue . . . . in like manner as in other criminal cases."

The effect of this was to establish the principle contended for by Erskine. In regard to the proviso, the general opinion of the judges immediately after the passing of the Act was that a judge at a trial of a Seditious Offence was *bound* to direct the jury. Now, however, the view prevails that his position is the same as in any other criminal case, i.e., if he thinks that the accused should be acquitted, it is his duty to say so.

It should be noticed that the Act is silent as to proving the truth of a Libel. Its real significance, though, lies in this: before its passing, the Law as regards trials for Seditious Offences had been fixed and determined by the judges in such a way as to leave grave doubts in many minds as to whether, as matters stood, real justice could be administered in trials of this nature. In favour of the

(1) 32 Geo. III., C. 60.

modification of the existing law there arose a popular clamour. Erskine, in the cases which he fought, and particularly in R. *v.* Shipley, had sought to clothe this popular feeling with legal habiliments. In the end the weight of public opinion prevailed. The Libel Act of 1792 is, therefore, nothing less than a recognition of the straining and distortion which had taken place in the existing law, and is the means whereby that law was brought back into a nearer line with the feeling and wishes of the country as a whole.

For what was the proper definition of a Seditious Libel at the end of the 18th century, before the passing of this Act? In plain language it amounted to this: Written censure upon public men for their conduct as such, or upon the laws, or upon the institutions of the country. This is the substance of Coke's "*De Libellis Famosis*": the definition acted upon by the Star Chamber and later by the Courts of King's Bench. It had never been altered by any Act. In practice this meant that any political discussion whatever, of whatever kind, could be visited, if it was so desired, with a prosecution: the meshes of the net were marvellously small. But in spite of this the ultimate check of the jury remained. So long as juries were independent and fearless no Executive could obtain convictions merely upon trivial and unnecessary charges. So much to the good. Except that the judges had interposed. Building up their proposition by precedent upon precedent they had succeeded in withdrawing from the jury's consideration the very substance of the case. Under cover of the general proposition, "fact for the jury; law for the Court," they had arrogated to themselves the sole right of deciding (once publication and innuendo had been proved) as to the guilt or otherwise of the accused—and this on a matter which more than any other demanded the consideration of a panel of ordinary citizens and not that of a cloistered and possibly politically minded, recluse.

Erskine had challenged this doctrine by saying that intent was essential to Seditious Offences, and that on such a question juries were clearly entitled to find—in effect, arguing that the whole question of guilt or not was for the jury. This was a perfectly sound argument. It never was the law of England that a man committed the offence of publishing a Seditious Libel by accidentally dropping it out of his pocket. Publication must have been intentional for there to have been a crime committed.

The result of the Libel Act was to embody in the definition of Seditious Offences some kind of bad intention on the part of the offender. This is not said in so many words, but the whole matter is merely left to the jury's consideration, and this is its actual effect, and in such wise the law has been administered ever since. Thus, after the passing of the Act, a general definition of a Seditious Offence is: "blame of public men, laws or institutions,

published with an illegal intention on the part of the publisher." How great an advance this represents on the previous position must be obvious even to a layman.

From now onwards, as the cases clearly show, juries become the deciding factor in trials of this nature ; public opinion, for this very reason, is more nearly reflected in the acquittals and the convictions : and brilliant advocates like Erskine find the scope of their defences suddenly widened. The effect of this fundamental change can be definitely traced from this time forward until the present day. This short, insignificant looking Act in reality revolutionised the existing situation ; for it brought back into these cases the full power of the jury and of public opinion, and that in itself was no small thing.

IV.

The four years after 1792 were particularly stormy ones in the history of nearly every European nation, and not least in England. As was only to be expected, trials for political libels and seditious words became frequent ; for the Executive were definitely taking a strong line. For 1792 and 1793 no less than twelve cases of this nature are reported in the State Trials, and these, it must be remembered, were merely typical ones. The number reported in these two years is only one less than the total number reported for the whole period from 1704—1789. One thing clearly emerges : the Libel Act did not have the effect of making convictions less frequent ; on the contrary they tended to increase after its passage. As an example of the feeling of the time, Duffin and Lloyd,[1] two prisoners in the King's Bench prison, were convicted of " Seditiously devising, contriving, and intending, to excite and stir up divers prisoners to escape, by publishing an infamous, wicked and Seditious Libel " in the shape of a placard bearing the words : " This House (meaning the prison) to let. Peaceable possession will be given by present tenants on or before 1st January, 1793, being the commencement of the first year of liberty in Great Britain."

The following day (18th December, 1792), Tom Paine[2] was prosecuted for publishing the " Rights of Man." He was found guilty by the jury without hearing the Attorney-General's reply to the speech for the defence. At the trial Erskine delivered his first important speech on this subject since the passing of the Act. His argument in substance was that :—

(1) The Libel Act defines libel as publishing certain kinds of written blame with a bad intention, i.e., from a bad motive.

(2) A man who publishes what he really believes to be true in order to benefit mankind cannot be acting from a bad motive.

(3) Therefore no opinions when published are criminal unless the publisher wishes to injure mankind.

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[1] 22 St. Tr. 318.
[2] 22 St. Tr. 357—471.

If this were applied in practice it would result in no prosecutions for Seditious Libel being commenced, or, if commenced succeeding, unless the matter complained of obviously tended to incite people to commit some crime, or unless it definitely attacked an individual's character.

Indeed, this is the very direction in which the public mind is to-day tending to move ; but the time taken to bring such a change about has been appallingly slow. For many years after the passing of the Libel Act juries absolutely refused to think along these lines at all ; and even now, nearly a hundred and fifty years later, the proposition is by no means universally accepted. The right to prosecute politically is clung to by a nervous dominant class as firmly in the days of George V. as it was in those of George III. Now, as then, they will probably fight bitterly to retain it.

Acquittals at this time were rare. The most famous, however, were those of Lambert, Perry, and Gray(1), the proprietors of the *Morning Chronicle*. They had published a tract calling attention to the heaviness of taxation and the frequency of war, talking of " Cruel and impolitic Wars," and condemning the existing criminal code.

Erskine repeated the same arguments he had used on former occasions. The proposition of the Crown was that taking into account the character of the times, the defendant's object must, necessarily, have been a bad one. The judge, Lord Kenyon, summed up heavily against the defendants ; but the jury, after considering their verdict from two in the afternoon until five o'clock the next morning, acquitted.

As instancing a judge's typical summing up one can consider Cobbett's trial in 1804.(2) Cobbett had been prosecuted for a seditious libel on account of his criticism of the Irish Administration. He was found guilty but was never sentenced. Lord Ellenborough is reported as saying : " On the three following points you have to exercise your judgment : first the preliminary allegations and innuendos ; next, the fact of publication ; and thirdly, the quality and sense of the thing published. This is the matter at issue."

" Upon the subject of libel, it may be as well for me to observe . . . . that, by the law of England, there is no impunity to any person publishing anything that is . . . . prejudicial to the general interests of the State. . . . . It is no new doctrine that if a publication be calculated to alienate the affections of the people by bringing the government into disesteem . . . . the person so conducting himself is exposed to the infliction of the law. It is a crime."

(1) 22 St. Tr. 1008.
(2) 29 St. Tr. 1.

The severity of the Executive's persecution was shown in the case of Hart and White.(1) This was an information in respect of a libel published in the *Independent Whig* commenting on the action of the Court and Jury in acquitting Bennett and Chapman, two notorious characters, who had been tried for the murder of an able seaman and a cabin boy in circumstances as it was alleged of the most fiendish cruelty. The Crown alleged that the article complained of criticised and attacked the jury system and was therefore seditious. A jury of merchants complacently returned a verdict of guilty and a savage sentence of eighteen months' imprisonment was thereupon inflicted.

In 1819,(2) Seditious Libel for the first time received statutory definition. The Act in question enacted that upon a conviction for a blasphemous or seditious libel, the Courts should have power to order all copies of the libel in the possession of the person convicted to be seized, and for this purpose defined seditious libel as being :—

> " Any seditious libel tending to bring into hatred or contempt the person of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, or the Regent, or the Government and Constitution of the United Kingdom as by law established, or either House of Parliament, or to excite His Majesty's subjects to attempt the alteration of any matter in Church or State as by law established otherwise than by lawful means."

Practically this is the same thing as saying that a seditious libel is any libel which has any of these tendencies. This definition, it will be seen, forms the major portion of the definition as drafted by Mr. Justice Stephen, which is at present accepted by the Courts as representing the existing law as regards the offences here being considered.

Next year occurred the important trial of *R. v.* Burdett.(3) Sir Francis Burdett was fined £2,000 and imprisoned for three months for a letter written on the subject of the dispersion of a meeting at St. Peter's Field, Manchester, by the Yeomanry.

On a subsequent motion for a new trial a most important discussion took place on the Libel Act of 1792, constituting the fullest possible enquiry into the nature and offence of libel. The most important ground for a new trial was that the judge—Best—had exceeded his duty, as defined by the Libel Act, in charging the jury. On this point his own statement was to this effect :—

> " I told the jury that the question whether it was published with the intention alleged in the information was peculiarly for their consideration ; but I added that this intention was to

(1) (1809) 30 St. Tr. 1168.
(2) 60 Geo. III. and 1 Geo. IV., C. 8.
(3) (1820) 1 St. Tr. (N.S.) 1.

be collected from the paper itself. . . . . I added that if it appeared that the contents of the paper were likely to excite sedition and disaffection, the defendant must be presumed to intent that which his act was likely to produce." Later he says: "I told the jury that they were to consider whether the paper was published with the intent charged in the information, and that if they thought it was published with that intent I was of opinion that it was a libel. I, however, added that they were to decide whether they would adopt my opinion." He also asked the jury to consider: "Whether the paper contained a sober appeal addressed to the reason of mankind, or whether it was an appeal to their passions calculated to incite them to acts of violence and outrage. If it was of the former description it was not a libel; if of the latter description it was." Speaking of the position before the Libel Act he said: "The jury were then only to find the fact of the publication and the truth of the innuendos, for the judges used to tell them that the intent was an inference of law to be drawn from the paper, with which the jury had nothing to do." And after the act: "The Legislature have said that it is not so, but that the whole case is for the jury."

This view of the effect of the Libel Act was unanimously adopted by the Court, and would seem to be perfectly good law.

On 7th July, 1831, Cobbett[1] was again tried, this time for an article published on 11th December, 1830, in the *Weekly Register* referring to the destruction of thrashing machines in Hampshire and Wiltshire by mobs of half-starved labourers. The indictment alleged that the article was intended to create discontent and to excite violence.

The trial took place at the Old Bailey with Denman, the Attorney-General, prosecuting, and Cobbett defending in person. The Court was packed with an excited crowd of spectators who clapped and cheered Cobbett when he appeared and took his seat. A stolid-looking jury of merchants was empanelled—seemingly the last possible men to be influenced by thoughts of the real background of the case: the wretched, starving labourers crouching at that very moment, like beasts, in their bare hovels upon the bleak Hampshire uplands.

After a long speech by Cobbett Lord Tenterden summed up. He directed the jury that they must take the "natural tendency of the publication" into account in arriving at its intent, and told them distinctly that the whole matter was their own province.

The jury retired. There was a pause. Hour succeeded hour. The merchants were deliberating. From 6 o'clock on that summer evening all through the night until 9 the next morning they gave

(1) 2 St. Tr. (N.S.) 789.

no sign. At 9 the judge was handed a note saying that they found it impossible to agree, six being one way and six the other. They had been absent fifteen hours. Reluctantly their disagreement was accepted and they were discharged; the prosecution had failed. Cobbett, therefore, went free, the Attorney-General entered a *nolle prosequi*, and the matter ended.

Shortly afterwards Richard Carlile(1) was tried for a similar offence in connection with an address to the same labourers. He was convicted, fined £200, made to find sureties for his good behaviour for 10 years, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

The reports for the next ten years are filled with numerous prosecutions of the Chartists. The most spectacular was the trial of Ernest Jones(2) and a number of other prominent leaders for seditious words. Jones was a barrister and a prominent political figure, and his speech was alleged by the Crown to have incited to insurrection and breaches of the peace. In point of fact the language used would to-day appear to be so mild as to be merely uninteresting.

In charging the Old Bailey jury, Wilde, C.J., said that the charge in the case averred that the defendant "intended by his address to incite to a breach of the peace and to excite an opposition to the law as established." He therefore told them that they must consider whether the speech was made with the intention of producing that effect; and that in doing so they must consider the general state of society at the time in question—emphasising that a *general* and not a *particular* view must be taken. By this time, as the account plainly shows, he had succeeded in lashing himself into a rage over the whole question of Chartist activities, and the summing up ended with a violent attack on the doctrine that luxury expenditure was economically unsound, seasoned with numerous examples—such as the cases of Coaches and men-servants—of how beneficial in actual fact it was.

The jury, with little hesitation, found the verdict they were desired to give, and the judge then again embarked upon a long harangue in an even more vicious spirit than before. Jones, when it was over, on being asked if he had anything to say, appeared not a whit discomposed and proceeded to answer the judge's points one by one, vindicating quite calmly his extreme Chartist principles. He was sentenced to find two sureties of £150 each for his good behaviour for two years in addition to his own for £200, and to two years' imprisonment.

Even then there was no dismay, for his last words were: "I wish your Lordship good night, with the motto of 'The Charter and no Surrender!'"

(1) (1831) 4 C. and P. 415.
(2) (1848) 6 St. Tr. (N.S.) 783.

There now ensues a gap during which no cases of any outstanding importance appeared until 1886. In that year John Burns[1] and three other defendants were indicted for uttering seditious words concerning Her Majesty's Government with intent to cause a riot, and to cause ill-will between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects. The occasion was an unemployed demonstration of 20,000 people held in Trafalgar Square on the 8th of February, 1886, which was followed by a certain amount of rioting among the Clubs in the West End.

Mr. Justice Cave, who tried the case, delivered an elaborate summing up. After mentioning that Mr. Justice Stephen's definition of Seditious Offences undoubtedly represented the unanimous view of the judges, he said that in the present case two seditious intentions were alleged by the Crown, viz. :—

(1) An incitement to alter some matter in Church or State otherwise than by lawful means.

(2) To promote feelings of hostility between different classes.

Dealing with the second of these he said :—

"This is necessarily somewhat vague . . . . I should prefer to say that the intention to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes . . . . may be a Seditious intention according to circumstances, and of those circumstances the jury are the judges . . . . taking into consideration the whole of the circumstances of the case."

On the other point he remarked :—

"If from any sinister motive . . . . they desired to bring the people into conflict with the authorities, or to incite the malicious and disorderly to damage the property of unoffending citizens you ought necessarily to find them guilty. On the other hand, if you come to the conclusion that they were actuated by an honest desire to alleviate the misery of the unemployed . . . . you should not be swift to mark any hasty or ill-considered expression which they might utter in the excitement of the moment."

In conclusion he said :—

"I have already told you that you must take a broad and even a generous view of the whole of the case presented to you. You must not attach too much importance to isolated phrases, but you must look at the general gist of the matter."

The jury, after deliberating for some time, brought in a verdict of Not Guilty.

It is, perhaps, not uninteresting to note that in 1906 the chief defendant became President of the Local Government Board and a Privy Councillor.

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(1) 16 Cox C.C. 355.

In 1909 one Aldred(1) was indicted for publishing a seditious libel concerning India and the Indian administration. The Crown was only concerned with the proof of one point, viz.: Whether the defendant had used language implying that it was lawful and commendable to employ physical force in any manner against the King's Government.

On this Lord Coleridge, the judge, said :—

"Nothing is clearer than the law on this head, namely, that whoever by language, either written or spoken, incites or encourages others to use physical force or violence in some public matter connected with the State, is guilty of publishing a seditious libel. . . . . The test is not either the truth of the language or the innocence of the motive with which he published it, but the test is this: was the language used calculated, or was it not, to promote public disorder or physical force or violence in a matter of State?"

The defendant had contended that he was entitled to freedom of abstract academic opinion—in other words, what is commonly called free speech.

Referring to this Lord Coleridge said :—

"A man may lawfully express his opinion on any public matter. . . . . Matters of State, matters of policy . . . . are open to him. . . . . For instance, if he thinks that either a despotism, or an oligarchy, or a republic, or even no Government at all is the best way of conducting human affairs he is at perfect liberty to say so. He may assail politicians, he may attack Governments. . . . . He may seek to show that rebellions, insurrections, outrages, assassinations, and such like, are the natural, the deplorable, the inevitable outcome of the policy which he is combating. . . . . But on the other hand, if he made use of language calculated to advocate or to incite others to public disorders . . . . of any physical force or violence . . . . then . . . . whatever his intentions, there would be evidence on which . . . . a jury would decide that he was guilty of seditious publication."

Aldred was found guilty and sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment.

For sixteen years after this no case of this character came before the Courts, until, on the 18th November, 1925, the Executive of the Communist Party of Great Britain were prosecuted at the Old Bailey on a charge of :—

(1) Conspiracy to publish seditious words and libels.

(2) Incitement to breaches of the Mutiny Act, 1797.

(3) Endeavouring to seduce persons serving in the Forces of the Crown.

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(1) 22 Cox C.C. 1.

Sir Henry Slesser, who had been Solicitor-General in the Labour Government of 1924-25, defended, and the Attorney-General of the day conducted the case for the prosecution in person.

Legally, the trial was of no great interest except for the distinction drawn by the defence between a charge of Seditious Conspiracy (the way in which the case had been opened to the jury by Sir Douglas Hogg), and that of conspiring to publish Seditious Libels. In the end the interpretation put forward by the defence was accepted by the Judge and in that form left to the jury. The distinction thus insisted upon was no idle one ; for a charge of Seditious Conspiracy, if it had really appeared in the indictment, would have permitted the admission of a mass of evidence directed to showing that the Communist Party of Great Britain was an illegal society, and that it was part of a world-wide organisation with illegal aims; whereas the charge of conspiring to publish Seditious Libels reduced the matters under consideration to the two comparatively simple and narrow questions :—

(1) Were the alleged publications seditious ?

(2) Were they published by the defendants acting in concert ?

Apart from this no new legal issue was raised, the defence confining itself, under this head, to showing that no direct incitement to disorder and violence had been made.

After a long but somewhat unemotional hearing—considering the deep interest which the trial had aroused in the country generally—the defendants were found guilty and were sentenced by Mr. Justice Swift to various terms of imprisonment varying from six months to a year.

There the long line of cases stretching back to the Tudors, or possibly further still, comes to an end ; twelve more political prisoners have been placed in gaol ; the line of Seditious Succession—if one may coin the phrase—has been kept intact.

V.

There remain Seditious Conspiracies. Commonly, this charge is made in connection with Seditious Language, a conspiracy being first proved to exist and then evidence of violent language being given as proof of an overt act.

This application of the charge of Seditious Conspiracy is comparatively modern, the first instance being the trial of Redhead Yorke[1] in 1795. He was charged with two other defendants that they " unlawfully, maliciously and seditiously, did combine, conspire and confederate . . . . to traduce, vilify and defame, the Commons House of Parliament, and the Government by this realm . . . . "

(1) 25 St. Tr. 1003.

The Judge, in his charge to the jury, said :—" If he (Redhead Yorke) has in your opinion been guilty of addressing a public meeting . . . . when your own observation must furnish you with what the state of the country was . . . . and that language has a tendency . . . . to vilify, traduce and defame the House of Commons : if you think . . . . he and Gales conspired together, you will find him guilty."

After considering for twenty minutes the jury found a verdict of guilty, and Yorke was accordingly fined £200, ordered to find security for his good behaviour for seven years, and imprisoned for two years. Some years afterwards the Masters of the Bench of of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple called him to the Bar.

Many well-known trials followed in after years. In 1820(1) Hunt and others were tried for a Seditious Conspiracy of which the overt Act was the holding of a meeting dispersed at Manchester in 1819. In 1839 Vincent(2) and others were tried for a Seditious Conspiracy in connection with the Chartist agitation. The most memorable of all these cases, however, was the O'Connell(3) case in 1844. Here O'Connell and eight other defendants were tried for a Seditious Conspiracy of which the overt acts were meetings, and speeches made at the meetings, agitating for the repeal of the Union.

Commenting on these trials, Mr. Justice Stephen remarks(4) :— " These prosecutions and others which might be referred to all proceed on principles very similar to those on which Seditious Libels are tried. The charge commonly is that the defendants conspired together to effect some purpose inconsistent with the peace and good government of the country, and that they manifested that intention by speeches made, and meetings held, in concert. The proof commonly is that some sort of organisation was formed in which the defendants took part, and that things were written and said in consequence which were calculated to effect the objects in question."

O'Connell and his friends were tried on eleven Counts. They were found guilty. Subsequently the House of Lords held nine of the counts to be good and two bad on account of vagueness. The nine good counts variously charged the defendants with conspiracy to raise discontent and disaffection ; to stir up jealousy and ill-will between different classes ; to diminish the confidence of the Crown's Irish subjects in the general administration of law ; and to bring about changes in the law by meetings held to hear Seditious speeches.

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(1) R. *v.* Hunt, 1st Tr. N.S. 1.
(2) 9 C. and P. 91.
(3) S. St. Tr. (N.S.) 6.
(4) *History of Criminal Law*, Vol. II., p. 379.

The importance of the House of Lords decision in holding these counts to be good lies in the wideness which has in consequence been given to the definition of Seditious Conspiracy. Apparently any attempt by violent language, either spoken or written, or by a show of force calculated to produce fear, to effect any public object of an evil character, can be dealt with in this way—providing the existence of a conspiracy be first proved. And inasmuch as the question of what objects are, and what are not, regarded as evil has never been definitely laid down, there still remains tremendous scope along this line for an attack upon any organisation of a political nature whose views are not those of the government of the day. How important a charge of Seditious Conspiracy of this nature might be, was shown in the recent Communist trial by the great efforts made by the defence to show that, possibly through a flaw in the drafting of the indictment, but certainly in fact, no such charge was upon the record in that particular case. The objection was there upheld; but there is no guarantee that on future occasions this weapon may not be used to the full.

VI.

Such then, broadly speaking, is the position to-day. The crimes classed as Seditious Offences require as an essential ingredient of their proof the establishment by the prosecution of a certain element of intent; and the existence or otherwise of this intent is now, thanks to Fox's Act, a matter wholly for the determination of the jury. As to what is and what is not Seditious Intent the Courts look to Mr. Justice Stephen's definition as formulated during the latter half of the last century, which he in his turn had slightly expanded from the definition contained in 60 Geo. III. and 1 Geo. IV. c. 8, and which was itself evolved from the practice of the Courts of King's Bench and Star Chamber working in the first place on the more remote and least clearly defined fringes of Libel and High Treason. But that is not all; for just as during the time from Coke's definition "*de libellis famosis*" down to the Stephen definition of approximately 70 years ago, the cases actually coming before the Courts moulded and transformed the current conception of Seditious Offences in such a way that it is possible, looking through them, to note a gradual but nevertheless definite modification of the harshness of the early view even after allowing for periods of abnormal strain and crisis like that following the outbreak of the French Revolution; so, since Mr. Justice Stephen's codification, similar changes have been at work and the same process is to be observed still continuing this development as a definitely dynamic thing.

From this point of view the most obvious respect is in connection with that portion of his definition which declares it to be a seditious intent "to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of His Majesty's subjects." On the face of it this

is clearly fantastically wide if considered in the light of its present-day implications. Practically any public utterance of every prominent Labour leader could, if it were so desired, be brought within its scope. Apart from politics it would cover a huge area in connection with the present-day industrial relations between employer and employees. A Tower Hill orator urging workers to boycott capitalists guilty of sweating labour would, presumably under the definition, be uttering Seditious Words; and so also probably, would a member of the F.B.I. were he to launch an attack on conditions in a so-called sheltered industry with the object of awaking employers to the wages they were paying.

This was recognised as long ago as R. *v.* Burns, when Mr. Justice Cave, commenting on this particular limb of the definition, said :—

"I should rather prefer to say that the intention to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of His Majesty's subjects may be a seditious intention according to circumstances, and of those circumstances the jury are the judges; and I put this question to the Attorney-General in the course of the case: 'Suppose a man were to write a letter to the papers attacking bakers and butchers generally with reference to the high prices of bread or meat, and imputing to them that they were in a conspiracy to keep up high prices—would that be a seditious libel, being written and not spoken? To which the Attorney-General gave me the only answer which it was clearly possible to give under the circumstances: 'That must depend upon the circumstances.' I, sitting here as a judge, cannot go nearer than that."

Since that case the question has never been raised in any of the other trials which have taken place, and it would seem that this whole portion of the definition is well recognised to-day as being obsolete. In reality it is redundant, as the only possible cases which can be conceived to which it applies would be more than covered by the remaining body of the definition. It would seem, therefore, highly desirable that this relic of 18th-century thought —for it is nothing more or less than a statement of the frame of mind which inaugurated prosecutions like that of Tom Paine— should be effectively obliterated, and a contingent danger to rights which must be considered of primary importance in any real democracy removed.

In addition, a change has taken place in what may be called the more general aspect of these changes. It is this to which Mr Justice Stephen is alluding when he writes (1): "In one word, nothing short of direct incitement to disorder and violence is a seditious libel." Burns' case and Aldred's case each confirm this. The judges in both these cases, as has been pointed out, sought to implant in the minds of the jury a connection between a direct

(1) *History of Criminal Law*, Vol. II., p. 375.

incitement to violence and a verdict of guilty. Pausing there for a moment, it is possible to recognise what a great step forward has been made by the acceptance of this doctrine, which is nothing more or less than that contended for by Erskine in 1792. According to this view, words are only capable of bearing a seditious intent if the reasonable direct result of their publication is, or would be, an outbreak of violence; and thus the whole scope of charges for Seditious Offences is in one stroke narrowed to limits which—granted that juries are intelligent and will act sanely—cannot but be considered as reasonable. The free expression of mere academic opinions—as was unequivocally stated by Lord Coleridge in Aldred's case—is, therefore, allowed; and more than that, it must be remembered that it is for the Crown to show, if a prosecution is inaugurated in any particular case, that the words complained of are likely to promote, or have promoted, violence.

But although this principle is clearly discernable in the more recent cases, it does not follow as a matter of course that any judge trying a case which might arise in the future would arrive of necessity at such a view of the law. There are reactionary-minded judges just as there are liberal-minded ones. As the law at present stands it is quite conceivable that the interpretation just referred to might not be put before the jury at all. In which event, it might be argued, the Court of Appeal could intervene. But this is really an insufficient answer; for in the meantime an incalculable amount of harm might have been done in the minds of the nation at large.

What is needed, it is suggested, is a short Act providing that in every trial of this nature the jury shall be asked the direct question as to whether the words complained of are reasonably likely in their opinion to promote actual violence; and that their verdict shall depend upon their answer to this question. At the same time provision might be made for the giving of statutory effect to the definition of what is seditious intent, from which the obsolete clause already referred to might be omitted.

In this way, by the removal of the last vestige of the shadow of Treason which has for so long overshadowed them, Seditious Offences would be placed upon a plain and perfectly straightforward footing. The word sedition would thenceforward lose its sinister associations in the ordinary mind; and political prosecutions, it is to be hoped, would definitely become things of the past. Much has been done already in the course of time to bring such a state of affairs about. To-day it only remains to take the final step. The arguments in favour of following such a course as has been here indicated are overwhelming and unanswerable; but it may nevertheless be interesting to the cynically-minded to compute what time will elapse, given the present political situation, before this change, necessary and desirable as it is, is actually carried out.

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By

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BENTHAM.

By VICTOR COHEN.

"The way to be happy is to make others happy, the way to make others happy is to appear to love them, the way to appear to love them is to love them really." So wrote the chief exponent of the utilitarian creed, Jeremy Bentham.

He was born in the year 1748 in Red Lion Street, Hounsditch. In his boyhood he displayed unusual zest for learning, and his precocity offered his father hope of seeing his son on the woolsack. Later in life he delighted to recall how before he was breeched he had run home from an aimless walk and installed himself in a huge chair to read Rapin's History of England. But he found that it was a history of throat cutting on the largest scale for the sake of plunder, the throat cutting and plundering being placed at the summit of virtues. He recalled his early "pain of sympathy." He began at the age of three to learn French under the tutorship of M. La Combe d'Avigon, with whom he read Fenelon's Télémaque. His father had carefully kept from him any diverting book. His study list was excessively dull; Télémaque consequently had an early and strong influence on his receptive mind.

When he was seven years old he was sent to a typical 18th century scholastic penitentiary, Westminster School. He found little happiness here. "The instruction was wretched; the fagging system was a horrid despotism; the games he found beyond his strength." In spite of his diminutive size, his ability inspired respect and enabled him to escape the birch. Already young Jeremy was known as the "Philosopher," and his delighted father pompously indicated to him the path to greatness.—"If you mean to rise catch hold of the skirts of those above you and care nothing for those who are beneath you."

At the age of 12, he left Westminster, and following the routine canalised by ease he entered as commoner in one of the most exclusive and consequently one of the idlest colleges at Oxford—Queens. His strictures on Oxford but corroborate the accounts of Wesley, Adam Smith, and Gibbon. "The mornings, he noted, were spent in useless routine, the evenings in playing cards." He found the streets of Oxford "paved with perjury," for although he was excused the oaths to the Church of England

University on account of his youth, he felt the insincerity bitterly, and his whole mental outlook was seared by the sight of several Methodists being expelled their colleges for the crime of heresy. He took his degree in 1763, and in the same year he began to eat his dinners at Lincoln's Inn. But his repugnance to the legal profession was soon apparent, and the boy of 15 returned to Oxford to listen to Blackstone, the holder of the newly created Venerian Professorship of Law, as he was dilating on the glory of the British Constitution. He obtained his M.A. in 1767, and then left for London to begin his triumphal march to the Woolsack. His career at Oxford had been remarkably devoid of incident. As a lawyer his failure was even more glaring. His ambitious and hectoring father heard with bitter annoyance that he had converted his chambers into a laboratory, that he was studying chemistry with Dr. Fordyce, and that he was courting " Prœtus " Priestly, the discoverer of oxygen. It was nevertheless to this combination of such apparent opposites as Physical Science and Law, that Bentham owes his place in the niche of Law Reformers. It was his interpretation of Politics in terms of Newtonian Physics that supplied him with a method which proved so fatal to the blundering optimism of the 18th Century Governors of England.

Till well in the seventies Jeremy but reflected the leisured and wealthy class into which he was born. The '45 was still a romantic and loyal memory. In his babyhood, amidst Jacobite surroundings, he had learnt to worship at the shrine of Charles the Martyr, and to regard loyalty and virtue as interchangeable terms. He wrote a sonnet on the death of George II which was praised by the Tory oracle of the period, Dr. Johnson. He espoused the cause of royalty against the attack of Junius; he hounded down Wilkes, and when a darker cloud appeared on the horizon, the truculent and rebellious attitude of the American Colonies, Jeremy Bentham, with his friend John Lind, again took up the cause of royalty and authority in a " Review of the Acts of the thirteenth Parliament in 1775." Nevertheless the Tory ne'er do well was not an idle dilettante. By judicious study he became the intellectual legatee of the 18th century; for he focussed in himself its philosophy, its scientific optimism, its individualism and its anti-clericalism. Instead of carving for himself a brilliant legal career he began questioning the very assumptions of political life, and his despairing father found in him not a prop and a potential pillar of society but a hardy and dangerous innovator. He received his son's appeal with paternal resignation. " In the track I am in I march with alacrity and hope; in any other I should crawl on with despondence and reluctance," and so Jeremy quitted the profession he hated, to add lustre to it by his zealous reform.

18th Century Policies.

The 18th Century has a numbing sense of void after the vitality of the 17th, for its tolerance was the result of apathy and not of conviction, and even its sympathy had to seek a selfish veneer. It began with an assertion of the contractual nature of Government, and it ended with struggle to assert natural rights. Yet never were the logical consequences of these assumptions more openly violated. " Everything for the people, and nothing by them " was the maxim of Frederick the Great and Bishop Horsley echoed: " The people have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them." The English as pioneers in tyrannicide were aggressively proud of their " Matchless Constitution " created by a " Glorious Rebellion," and its praise by Montesquieu and De Lolme confirmed them in the self righteous optimism which made any reform hopeless. For in theory the English constitution was the only legitimate one in existence. It alone was based on a sacred contract of King and People; it made provision for the Separation of Powers which was the only true guarantee of liberty; it gave sanction to the Natural Rights of Life, Liberty and Property, which were the *raison d'etre* of every true government. Criticism both sound and cynical had already begun to undermine this elaborate structure. De Lolme had pointed out the ease with which interested apologists confused the actual with the ideal. The cynical and corrupt Fox had sneeringly remarked how the Right to Rebellion, the very basis of the Constitution, had to be presented as potentially possible to the Governors alone, for to the governed it had to be made impossible. Above all the sceptical and corrosive mind of Hume had taken an unnatural delight in destroying what was at once an intellectual error and a Whig fetish.

But the Century of Individual Rights was also the Century of Enlightened Despotism. Bolingbroke's Patriot King, stripped of the selfish motive which inspired its author, was the pale and attenuated replica of the Philosophic Autocrats of the age.

Government was for and not by the people, but Englishmen in no way accepted the political creed of Tyranny. If the tradition of Locke and its new version by Rousseau showed, in Acton's words, that " not the devil but St. Thomas Aquinas was the first Whig " an indigenous English historical school, led by Cartwright and Benjamin Vaughan, Hollis and Sawbridge, opposed the Divine Right of Kings with the Divine Right of the Individual and appealed to historical precedent to justify the concrete liberties of Englishmen as opposed to the Natural Liberty of Man. But a long period of office had converted even the Whig Party to an unquestioned acceptance of the *status quo*, and by a swing of the party pendulum George III. had brought to power their rivals,

who, if they had given up their idol, had not abandoned their idolatry.

In the background of these conflicting theories the Industrial and Agrarian Revolutions were changing the face of England, and these gave force to the mechanical and optimistic outlook which pervaded the Age. Man was at last controlling nature; he could measure its forces, and subordinate it to his purpose. Why should he not extend the same mental attitude to the Social Sciences? The legislator would then be akin to the inventor, for he could control the individual through his egoism, he could mould Society through its self seeking. Benthamism consists in the application of mechanical formulæ to the solution of the problems of Ethics and Politics.

If these were the main forces acting on Bentham, his wide reading supplied him with the mental equipment, which enabled him to translate a vague influence into a dynamic force. For he was above all a synchronistic thinker, a genius in method, rather than an innovator in ideas. From Helvetius he adopted the conception that Man as a moral being was the product of the social atmosphere of the society to which he belonged. But, insisted Bentham, Who created this social atmosphere? Was it not the Legislator? By rewards and punishments he could evoke such conduct as he desired. The Lawgiver moulded human behaviour and harmonised human passions for the public good. With Law so potent, Bentham early aspired to create good laws in order to make good men.

The growing humanity of the " Brutal Century " no less influenced him. The sympathy which sought expression in the anti-slavery agitation and in the growing care of the poor, in the desire to reform the prisons and to soften the rigours of the criminal law, he felt intensely. But his creed opposed any structure based on so subjective a foundation as pity. Beccaria supplied him with the requisite test. The reason for the cruelty of criminal legislation was that it was based on the principle of sympathy and antipathy. Men were punished according to no logical scale of values, but simply because their crimes were hated. But each man hated different crimes with a different intensity. If public welfare were taken as the aim and standard of punishment then barbarity would disappear from law, and crime would be punished with mathematical accuracy according as it retarded much or little the social good.

Priestly and Hume taught him that the aim of government was the greatest good of the greatest number. This gave him the clue to the labyrinth of law. No longer was it to be " learning " painfully acquired. It was to become a Science, having a few rigid axioms on which government could be easily constructed. Thoroughly secular in outlook, he threw overboard every

theological assumption as to the origin and destiny of society. Hating complexity as the ally of confused thinking, he at once discarded the English dispensations of a Mixed Constitution and a Division of Powers. Obsessed with the Ideal of Utility, he swept away the Theory of Contract, as being untenable historically and useless philosophically. Government ought to be built on one foundation, the greatest good of the greatest number.

His acute mind had at once seen through Blackstone's penegyric, but only after a long delay did there appear in 1776 his "Fragment on Government," a penetrating criticism of the "Commentaries." Blackstone, he contended, had carried the ingenuity of the hireling advocate into the chair of a Professor. That his criticisms were forceful was universally recognised, and rumour at once ascribed the book to the greatest legal intellects of the time, to Camden, to Mansfield. But his father, glad beyond control that the erudition of his son was at last receiving public recognition, proclaimed his authorship. Immediately the author and the book sank back to obscurity, and Bentham again busied himself with his reading and experiments till, five years later, Lord Shelbourne called upon the author of the "Fragments" to invite him to Bowood, a great and historic centre of English political life.

Patronage was dying, mortally wounded by the courageous letter of Dr. Johnson to Lord Chesterfield. Bentham, moreover, had little need of the patronage of wealth. There was, therefore, little of servility in the relationship between these two men. He was nevertheless deeply grateful. At Bowood he met the great political figures of the age—Camden, Mansfield, Dunning, Pitt, Price, Romilly, a powerful group whom he hoped to indoctrinate with the creed of utility. He was surprised, however, to meet with such vehement opposition. A Tory, he thought that he had only to tell the governors the good they could do, for them to carry it out. But his doctrine, in the words of Leslie Stephen, "seemed to some a barren truism, to others a mere epigram, and to some a dangerous falsehood," and feeling helpless to break the complacency of his countrymen, in 1783, he left for Russia, where his brother Samuel was working on the estates of Prince Potemkin at Critchoff. A failure as he apparently was, he nevertheless dreamed of himself as the founder of Scientific Legislation. "What Bacon was to the physical world, Helvetius was to the Moral; the Moral world has therefore had its Bacon, but its Newton was yet to come." Bentham aspired to fill the gap. He spent two years in Russia elaborating his ideas. Under the spur of Pitt's revenue schemes, he sent home his "Defence of Usury," which extorted the high encomium of his master Adam Smith. It was only on the earnest appeal of one of his early disciples, George Wilson, stating that a Churchman and

Dean of Carlyle (Paley) had plagiarized his ideas in his "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy" that Bentham returned, and in 1789, on the very eve of the Revolution, there appeared his Magnum Opus, "An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation."

BENTHAM AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The French Revolution has been treated either as a hysterical outburst of passion or as an organised conspiracy against Society. Yet the passion and faith of France in travail sent sympathetic thrills through Europe and traditional English party life was submerged in the emotions it raised. The Whigs, now a party without a creed, joined the Tories in defence of the past, and when an infectious logic reared in Britain an Edinburgh and a London Convention, Whigs and Tories became allies in defence of present wrongs. Burke became the prophet of reaction, and England the prop of monarchy and obscurantism. Pitt and Panic governed the realm. Bentham had no love for the past. With Voltaire he agreed that history was but a record of human folly and human wrong; with Raynal that no people can be free, if it respected the memory of its chains. He believed intensely in new beginnings. He saw in Revolution no sin against organic continuity. Tory although he was, he sympathised with the French. But to the calm calculator of human weakness, the impassioned oratory of the New Assembly was itself offensive. In vain he pointed out the difficulty of building a social structure on Natural Rights; the example of America and the teaching of Rousseau had made this the political orthodoxy of the period, and Bentham was disregarded. Above all, his legal training, his Tory sympathies and the teaching of Hume, had instilled into him a reverent respect for Security. Bentham saw the distinctive index of civilisation in order. The French found the cry of order and security, the swan song of threatened privilege and wrong. Bentham turned away in despair from his new hope, and opened his house as a hospice for French refugees. But in spite of his passive hostility he yet saw in France the most opportune field for his social experiments. England had been an encouraging culture for mechanical invention in search of wealth, but the "deep slumber of a decided opinion" had rendered social invention impossible. Politics have even ceased to be, in the words of Maine, "an eternal cricket match between blue and yellow," for the frenzy of Burke had infected both party teams, and coercive acts made slumber a patriotic duty.

To France, Bentham turned in hope. To La Rochefaucauld, to Mirabeau, to Brissot, he sent tract after tract. His "Essay on Representation" was followed by one on "Political Tactics."

This was succeeded by a " Project of a Code for the organisation of the Judicial System of France." This again by a " Project on the Panopticon," and lastly an appeal, " Emancipate your Colonies." The young Benthamite circle under Romilly drew up an " Essay on Procedure for the use of the National Assembly." But the reply of awakened Nationalism was decisive. " Nous ne sommes pas des Anglais, et nous n'avons besoin des Anglais." With the amiable simplicity of the recluse he offered to become the unpaid gaoler of France during the Reign of Terror if only he could experiment with his new pet prison, the Panopticon; but Madam La Guillotine beat him in open competition. The star of Rousseau outshone that of Bentham. Natural Rights still overshadowed utility. But the French were not ungrateful. Having thrown the head of a King as a challenge to European kingship, they were thankful for any helpful gesture, and in 1792 they accorded to Bentham, " the benefactor of the human race," the title of French Citizen.

He had now reached middle age, and except to a small legal circle he was almost unknown. The wave of Revolution had engulfed his doctrine. Chief Justices Braxfield and Eyre had declared it treasonable to question the divine perfection of the English Constitution; the French had responded to the warm rays of justice and equity, and had been unmoved by the cold although luminous appeal of egoism and utility. Most men would have been content to enjoy passively the mundane delights of good health and financial ease. But Bentham's inventive factulty gave him no peace. He turned again to the English Government with wonderful schemes of domestic utility and legal simplification. In 1795 he sent to the Ministry his " Protest against the Law Taxes." To the boast that the English Law Courts were open to all, Horne Tooke had retorted that like the tavern they were open to all who could pay. Bentham desired to remove this stain from English justice and to prevent lawyers becoming merely fee gatherers. In the same year he propounded a scheme of Death Duties in his pamphlet, " Escheat versus Taxation." In 1797 he sent to Arthur Young's Annals of Agriculture a solution of the Poor Law Problem which later found expression in the Poor Law of 1834. In 1798 he was busy with Colquhoun drafting a scheme for the reform of the London Police. In 1799 he came out with a scheme, which he submitted to Cobbett's Peter Porcupine, on the Population Bill, the suggestions of which were adopted in the following year in taking the first Census. An astonishing fertility in mechanical and social invention on the basis of the " greatest happiness principle " was his inexhaustible gift and peculiar contribution to society. In 1830, two years before his death, Talleyrand paid the compliment to his intellectual resources, " Though all the world has stolen from him he remains still rich."

His Philosophy.

Bentham's philosophy possesses the symmetry and narrowness of simplicity. In the common man he found the source of all social action, and for the common man he erected the social structure of the State. He dismissed as mysticism the idea that society was anything but a collection of individuals. It possessed no entity of its own, no purpose of its own, no idea of its own, apart from the individuals who composed it. The ultimate unit was always the individual, to whom tradition or social purpose was remote in comparison with his desire for pleasure and his avoidance of pain. Seeing in the individual the source of all endeavour and the hope of all improvement, Bentham was led to an analysis of his mentality. Upon this psychological assumption he erected his ethical and legal edifice. He begins, in his "Introduction to Morals and Legislation," "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do as well as to determine what we shall do. . . ." Consequently he deduced, "Those acts are good which cause pleasure, those acts are bad which cause pain. . . . No motive is in itself either moral or immoral; all human instincts are equally natural." The different valuations placed on loyalty and treachery, greed and charity, love and hate, are based on no common objective standard. Men are by nature egoists, therefore on egoism is society to be built. There is a positive and objective science of mind, and on this government is to be erected. There was equally a Science of Law, the aim of which was the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The *raison d'etre* of every legislative act is its utility. By careful mathematical calculation the Sovereign could, by the use of sanctions (physical, political, moral, religious), harmonise the clashing passions of his subjects. The Sovereign therefore created the Moral Order of the State; it was he who made possible the Equilibrium of Interests demanded by human association. Society was the artificial creation of his labour. The 18th century enlightened Despot is still visible in the School of Utility. Bentham, a true descendant of Hobbes, still saw in the Sovereign "The common power to keep them in awe."

The reasoned calculus of the Law Maker could best be secured by following, during this voyage of discovery in search of the greatest happiness of his subjects, four brilliant stars of descending magnitude. Security, Subsistence, Abundance, Equality. That Bentham's Tory philosophy saw in security the chief road to happiness is no matter for surprise. Subsistence and Abundance were Bentham's tribute to the population discussion then raging. Equality was not the least worth striving for; it was the least attainable; all that could be done was to diminish

inequality. The Sovereign might secure fraternity but not equality. The doctrine of utility was as yet no egalitarian creed.

The full revolutionary implication of Bentham's creed became apparent, only when new social conditions synchronized with a demand for a new theory. Bentham and his disciples did no more than direct the diffused contemporary thought along well defined logical lines. They worked out a small stock of leading ideas in their minutest applications.

The year 1808 saw the rise of a new dawn. Reaction itself was wearying. The famous Westminster Election of 1807—in Bentham's constituency—returned to Parliament Burdett and Cochrane. The Cevallos article having made the Edinburgh Review Whig, the Tories started in opposition the Quarterly Review. Byron, Shelley, and Keats took up freedom's lyre which had fallen from the hands of Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge. Above all, by a turn of the war tide, England became the ally both of the cherished Nationalism and of the threatened liberty of Europe against the Napoleonic despotism. In the same year Bentham met James Mill, and Utilitarianism passed from a legal aspiration to a political dogma. For " if Bentham gave to Mill a doctrine, Mill gave to Bentham a school."

Utility and Democracy.

An old man of 60 now became the Patriarch of English Radicalism. As a Tory, Bentham had failed to convince the Tory rulers. Applying his philosophy to the political situation, he was amazed at the simple solution he found. The governmental clique simply sought its own happiness and not that of the community. In the very nature of things every group, like every individual, sought its own pleasure. Consequently the legal corporation, the clerical corporation, the aristocratic corporation were " sinister interests " with selfish desires which were inimical to Society. In law, in politics, in religion, the final test of goodness was the promotion of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, the final court of appeal was the public good. How then was it possible to reconcile the apparently conflicting interests of Government and Society?

The utilitarian answer to this vital question is hazy. It was useless to reply with Bentham that " in me somehow selfishness has taken the form of benevolence," for no Benthamite could logically accept a subjective solution. Here Benthamism remains inherently a self contradictory creed. It postulated an individual with appetites and aversions; the problem remained how to organise him in Society. Two solutions presented themselves. Mandeville in his " Fable of the Bees," with his brilliant paradox that " Private vices are public virtues," has suggested one. Each

man by following his own selfish desires, somehow without any external co-ordinating body, contributed to the well being of the Commonweal. This solution was carried to its logical conclusion by the economists and applied ruthlessly to an Industrial Society. Adam Smith had shown how each person by close specialisation and constant search for private gain contributed to and created thereby an industrial harmony. *Laissez Faire* became the cry of the economists, and relying on the self-acting automaton of greed, they excluded government from their society. Ricardo, Mill, McCulloch, all good Benthamites, could so draw a distinction between Government and People and agree with the mediævalism of Paine that Society exists for our needs, Government because of our vices. Shelbourne with the curious English trait of finding a religious basis for commercial motive saw this period as the " Era of Protestantism " in the realm of commerce. As late as the sixties, Cobden could therefore interpret Free Trade as the " International Law of the Almighty," and " Government as a standing conspiracy to rob and bamboozle."

But another solution presented itself, that of the Tory Bentham. He, too, saw in the individual the font of all fruitful progress, his egoism the source of all hope; but if egoisms clashed, chaos not harmony, would result. He therefore sought to create a despotic sovereign power, who by sanctions would harmonise opposing egoisms in the interests of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. But now the law maker himself was a sinister interest, intent on his own pleasure. Somehow Government was essential to Society, and yet it was its danger. In the sphere of law and politics, Bentham found the ultimate solution in Representative Democracy; in the sphere of Economics no solution presented itself to him. Maine's criticism of his master is fundamentally just, he injured his creed in proportion as he went beyond legal reform.

Bentham had also suffered personally from the Tory Government. Howard, " who lived as an apostle and died a martyr," had in vain urged the reform of our prisons. The appeal found a sympathetic response in Bentham, and sympathy utility and mechanical genius combined to produce the Panopticon. This prison was to be a miniature society, with the gaoler as lawgiver, and the prisoners his subjects. With complete detail he presented his scheme to Pitt and Dundas. But in England, as in France, Bentham was cruelly disappointed. The Ministry was too busy with the war; difficulties arose over the site. At length, when he had spent his fortune, the whole scheme was cancelled. Public opinion rightly objected to the enormous power given to the gaoler, even if it was to his self interest to use it beneficently. Bentham was brokenhearted.

The Prophet of Democracy.

Chiefly as the " Panopticon man " was he known to the public till 1808. Like so many Englishmen of the period, he appeared to his contemporaries obsessed with one idea, as Spence was with his Agrarian Communism, as Owen was with his scheme of Moral Regeneration in Square Villages. Now he accepted the logical conclusions of his creed, and became the Prophet of Democratic Citizenship, attacking privileged incapacity in every quarter, claiming that Institutions exist for man, not man for Institutions. In 1809 there appeared his " Catechism of Parliamentary Reform." Representative Democracy was to be the bridge between the Sovereign and the People; it was the link between the interests of the Governor and the governed; it was the machinery whereby Government, in the interest of the greatest number, could be applied to modern states. Bentham thus joined hands with Cartwright, his old opponent and a relic of 18th century radicalism, in the demand for universal suffrage. Through Mill he made the acquaintance of Francis Place, and the ex-tailor became the political agent of the new sect. There gravitated to his school all the bolder spirits of the age, Hume, Brougham, Ricardo, O'Connell; Bickersteth brought together Bentham and Burdett, and the latter's demand for Reform in the House from 1818 onward was the political expression of Bentham's creed. The doctrine spread, sown broadcast through Wooler's " Black Dwarf," and Hone's " Reformer's Register," and the old man of 70 watched with glee his life work at last bearing fruit.

For not only was Bentham becoming a force at home, but abroad his fame had spread far. He had early sought a translator of his works. At Bowood he had found Dumont, a man of wide experience, as Protestant Pastor at Geneva and St. Petersburg, and he had secured his services. Their joint success was beyond all expectation. In 1802 there had appeared " Traite's de Legislation Civile et Penale," and the reputation of Bentham spread from Moscow to Madrid. The Czar, Alexander I., solicited his help to codify Russian Law. The liberators of South America, Miranda, Jose del Valle, Bolivar, Santadar, all courted the world's law-maker for utilitarian constitutions. His house became the rendezvous of the world's freedom seekers, and Bentham toiled all day creating utilitarian codes for peoples struggling to be free.

Bentham as Education and Poor Law Reformer.

British problems again claimed his attention. Pious and saintly souls had attributed the world upheaval to the ungodly teaching of Voltaire and Paine, and there grew up a pietistic movement to defend the *status quo* in the name of the church.

The clergy bartered their souls in becoming the moral police force of the State; having a vested interest in the Establishment they now became a sinister interest to an aggressive party. The struggle focussed itself round education, and in Bell's National Schools the faithful were to be taught Christian resignation as the subjects of a secular state. But English nonconformity was too deeply rooted to be thus ignored, and the Lancastrian Schools opposed the orthodox teaching in the name of Christian truth. The Benthamites entered into the fray. They recognised the potency of education in the formation of character; in their hands it was to be an instrument to drill the nation in utilitarian politics and economics. Mill, Place, Wakefield, Brougham joined in founding the British and Foreign School Society, while Mill had launched the attack in his "Schools for all, not for Churchmen only." Bentham heartily co-operated, and he elaborated a new educational programme in his "Chrestomathia." The curriculum embraced all "useful" subjects. The classics could not be included, and thus there began the controversy as to the merits of a Classical as compared with a Modern education. Bentham helped to frame Broughton's resolutions for Universal Secular State Education in the House in 1820, and he inspired his disciple Roebuck, so effectively that during the clash of measures in 1833 the Benthamite appeal for instruction in citizenship was still heard.

The utilitarian interest in education was however not anti-clerical in origin. It sprang from a deeper and older source. The roots of English state education are embedded in the Poor Law, and the State care of the poor had then become the object of grave enquiry. All hope of improvement, every vista of escape for the labouring poor, had been choked up by the Malthusian Law of Population. Competition appeared as much a law of biological necessity as of industrial well-being. If vice and misery were the consequence of the Biblical ordinance to replenish the earth, humanity demanded that the labourers should be taught dignity and continence. The School of Bentham incorporated the teaching of Malthus, and demanded State education as part of the machinery of utility in order to teach the workers of England sobriety and self help. Moreover, a philosophy based on a calculus of pleasure and pain assumed that each man knew his own interests. The social fabric was only possible on this assumption. The Benthamites aimed by state education at teaching citizens what their true interests were.

Bentham and Post War Britain.

In 1815 the war passed away, but prosperity did not arrive. Thwarted hopes and appalling social distress found vent in riots

which threatened the foundation of the State. A stringent coercive policy appeared to be the only bulwark of society. Bentham, a landed proprietor and an ex-Tory, appealed to the Tory governors to mitigate their ferocity. "Radicalism not Dangerous," in 1820 completed his political apostacy and captured the country. For the former opponent of Natural Rights had by a circuitous route alighted in their camp, and was now advocating their own conclusions.

Bentham, however, demanded universal suffrage and representative democracy, not as the superstructure to a society based in the Rights of Man, but as the machinery by which to identify the interests of people and government. He saw the close relation that existed between Law and the interests of a dominant class; by majority rule he sought to harmonise the conflicting interests in the body politic in the interests of all. Utility demanded that every human being should be considered as of equal legal value, that legislative power should depend not on property but on humanity, that a public office was a public trust. Rousseau and Bentham, so antagonistic in basic ideas, joined hands in their conclusions.

For the next 12 years Bentham was the outstanding International figure in the realm of law and politics. Every struggling Liberal cause found in him a sympathetic guide. Spanish nationalists and Portuguese constitutionalists appealed to him for advice. He became one of the foremost members of the Greek Committee. He made codes for Morocco and Egypt. To President Maddison he sent his Panomion a Code of universal validity. In 1823 he made a world-wide appeal to any nation desiring a Code, and he proclaimed his own credentials as a law-maker, for publicity was the soul of utility.

In England, if he was more than ever a recluse, he was becoming more than ever a force. He began what was to be his *chef d'œuvre,* his Constitutional Code, and his vision of a future society is portrayed in this uncompleted work. His conclusions were startling. For the representation of interests or property he substituted representation of Man. . . . He abolished Monarchy as being incompatible with the identity of interests between governor and governed. He abolished the House of Lords, because it was an aristocratic corporation. He appealed for a uni-cameral legislature based on universal suffrage, on equality of voting power, on the secret ballot, and on annual elections. He organised responsibility by the publication of debates and division lists, and by a constant appeal to the tribunal of public opinion. He created new government departments of Internal Communication, Indigence and Relief, Education and Health. He demanded a Public Defender. He instituted com-

petitive examinations for the recruitment of the civil service. He proposed centralised control over local administration. Above all, he insisted that law should be made only by the recognised public organs and not by Judge & Co. in their own interests, for Law was made for society, not for lawyers. His code was thus a charter of emancipation from lawyercraft and kingcraft, and his unfailing optimism saw it as the force to heal the world of the future.

Bentham had been gifted from youth with a capacity for intellectual domination. He now achieved the intellectual conquest of England. But as in all faiths, each priest soon interpreted the Master's teaching in a different light. The economists emphasised the harmony arrived at through self-seeking without any social control; the early English socialists insisted on Government carrying out its function of securing the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The rift within the creed was, however, not at once apparent. The orthodox Benthamites saw in Government only a sinister interest, interpreted freedom only as removal of legal restraint. It was against the advocacy of a barren freedom and an unequal individualism that the finer minds of the 19th century railed. In Carlyle's scathing words: "it was a scavenger age, appealing for Horse Hood and Dog Hood Suffrage," while "Sir Jabesh Windbags was being elected to power by the temporary hallelujahs of flunkeys." To Ruskin the ennobling of greed as an essential element in the state made for Illth, not Wealth.

But in Bentham's lifetime, the divergence was neither so apparent nor so wide, and a growing apostolate spread his doctrine. In 1821, James Mill founded the Political Economy Club. In 1823, the Younger Mill, in nurture the finest offspring of the new creed, founded the Utilitarian Society for the junior disciples. It included amongst it numbers, Prescott, Wm. Eyton Tooke, Wm. Ellis, Graham, Roebuck, Grote, Austin. They met in the Master's house, they studied his works and confronted the Owenites and Spenceans with ruthless logic, and achieved their own political education and graduated as the future leaders of public opinion, under the guidance of Bentham himself. In 1823 Bentham appealed to a wider circle by starting the Westminster Review. His disciples enthusiastically answered the call of Campbell and became the founders of the new secular University of London. They supported the struggling Mechanics Institutes. Of disciples there was now no end—Chadwick, Southwood Smith, Charles Hay Cameron, James Deacon Hume, Wakefield, Buller, Hodgskin, and even O'Connell. In vain the Tories, now by the swing of events transformed into a doctrinaire party, inveighed against the Professors of the Arts Babbletive and Scribbletive. Bentham effectively replied in his Book of Fallacies.

This effected by sarcasm what reason could not accomplish, and he followed up his attack by a trenchant onslaught on the ally of Toryism, the Established Church. "Not Paul but Jesus" was a counterblast to the whole clerical hierarchy, and, working with George Grote, they together produced under the pseudonym of Philip Beauchamp the "Analysis of the influence of Natural Religion on the temporal happiness of mankind." Using Benthamite language they attacked God as a sinister interest, His Power as an unconstitutional despolism, and the whole clerical hierarchy as a corporation opposed by interest to truth. The Tory mind saw the Church as the spiritual facet of Society slowly adapting itself to human needs, the Benthamites saw it as only a creation of Priestcraft, and they demanded the complete disestablishment and disendowment of the Church. But in his attack on this tradition, Bentham did not carry all his school with him. Wm. Allen, the whole Clapham sect, even his own secretary Bowring, held aloof, while by the irony of history the Neo-Catholic movement was just then being founded in Bentham's old university as a protest against the mechanical and rational outlook of the age. His prestige nevertheless coloured the whole of the democratic movement, and it gave force to the tradition, long maintained, and hardly yet eradicated, of the necessary alliance between irreligion and democracy, anti-clericalism and Radical thought.

More effective was his influence on the new Colonial life of Greater Britain, and the former author of "Emancipate your Colonies" made public recantation as the need for social control and scientific law-making became urgent in England's dependencies. In India his influence was exceptionally profound. James Mill was at the India Office. Silk Buckingham and Col. Young, two ardent disciples, were in India. Macaulay, a Utilitarian *malgre lui,* and Charles Hay Cameron, his colleague, a militant Benthamite, were soon to apply his legal and education principles on an alien soil. Bentinck on his appointment as Governor-General wrote with due humility, "I am going to British India, but I shall not be Governor-General. It is you will be Governor-General." Bentham with less modesty agreed. "One day I shall be the legislative power in India, 20 years after my death I shall reign there as despot." It was to Bentham that Edward Gibbon Wakefield came for aid to draw up his scheme for scientific colonisation, and the former author of "The Panopticon versus New South Wales" wrote as he saw the success of his plans, "I am reconciled to the loss of the Panopticon when I think of the mass of happiness that is being created there." The Magna Charta of Colonial Self-Government, the Durham Report, had for its chief author two Benthamites, Wakefield and Buller.

English Socialism also owes an inestimable debt of gratitude to the almost mythical exponent of stern individualism. With Owen, he possessed the bond of a common philanthropy, but Hodgskin was his secretary, and in his "Labour Defended," Hodgskin attacked, not Bentham, but Mill and Ricardo, with Utilitarian arguments based on the assumption that the very goal of government was the greatest happiness of its citizens. The political and economic strands began to diverge, but although patent enough in John Stuart Mill, the divergence was as yet dimly perceived. Wm. Thompson, his disciple, condemned the existing system of distribution on Utilitarian ethics, and claimed the teaching of Bentham as its effective reproof. Charles Hall advocated Progressive Taxation from Benthamite axioms. In J. S. Mill the struggle between traditional individualism and logical state action became painfully apparent, and he ended by advocating compulsory state education, and the social control over socially created values from Benthamite premises. The curious paradox that individual freedom, in the realm of labour as in the realm of law, could only be obtained by increased social control, ultimately made Mill declare himself a Socialist.

In his extreme old age, Bentham was the venerated head of a brilliant body of disciples; he still lived in his "hermitage" at Queen Square Place; he still toiled away at his Constitutional Code. His life had been singularly happy; he had never endured pain he had never suffered want. In his veneration of precision he had invented a new jargon, but he has been as felicitous in some of his verbal inventions as in his social inventions; and the terms maximize, minimize, codification, international, have been of inestimable value to clear political thinking.

In 1832, two days before the passing of the Reform Bill, to which he had contributed so much, he died in his "Hermitage." To avoid giving them grief, he sent his younger disciples away; he only asked to minimize pain. He bequeathed his body to science. Dr. Southwood Smith pronounced the funeral oration.

Of Bentham, it can faithfully be said, that his best monument is the record of social effort in the 19th Century. His ministry of love embraced every sentient creature. He had opposed all brutal sports, cockfighting, bull baiting, fox hunting. "The question is not," said he, "can they talk, can they reason, but can they suffer?" He had espoused the cause of every suffering class; he had advocated freedom for every struggling people, he had fought for every persecuted sect. But his scientific mind saw in pity a force which did not lend itself to calculation and legislation; he attempted therefore to cement a psychological hedonism with utilitarian altruism. If his psychology was premature, he nevertheless made potent a method of submitting every institution and every belief to the pitiless searchlight of utility.

Before the question, "What was the good of it?" incapacity, jobbery, nepotism slunk away.

If he was irreverent, it was because holy things had become corrupt, if he became a rebel, it was because authority had become irresponsible. His vision of society as a group of rational political equals cut athwart every conception of a social hierarchy. He shattered the theory that Kingcraft was government, that Priestcraft was the church. By substituting a teleological for a merely analytical conception of political obligation, he created a basis for judging the value of any government in its effects on the happiness of the ordinary man.

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THE BRITISH CABINET

A STUDY OF ITS PERSONNEL

1801—1924.

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THE BRITISH CABINET.

A STUDY OF ITS PERSONNEL.*

1801—1924.

I.

A full history of the English Cabinet would be one of the seminal works on the technique of representative government; for, as Bagehot was the first to point out, it has been the primary source of decision in the modern English institutional system. Few books, it must be added, would be so difficult to write. Until 1917, the Cabinet was without a secretary or authentic records; and there are even to-day purists who regret these obviously necessary innovations. What account we have of its working is thus necessarily spasmodic and partial in character. A statesman who took a note of some meeting where his Department was affected, a debate in the House of Commons after some dispute which has entailed resignation, a chance entry in a diary, the occasional revelations of autobiography, it is upon materials such as these that we are largely dependent for our knowledge. Even semi-official accounts, like those of Lord Morley and Mr. Gladstone, hardly give us more than the formal outline of the Cabinet as it functions.

Yet one clue to its character has been curiously neglected; and it illustrates, as it happens, the nature of the social system in England in a quite special way. We know the men who occupied Cabinet office; and by a careful study of who they were, we can at least draw some inferences of interest and even importance. These, let it be said at once, will not explain in any way the technique of the Cabinet system. But at least they will serve to measure the way in which the changes in the structure of English social life are reflected in the choice of those responsible for its effective governance.

The notes which follow are not intended to do more than point a way to the much more detailed analysis which requires to be made. They deal only with what may be called the modern period. They begin, that is to say, with the formation of the Addington administration in 1801; and they end with the Baldwin Government of 1924. They seek to answer certain obvious questions. Who were the men who entered the Cabinet in this century and a-quarter of history? Were they aristocrats or plebeians? What were their professions? Where were they educated? Is there a difference in the personnel of the Cabinet at one period and another? Does, for example, a widening of the franchise mean a widening of the area from which Cabinet ministers are chosen? Is there

*I am indebted to Mrs. A. Henderson and Mrs. L. Turin of the London School of Economics and Political Science for much help in the preparation of the tables which follow.

any difference in the type of men attracted to the service of the two parties, which until 1918, were the major political organisations in England? What is the main burden of the results discovered? What suggestions do they imply for the coming years?

Let us be clear, in the first place, about our definitions. The tables which follow will show how considerable and how prolonged has been the place of the aristocracy in the English Cabinet. How are we to fix the limit of that class? In England—very fortunately—there has never been an aristocracy of blood; all save the actual holders of peerages are, like the greengrocer and the bricklayer, commoners devoid of legal title to privilege. The English aristocracy, moreover, has always had a singular capacity, elsewhere unexampled, for absorbing external elements; lawyers, doctors, soldiers, sailors, business men and civil servants have been admitted within its confines. For the purposes, therefore, of this study the category has been defined as containing those Cabinet ministers who have been the sons of men possessing hereditary titles. On this definition, Sir Robert Peel was an aristocrat and Lord Brougham was not; the first Lord Selborne was not an aristocrat, while his son, the second Lord Selborne, was. It follows that the tables below are to some extent weighted against the aristocracy; for there are men who belong to ancient families, like Mr. Chichester Fortescue and Sir William Harcourt, who are excluded from that class. A word is necessary, also, upon the assignment of Cabinet ministers to their various professions. Those who are called lawyers, for example, do not include any except the men who definitely earned their livelihood as barristers or solicitors. Mr. Gladstone, for example, was called to the Bar, but as he never practised he finds no place among the lawyers. And, similarly, Macaulay, who practised on the Northern circuit for a few years (without success) is put, not among the lawyers, but, with Disraeli and Bulwer Lytton and Morley, among the men of letters on the ground that this was in fact his effective vocation. So, also, the category of soldiers and sailors includes men like St. Vincent and Wellington and Kitchener who were warriors *de carrière;* but it does not include the very large number of peers and their sons who spent a few brief years in the Guards or the Hussars without seeking seriously to make the naval or military profession their life-task. Where a Cabinet minister went to any British university, account has been taken of it; and where, as in the earlier part of the period it was not uncustomary, a statesmen went both to Oxford or Cambridge and to a Scottish University (like Lord Henry Petty) he has been credited to both. For the category of public schools, apart from Eton and Harrow, nine of the principal schools have been investigated. Finally, in discussing the distribution of types among the political parties, Mr. Gladstone's first administration of 1868 has been taken

as the starting point on the ground that the present political labels date most effectively from that period.

II.

In the period from 1801-1924 306 persons held Cabinet office.* Table I. gives the salient particulars about them.

TABLE I.

	Number.
Sons of Nobility	182
Sons of other parents	124
Educated at Oxford	118
Educated at Cambridge	81
Educated at Eton	83
Educated at Harrow	36
Educated at other Public Schools	53
Educated at other Universities	26
Lawyers	42
Soldiers and Sailors	8
Business men	23
Civil Servants	3
Men of Letters and Journalists	9
Trade Unionists	8

The interest of this table is considerable. Nearly sixty per cent. of Cabinet ministers were born of immediately aristocratic parentage; sixty-five per cent. were either at Oxford or Cambridge; twenty-three per cent. were Eton men, and over ten per cent. from Harrow, while seventeen per cent. were from eleven other great public schools. Thirty per cent. only were dependent upon their own efforts for a livelihood, and, of these nearly half were lawyers. In part, that is to be expected since the legal profession, as organised in England, is much the most compatible with a parliamentary career; while business men are, as a rule, only able at a comparatively late stage of their careers to devote themselves to politics. It is noticeable that very few Civil Servants have ever attained the eminence of Cabinet rank; and that, thus far, the number of trade unionists is very small. Had this analysis, indeed, ended in 1905, it would have contained the name of no working man.

Broadly speaking, the aristocracy with which we are concerned consists of a thousand families; but the actual number from which Cabinet ministers have been drawn is much smaller. The Cecil family and its relatives, for example, have contributed six Cabinet ministers to the total; the House of Grey five; the House of Stanley four; four families have three Cabinet ministers each, and twenty-seven families two each. Among commoners, not unnaturally, no such persistent attain-

* The Lloyd George War Cabinet is counted as having contained five members only. This seems the fairer procedure, as many of the offices were temporary, and many of their holders took no part in politics [illegible]

ment of office exists. Two Gladstones, three Chamberlains, two Harcourts and two Balfours exhaust the list. The explanation, of course, is largely personal and economic. A considerable section of the English aristocracy enters Parliament at an early age; and they are thus able to take advantage both of family prestige and freedom from material care. With commoners this is much more rarely the case, unless as with the Chamberlains, the creation of an independent fortune makes devotion to business unnecessary.

The mere totals of this personnel do not, however, give an adequate picture of the evolution that has taken place. The period from 1801-1924 is divisible into certain well-marked epochs. There is the period (I.) from 1801-1831—the *ancien régime* of modern English politics. There is the period (II.) from 1832-1866 marked by the first Reform Act. There is the period from (III.) 1867-1884 marked by the second, and the period from 1885-1905 marked by the third Reform Act. In 1900 came the Taff Vale Decision and, as a consequence, the entry of the trade unions into politics as the Labour Party. This gives us another well-defined period (IV.) from 1906-1916, when the emergence of Mr. Lloyd George as Prime Minister reaped the fruits of the war period; the final epoch (V.) from 1917-1924 saw the acceptance of the Labour Party as the official opposition and its first experience of office. Each of these periods deserves separate analysis. For their explanation it should be noted that each minister is counted separately if he held office, as did men like Gladstone and Disraeli, in more than one period. A number of ministers, therefore, appear more than once in the tables which follow.

TABLE II.

Period I. 1801-1831. Total number of Ministers 71.

	Number.
Sons of nobility	52
Sons of other parents	19
Educated at Oxford	24
Educated at Cambridge	24
Educated at other Universities	7
Educated at Eton	20
Educated at Harrow	9
Educated at other Public Schools	13
Lawyers	4
Soldiers and Sailors	2
Business men	1
Civil Servants	1
Men of Letters and Journalists	0

Seventy-three per cent. of the Cabinet were, therefore, in this period aristocrats. Every Cabinet minister was a university man, and some sixty per cent. were public school men, of whom Eton provided half. Only one business man attained high office; and the small number of lawyers—all of whom

held legal posts, is explained by Lord Eldon's long tenure of the Chancellorship. Obviously, in this first period, the Cabinet was a closely-guarded preserve of the aristocracy.

TABLE III.

Period II. 1832-1866. Total number of Ministers 100.

	Number.
Sons of nobility	64
Sons of other parents	36
Educated at Oxford	38
Educated at Cambridge	30
Educated at other Universities	10
Educated at Eton	27
Educated at Harrow	11
Educated at other Public Schools	17
Lawyers	12
Soldiers and Sailors	3
Business men	5
Civil Servants	2
Men of Letters and Journalists	3

The period shows a slight decline (sixty-four per cent. to seventy-three per cent.) in the number of aristocrats; a slight decline, also, in the number of university men, as also a slight increase in the number of public school men. There is a perceptible increase in the number of lawyers (partly accounted for by rapid changes in the Chancellorship) and in the number of business men. Men of letters also appear effectively in the Cabinet for the first time. But, taken as a whole, it cannot be said that the Reform Act of 1832 exerted any remarkable influence on the character of the Cabinet.

Table IV. gives similar statistics for the period from 1867-1884.

TABLE IV.

Period III. 1867-1884. Total number of Ministers 58.

	Number.
Sons of nobility	35
Sons of other parents	23
Educated at Cambridge	12
Educated at Cambridge	12
Educated at other Universities	3
Educated at Eton	20
Educated at Harrow	5
Educated at other Public Schools	9
Lawyers	9
Soldiers and Sailors	1
Business men	6
Civil Servants	1
Men of Letters and Journalists	1

There is, again, a slight decline in aristocratic personnel (sixty per cent. to sixty-four per cent.) as compared with the second period; though, after two Reform Acts, the degree of its influence remains remarkable. Seventy-seven per cent. of ministers were university men, and sixty per cent. public school men. There is, proportionately, again a slight increase in the number of lawyers and business men.

Table V. gives the statistics for the period from 1885-1905:—

TABLE V.

Period IV. 1885-1905. Total number of Ministers 69.

	Number.
Sons of nobility	40
Sons of other parents	29
Educated at Oxford	35
Educated at Cambridge	17
Educated at other Universities	5
Educated at Eton	25
Educated at Harrow	9
Educated at other Public Schools	12
Lawyers	9
Soldiers and Sailors	0
Business men	6
Civil Servants	0
Men of Letters and Journalists	1

The percentage of the aristocracy (fifty-eight per cent.) is practically identical with that of the third period. The percentage of university men is eighty-three—an increase probably due to the reforms of 1854—and of public school men sixty-five. The other figures show no considerable divergences from those of the earlier period.

Table VI. gives the same statistics for the period from 1906-1916:—

TABLE VI.

Period V. 1906-1916. Total number of Ministers 51.

	Number.
Sons of nobility	25
Sons of other parents	26
Educated at Oxford	20
Educated at Cambridge	16
Educated at other Universities	5
Educated at Eton	12
Educated at Harrow	5
Educated at other Public Schools	8
Lawyers	9
Soldiers and Sailors	1
Business men	5
Civil Servants	0
Men of Letters and Journalists	3
Academic	1
Trade Unionists	2

In this period the most notable fact is that the number of aristocrats is, for the first time, less than the number of commoners. The number of university men remains broadly constant, but the number of public school men shows a distinct decline (from sixty-five per cent. to fifty per cent.). There is, also, an increase in the number of lawyers, and the category of trade unionists makes its first appearance. Broadly, it may be said that this is the first of the periods under discussion in which commoners begin obviously to gain upon the aristocracy. Whatever the measures of the nineteenth century, until 1906, the broadening of the franchise and the improvement of the means of education had not, in one hundred years of Cabinet history, seriously affected the hold of the aristocracy upon the pivotal posts of government.

Table VII. gives the statistics for the period from 1917 to 1924:—

TABLE VII.

Period VI. 1917-1924. Total number of Ministers 52.

	Number.
Sons of nobility	14
Sons of other parents	38
Educated at Oxford	18
Educated at Cambridge	9
Educated at other Universities	4
Educated at Eton	6
Educated at Harrow	8
Educated at other Public Schools	11
Lawyers	8
Soldiers and Sailors	1
Business men	4
Civil Servants	1
Men of Letters and Journalists	3
Academic	0
Trade Unionists	8

The changes represented by the foregoing table, which includes the members of the first Labour Government, are obviously profound. The aristocracy represents only twenty-seven per cent., the universities sixty, and the public schools only fifty per cent. of the total. There are as many trade unionists as lawyers; and there are twice as many lawyers as business men. Obviously enough, had there been two Labour Governments within the period, the influence of the aristocracy on the personnel of the Cabinet would have been small indeed. It is clear, further, that the position of the Labour Party in the House of Commons means that the decline in the percentage of university men is likely for a considerable period to be large; as also that the number of trade unionists is likely to remain fairly stable as at some such size as at least one-third of each Labour Cabinet.

III.

The statistics may now be analysed from the angle of party. In the period since 1868—omitting the Coalition Government of 1917-22—there have been seven Conservative, seven Liberal, and one Labour, Governments; to which must be added the Asquith Coalition of 1915, in which only experienced, so to say, professional Parliamentarians found a place. Table VIII. gives the same statistics as in previous tables for the different parties involved:—

TABLE VIII. (1868—1924).

Name of Party:	Conservative.	Liberal.	Labour
Sons of Nobility	40	31	3
Sons of other parents ...	40	42	16
Educated at Oxford ...	38	28	3
Educated at Cambridge ...	16	23	2
Educated at other Universities	4	3	1
Educated at Eton... ...	31	14	0
Educated at Harrow ...	15	6	1
Educated at other Public Schools	13	12	3
Lawyers	15	17	2
Soldiers and Sailors ...	1	1	1
Business men	6	9	1
Civil Servants	0	1	1
Men of letters and Journalists	1	5	3
Academic	0	0	0
Trade Unionists	0	2	7

These figures suggest that no very considerable difference has existed between the Liberal and Conservative Parties in the period under review. A Conservative Cabinet tends to be slightly more aristocratic than a Liberal Cabinet and to specialise in the possession of ministers who have been at the great public schools. The only man of letters in a Conservative Cabinet was Disraeli; but the Liberals have five who earned their living by writing. The Labour Cabinet contained three aristocrats, one of whom—Lord Chelmsford—was not a member of the party; and it is notable as having been the first Cabinet since 1801 which contained no Eton man. Certain other conclusions suggest themselves. Apart from Mr. John Burns—since Mr. Arthur Henderson's appointment was an accident of the war period—no trade unionist has ever sat in either a Conservative or a Liberal Cabinet; and there exists to-day no member of Parliament belonging to a trade union who—apart from a Coalition Government—would be likely to find a place there.

It is interesting from this angle to take a number of Cabinets in detail since 1868, and to compare them with one another. For this purpose I have tabulated (Table IX.) Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet of 1868, Mr. Disraeli's of 1874, Mr. Balfour's of 1900, Mr. Asquith's of 1908, and Mr. Baldwin's of 1924; Mr. MacDonald's Cabinet being put alongside for the purposes of comparison:—

TABLE IX.

Name of Government:	Gladstone (1868).	Disraeli (1874).	Balfour (1902)	Asquith (1908).	MacDonald (1924).	Baldwin (1924).
Sons of Nobility	8	10	12	6	3	9
Sons of other parents ...	11	7	11	14	17	12
Educated at Oxford ...	10	9	11	7	3	12
Educated at Cambridge ...	3	2	6	8	2	4
Educated at other Universities	1	1	1	1	1	1
Educated at Eton ...	3	9	11	4	0	5
Educated at Harrow ...	0	1	2	3	2	6
Educated at other Public Schools	5	2	5	4	4	4
Lawyers	3	2	4	6	2	6
Soldiers and Sailors ...	0	0	0	0	1	0
Business men	4	1	2	2	1	2
Civil Servants	1	0	0	0	1	0
Men of Letters and Journalists	0	1	0	1	3	0
Trade Unionists	0	0	0	1	8	0

Obviously there are no very great differences between these Cabinets, apart from the Labour Government. It will be noticed that, apart from the Asquith Cabinet of 1908, and that of Mr. MacDonald, the number of ministers dependent for their living upon their vocation is small; in no case other than the two noted is it more than one-third of the total Cabinet. Again there is a tendency for Liberal Cabinets to be slightly less aristocratic than Conservative. The effective predominance of Eton men among Conservative ministers is remarkable; and it is amusing to note that a Conservative Prime Minister educated at Eton, Lord Balfour, had colleagues almost half of whom were Eton men, while the Cabinet of a Harrow Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, has in it the largest number of Harrow men ever collected in a single Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone's administration of 1868 was the first Cabinet in which no Harrovian, that of Mr. MacDonald the first in which no Etonian, found a place.

IV.

Certain general characteristics of the figures here collected may be noted. In our period, 306 persons held Cabinet office, and of them 182 were aristocrats. But, if we subtract from the 306 the 93 who earned their living, no less than 213, or practically seventy per cent., were rentiers. Not less

remarkable is the small number of professions from which the Cabinet has been drawn. Outside the rentiers, practically five categories exhaust the list. No scientist, no engineer, and no doctor* has ever been a member of the Cabinet; and, with the exception of Mr. Herbert Fisher whose appearance was an accident of the War, no academic person, though, for a brief period, both Robert Lowe and Viscount Gladstone were university dons.

It is interesting to discover the parental occupations of the non-aristocratic members of the Cabinet in the period. Table X. gives these for the 124 persons who form this class:

TABLE X.

Parental Occupation.	Number.
Soldiers and Sailors	6
Lawyers	18
Business men	36
Clergy	20
Teachers	2
Doctors	4
Men of Letters	1
Artists	1
Civil Servants	1
Renters	23
Working men	12

From this table certain obvious conclusions emerge. It is clear, in the first place, that the distribution of occupations among the parents of Cabinet ministers is wider than among the ministers themselves. That business men should form the largest parental class is notable. But it is probably explained by the fact that most of them, like the Goschens and Chamberlains and Peases, were successful business men who were able either to support their sons during a parliamentary career—as Tierney—or to give them an education which permitted an alternative career like the law. The number of clergymen is explained partly by the fact that some of them, as Sir William Harcourt's father, were connections of ancient families and thus able to command political influence, and partly by the fact that all of them were able to give their sons a university education; most, in fact, were comfortably endowed. The number of rentiers, which here includes members of " county " families, is comparatively small; though had this investigation been concerned only with membership of the House of Commons, or even with minor ministerial posts, it would have been very much larger. It is worth remarking that, apart from Mr. John Burns and Mr. Henderson, no member of any Cabinet previous to that of Mr. MacDonald was the son of a working man.

I have spoken above of the educational training of Cabinet

* Dr. Addison was, of course, Minister of Health under Mr. Lloyd George, but his appointment was hardly less abnormal than that of Mr. Fisher.

Ministers, and it is perhaps worth while to examine the statistics in some little detail. Among the 118 Oxford men in the list, no less than sixteen colleges are represented. But sixty of the Oxford Cabinet ministers were at Christ Church, and Balliol, which is next in the list, has only seventeen, being closely followed by Oriel with twelve, and University with ten, respectively. Within these figures, one or two facts are worth noting. The predominance of Christ Church is almost entirely due to its aristocratic connection, particularly in the period before 1867; since that time its degree of representation has declined. Of the Balliol men, all, except one, date from the epoch of Jowett. The Oriel men are mostly confined within the period when Hawkins and Copleston had made it the outstanding college in Oxford; while nearly half of the representation from University College is due to the Cecil family. Of the Cambridge results somewhat similar remarks may be made. Of the eighty-one Cambridge men who attained Cabinet rank, fifty-four came from Trinity alone. St. John's has eleven, and Trinity Hall five, the remainder being distributed among six colleges. In view of its influence in the University, and especially its connection with Eton, it is a little surprising to find that only two Cabinet ministers came from King's College. Of the ministers educated at other universities nine were from Edinburgh, and six from London. It is notable that except for Mr. Neville Chamberlain's brief attendance at Birmingham University; no Cabinet minister has been so far produced by one of the newer university institutions.

There is another aspect of interest from which these figures may be analysed. Dividing Cabinet ministers into aristocrats and commoners, Table XI. gives their age at entrance into the House of Commons and the Cabinet in three periods within the last century and a quarter.

TABLE XI.

	Period: 1801-1867.	Period: 1867-1905.	Period: 1905-1924.	Government of Mr. Baldwin.	Government of Mr. MacDonald.
Age of entrance of Aristocrats into House of Commons	25.5	26.5	29	31.2	32.5
Age of entrance of Aristocrats into the Cabinet.	45.9	43.4	44.5	44	55
Age of entrance of Commoners into House of Commons	35.9	38.7	40	42.8	43.4
Age of entrance of Commoners into the Cabinet.	55	52.7	54.4	51.1	57.6

From this table three obvious conclusions can be drawn. Aristocrats, firstly, enter the House of Commons and the Cabinet ten years earlier, on the average, than commoners. The average age, secondly, at which men enter the House of Commons is rising for both classes; for aristocrats it has risen from 25 to 29, and for commoners from 35.9 to 40. The average age, thirdly, at which aristocrats entered the Cabinet has slightly declined during the period, as is true also, the MacDonald Cabinet apart, with commoners. The high average age at which aristocrats in Mr. MacDonald's Cabinet first received such office is, of course, due to quite exceptional circumstances. What is mainly remarkable in the whole table is the immense differential advantage in time which an aristocratic politician receives by reason of his birth.

V.

"In England," wrote Matthew Arnold some fifty years ago,* "the Government is composed of a string of aristocratical personages, with one or two men from the professional class who are engaged with them." Of the English Cabinet system until 1905 this is no unfair account; and, if since that time, the generalisation has lost some part of its force, it is still by no means negligible.

For anyone who reflects upon the statistics here collected will be driven to certain irresistible inferences. The three Reform Acts of the nineteenth century made little essential difference to the position of the aristocracy in politics. Policy may have changed, but the men who made policy came in much the same degree from the same origins as their predecessors. Even to-day, the aristocracy, together with the lawyer and the rentier, still possesses a predominance in the personnel of English politics. Though the advent of the Labour Party has altered for the moment the proportion of that predominance, it is by no means certain that it will not continue. For, in the first place, the Labour Party needs lawyers, and accordingly, offers better prospects of speedy appointment to office than either of its rivals. If, moreover, Labour remains the alternative government, it will attract the more radical-minded members of the aristocracy in the same way that the Liberal Party used to do; and in that event, especially if the House of Lords remains unreformed, the aristocratic member of the Labour Party will have the same, if not greater, opportunities than he retains elsewhere. This thesis, of course, rests upon the assumption that there is no drastic alteration in the laws of property and inheritance.

For the root of the hold retained by the members of the aristocracy is economic in character. In part, and perhaps mainly, it is derived from the possession of an income which renders them independent of the need to earn a living. In a lesser degree, the territorial influence of the aristocracy enables

* Mixed Essays, p. 164.

it to find seats for its members with less difficulty, and at an earlier age, than is possible for other classes. The only real competitors of the rentier in the Conservative Party are the lawyers; for, as has been pointed out, the number of vocations compatible with politics is small, and unless business men have independent means they enter the House of Commons (even more, the House of Lords) too late to embark upon a political career which may lead them to the Cabinet. It is worth while noting, moreover, that until 1905 this was also true of the Liberal Party; and, since that date, it is significant that the leaders of that party were either lawyers or men of independent means. Nor are there signs that, so far as the Conservative Party is concerned, the change is a great one. The party contained, in November, 1926, 410 members. Of these fifty-three were lawyers, fifty-three aristocrats, and 129 rentiers; while eighteen were retired soldiers and sailors, and, of the remainder, more than eighty were possessed of means other than their vocational source of income. And, as in the case of Cabinet ministers, there was a difference in average age in the party between aristocrats and commoners of more than ten years. Nor is it insignificant that most of those likely to attain office in the Cabinet in the coming years belong to the three special classes noted.

The position of the business and working classes in the system is peculiar and interesting. The House of Commons has always, since 1832, contained a very considerable proportion of business men, and, since 1895, an increasing proportion. There is, however, no sign that they are likely to enter the Cabinet in any increasing degree. They enter the House too late to make a sufficient impression upon its leaders; and they cannot, like members of the Labour Party, rest satisfied with the standard of life which a Member of Parliament's salary makes possible. Where they are outstandingly successful, on the other hand, their sons not seldom enter the House and, later, the Cabinet. A business man, therefore, can, within the ambit of our system, found a dynasty of rentiers to whom the Cabinet will lie open, even while he can hardly hope to enter it himself.

The position of the Labour member is different. The salary of a Member of Parliament, with the possibility further of a supplementary income from his trade union, offers the very considerable trade-union section of the party the chance of a fairly long parliamentary career at a standard of life which they regard as comfortable. For this section, however, the drawbacks are two in number from the angle of office. The period which must elapse before the average trade-unionist can hope for a safe seat from his party sends him into the House later than most other members; while defeat at a general election may, unless he is an official of his union, find him

without employment.* He is, moreover, rarely in a position to send his children into the House of Commons; Mr. Henderson is, so far, the only Labour Member who has sat in the House with his own sons. The non-trade union section of the Labour Party is, with the exception of the Clyde group, in much the same position as members of the other parties. They are lawyers, rentiers, teachers, doctors, and their ability to pursue a parliamentary career depends upon the same considerations as affect the Conservative or the Liberal. The number of professions compatible with a political career is limited; and, broadly, the trade-union official in the Labour Party has the same kind of advantage as the rentier or the lawyer.

A word should be said about the influence of the universities. It has obviously been profound. But, also, it is in a large degree secondary in character, since the men who went to the universities are, for the most part, the men who would in any case have entered the House. Where the university has counted is in the connections it has formed for men who, otherwise, would not have found the avenue to the House as direct as they did. Gladstone's Oxford friendship with Lord Lincoln gave him the opportunity of Newark; without it, he might have had to wait much longer for a seat. And it is clear that neither London, nor the provincial and Scottish universities, carry with them the same social connotation as Oxford and Cambridge. The claim that these are the nurses of statesmen means but little in the sense that the art of government can be acquired there. But in the sense that they open avenues more easily for those not of the aristocracy the claim is not to be denied. They are an integral part of that government by connection which is still influential in England.

The broad fact is that political democracy in England has still developed very imperfectly. There is no large equality of opportunity. Were similar tables to these compiled for the Cabinets of France since 1870 and the United States since 1789, the results would show an immense difference. In France the Government of the Third Republic has been drawn almost entirely from the professional and middle classes; in the United States, though there was a considerable aristocratic and rentier element before the Civil War, the basis of government has been even wider than in France. Neither in America nor in France has the mind and imagination of the middle and working classes been subdued by the aristocracy as they have been in this country. Our liberty has not been paralleled by equality: and the conditions of our political institutions maintain that submission to the aristocracy by reason of the economic system they involve.

* One Labour ex-Member of Parliament was compelled, in 1924, to apply

It is, of course, idle to seek to measure the degree of permanence in our present methods. Any aristocratic system which, like the English, has had a considerable degree of public spirit, has obvious and great advantages over a purely democratic system. Its members are trained to the art of politics at an early age; and they acquire more easily than others the faculty of command and the ability to use other men gracefully which are so important. Yet they possess it at a heavy price to the rest of the community. For an aristocracy, however public spirited, is by its nature exclusive; and the experience it knows at first-hand is bound to be unduly narrow. In a state like our own where the equal claim of men on the common good is the touchstone of policy, the differential advantages which the present order implies make against the full understanding of wants by those who are called to rule. The English aristocracy, moreover, has long passed the zenith of its power. It no longer has a monopoly of the qualities which make for effective governance. It may even be said that the problems which confront civilisation to-day are of a kind which call less for the qualities of an aristocracy than almost any others that can be imagined.

If we are, indeed, to place the full experience of our society at its service, the barriers of privilege which we still, as here shown, retain, are not merely anomalous, but even undesirable. We are still living by what Matthew Arnold called our religion of inequality. We still offer special advantages in the search for power to those whose interest it is to prevent the democratisation of the present order. To change it, doubtless, is a delicate and difficult business, since it involves an alteration in the distribution of wealth and inheritance. Yet no society can genuinely humanise its institutions save as it becomes a community of equals. Equality alone can breed responsibility and elevation of mind in the multitude. Our system confers those habits upon a small number of men; but the privileges it offers to birth and wealth prevent their extension to the masses. For when new ideas are changing the perspective of men's habit of thought, those can most usefully exercise power who see their implication. It is the thesis of our system to open the road to authority less to these men than to those sections of society who have most to lose by their introduction and acceptance.

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PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Points from Prospectuses.

PUBLIC Ownership of various services and undertakings is one of the main tenets of the Socialist, who claims that by that means a more equitable distribution of income can be secured, and the service itself run with a single eye to the public needs instead of for the pecuniary benefit of a limited number of persons. Public Ownership, whether it be called Nationalisation, Municipalisation, or anything else, is bitterly opposed by those who control finance, industry and the Press—"Big Business," in fact—the principal allegation being that when a concern is run by servants of the community, it is a financial failure.

It is possible, however, to apply to this contention an extremely rigorous test. Capital is required from time to time for the creation or extension of publicly owned undertakings, just as it is for private enterprises, and it is raised from the public in just the same way, except that, the security being so much better, the publicly owned undertaking can obtain all the capital required on "debenture terms," i.e., at the lowest rate, instead of having to issue part in preference shares at a higher rate, and part in ordinary shares yielding a much higher rate to the investor, failing which the capital would not be provided. In each case a prospectus is issued. *The difference between a political speech or statement, and a statement in a prospectus is that if the latter is false, the investor who has provided capital, has redress against those who misled him.* Prospectus figures and statements, therefore, regarding publicly owned undertakings, are incontestable, and the fact that the financial houses, banks and others responsible for the prospectuses belong to those sections of the community that are hostile to the principle of public ownership, makes their testimony the more valuable.

In the following pages will be found a few examples of statements contained in recent prospectuses or other official documents, the date and other means of verification being given in every case.

It should be added that while Socialists attach even more importance to the quality of service or product than to the question of profitable operation in a monetary sense, only the latter point is dealt with in the following pages. Few people will be found to argue that London water, for instance, was

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The proceeds of the present Issue of Stock will be applied for Waterworks, Electricity Works, Street Improvements, Housing, Sewerage and other purposes and for paying off Existing Loans.—*Prospectus dated London, October 26th,* 1926.

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The existing Borrowing Powers of the Corporation total £6,621,362, of which £5,103,404 has been exercised; the total outstanding debt is £3,300,705, of which £1,186,363 is in respect of reproductive undertakings, including Waterworks, Electricity works, Markets, Cold Stores and Ice Manufactory, Tramways, Trolley Omnibuses and Motor Omnibuses. The gross (or Trading) Profit upon the Trading Undertakings of the Corporation for the year ended March 31st, 1926, was £175,919, which represents an average of 8.5 per cent. upon the Capital Expenditure, or 15.5 per cent. on the net outstanding debt, and after providing for Interest and Sinking Fund Charges, left a surplus of £52,293.

The proceeds of the present Issue of Stock will be applied for Waterworks, Electricity Works, Street Improvements, Housing, Trolley Omnibuses and other purposes, and for paying off Existing Loans.—*Prospectus dated London, October 5th,* 1926.

NOTE.—*All publicly owned undertakings pay off year by year the capital they have raised, and in course of time set free for price reductions or other purposes the interest thus saved. An equally prosperous company would probably issue bonus shares, thus* increasing *the capital on which profits have to be earned.*

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The Borrowing Powers of the Corporation total £27,170,997, of which £23,691,372 has been exercised; the total outstanding debt is £16,051,753, of which £8,350,052 is in respect of reproductive undertakings, including Waterworks, Electricity Works, Gasworks, Tramways and Markets. The gross (or Trading) Profit upon the Trading Undertakings of the Corporation for the year ended March 31st, 1925, was £723,930, which represents an average of 6.20 per cent. upon the Capital Expenditure, and after providing for Interest and Sinking Fund Charges, left a net surplus of £106,700.—*Prospectus dated London, June 18th, 1926.*

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE A GREAT MUNICIPAL LANDOWNER.

The Freehold Landed Estates of the Corporation extend over a considerable area, and consist, in addition to extensive properties within the City, of the Walker Estate, which comprises the Lordship of Walker, containing 1,000 acres on the North Bank of the River Tyne, adjoining the City; Willington Estate, containing 99 acres, also on the North Bank of the River Tyne; and the Salt Meadows Estate, containing 83 acres on the South Bank of the river, in the County Borough of Gateshead; the Corporation also owns valuable Coal Royalties.

The land is chiefly let on building and improving leases for terms of 75 and 99 years, and will yearly become of increasing value as the periods approach when the leases will fall in.

The Corporation are also owners of Quays extending along the most valuable portion of the river, and of Tramways, Parks, Markets, and properties in the City from which a large annual income is derivable.

The total assets of the Corporation amount to £11,499,944, and the total liabilities, including the debt of the City according to the last published Accounts, are £7,038,791, leaving a surplus of assets over liabilities of £4,461,153.

The Borrowing Powers of the Corporation total £12,776,020, of which £9,733,234 has been exercised; the total outstanding debt is £6,451,055, of which £4,528,205 is in respect of reproductive undertakings. These include Markets and Tramways, the Gross (or Trading) Profit upon which for the year ended March 31st, 1926, was £164,428, which represents an average of 6.83 per cent. upon the Capital Expenditure or 14.11 per cent. upon the net Outstanding Debt, and after providing for Interest and Sinking Fund Charges, left a net surplus of £52,672.—*Prospectus dated London, December 7th, 1926.*

SWANSEA'S "LARGE AND VALUABLE ESTATE."

The existing Borrowing Powers of the Corporation total £7,323,130, of which £6,246,863 has been exercised; the total outstanding debt is £4,411,463, of which £2,030,832 is in respect of reproductive undertakings, including Waterworks, Electricity Works, Tramways and Markets. The gross (or Trading) Profit upon the Trading Undertakings of the Corporation for the year ended March 31st, 1926, was £137,569, which represents an average of 5.5 per cent. upon the Capital Expenditure, or 8.9 per cent. on the net outstanding debt, and after providing for Interest and Sinking Fund Charges, left a net surplus of £22,883.

In addition to the reproductive undertakings mentioned the Corporation is possessed of a large and valuable Estate which yielded a surplus revenue during the year ended March 31st, 1926, of £19,242. This net income is increasing year by year as development proceeds and existing leases mature.

The proceeds of the present Issue of Stock will be applied for Waterworks, Electricity Works, Sewerage Works, Street Improvement, Small Dwellings Acquisition, and other purposes, and for paying off Existing Loans.—*Prospectus dated London, September 28th, 1926.*

BRISTOL'S BIG SURPLUS.

Financial Statistics relating to the City and County of Bristol:—

Capital Assets and Outlay:—

Properties, Outlay and Permanent Works:—	
General Purposes	£9,541,728
Docks and Electricity Undertakings ...	8,605,520
Total ...	18,147,248
Deduct Net Loan Debt	11,741,713
Surplus Capital Assets and Outlay	£6,405,535

Prospectus dated Bristol, November 14th, 1925.

NOTE.—*Bristol is one of the few big cities in Britain that does not own its trams, but it has its own electricity undertaking, estates and docks.*

NOTTINGHAM'S 21 PER CENT. PROFIT.

The total assets of the Corporation amount to £17,308,555, and the total liabilities, including the debt of the City according to the last published Accounts, are £10,885,552, leaving a surplus of assets over liabilities of £6,423,003.

The Borrowing Powers of the Corporation total £16,418,100,

of which £13,808,518 has been exercised ; the outstanding debt is £8,044,922, of which £5,044,319 is in respect of reproductive undertakings, including Waterworks, Electricity Works, Gas Works, Tramway Undertaking, Trolley Vehicles and Motor Omnibuses.

The gross (or Trading) Profit upon the Gas Works, Electricity Works and Tramway Undertaking for the year ended March 31st, 1926, was £378,291, which represents an average of 10.9 per cent. upon the Capital Expenditure, or 21.4 per cent on the net outstanding debt, and after providing for Interest and Redemption Charges, left a net surplus of £136,652.

The Corporation also owns Estates from which it receives a gross rent roll exceeding £50,000 per annum.

The proceeds of the present Issue of Stock will be applied for Electricity Works, Street Improvements, Housing and other purposes and for paying off Existing Loans.—*Prospectus dated London, December 17th,* 1926.

GLASGOW'S £16,500,000 SURPLUS ASSETS.

GLASGOW CORPORATION 5 PER CENT. LOANS.

The Corporation can receive Loans on MORTGAGE for three to five years at 5 per cent. Interest payable half-yearly.

These Loans are a Trust Investment of the highest order, secured under the Loans Acts on the combined Municipal Assets, Rates, and Properties, and an Unlimited Guarantee Rate. The Assets of the Corporation exceed the Liabilities by over £16,500,000.

Mortgages are prepared Free of all Cost to Lenders, and no Fees are charged for the Registration of Transfers, Confirmations, etc.

A. C. McMILLAN, C.A.,
285, George Street, Glasgow, C.I. City Chamberlain.
Official advertisement, Glasgow, March, 1927.

WAKEFIELD'S GOOD SURPLUS.

The existing Borrowing Powers of the Corporation total £3,907,788, of which £2,453,077 has been exercised ; the outstanding debt is £1,722,907, of which amount £1,414,910, or 82 per cent., represents productive debt. The gross (or Trading) Profit upon the Trading Undertakings of the Corporation for the year ended March 31st, 1926, was £88,782, which is equal to 5.9 per cent. upon the Capital Expenditure and 9.4 per cent. on the net outstanding debt, and after providing for Interest and Sinking Fund Charges, left a surplus of £14,054. The assets are valued at £2,591,099.—*Prospectus dated London, November 1st,* 1926.

BLACKPOOL EARNS 18 PER CENT.

Through Corporation and General Securities the Corporation of Blackpool is offering for subscription to-day £750,000 of 5 per cent. Redeemable stock at the price of £100 10s. per. cent., or ½ per cent. premium. The stock is repayable at par on January 1st, 1957, unless previously redeemed, but the Corporation has the option to repay at par at any time on or after January 1st, 1947, on three months' notice.

The proceeds of the issue will be used principally in connection with the purchase of land, street improvements, gas and electricity undertakings, parks and recreation grounds, and the repayment of existing loans.

Among provincial municipalities Blackpool occupies a very favourable position. A return prepared of rates levied for the current financial year in 206 important towns shows that Blackpool was the lowest rated borough, the present rate being only 7s. 6d. in the £. Moreover, of the net outstanding debt, amounting to £4,386,305, no less than £2,312,351, or 53 per cent. represents productive expenditure, while the gross profit from the Corporation's trading undertakings for the year to March 31st last was equal to 11 per cent. on the capital outlay involved and to 18 per cent. on the net outstanding debt.—*Financial Times*, London, February 16th, 1927, commenting upon Prospectus of 5 per cent. Loan.

Municipal Landowners

BRITISH Corporations are mostly large landowners. Not only do they own parks, markets and other freehold sites within their boundaries, but often they possess important properties elsewhere. Thus the City of Newcastle is the owner of the famous Walker Estate, covering 1,000 acres, on the north bank of the Tyne. Nottingham, again, owns estates which bring in an annual income of no less than £50,000 a year.

Such estates are but one minor item in the " property, rates and revenues " of a British Corporation on which the Loans it issues are secured. There are all the other assets possessed by the Corporation in the shape of buildings, tramways, gas and electricity works, waterworks, etc., while behind all these stands the Ratepayer.

It may be said, indeed, that the security behind British Corporation stocks is the British Ratepayer, first in his corporate capacity as the owner of all municipal assets and then in his capacity as a private citizen liable to meet from his personal fortune all the demands made upon him by the city in which he lives. Can any investor ask for better or more adequate security?

The stocks of British Public Authorities can be bought to yield the holder an income of 5 per cent. clear, just enough more than Government stocks to make the difference attractive, and their soundness is such that they form the ideal investment either for trustees or individuals.

This announcement is issued by Corporation and General Securities, Ltd., in the interests of the many British Corporations and other local authorities it has the honour to serve. No correspondence is invited. Investors wishing to learn more of this class of security should communicate with Members of the London or Provincial Stock Exchanges.

Advertisement in *Investors' Chronicle*, July 2nd, 1927.

Assets - £24,005,466
Liabilities - £16,821,059
Surplus - £7,184,407

SHEFFIELD! How proud a business organisation would be were it able to place such figures as these on its balance sheet. They represent the financial position of the City of Sheffield valued as a going concern. Over 75% of Sheffield's net debt is in respect of reproductive undertakings, which earned a gross profit of 10·82% on the net debt outstanding; leaving, after interest and sinking fund, a surplus of over a quarter of a million pounds, for the last financial year.

These reproductive undertakings include Water, Tramways, Electric Supply, Markets and Abattoirs.

Similar figures could be presented by many other cities and towns throughout Great Britain. They provide just one of the many reasons why British Corporation stocks are popular with investors.

No wonder, then, that these stocks rank next to British Government securities as safe and sound investments. Five per cent. and safety is the wise policy of the man who puts his money into British Corporation Stock.

Official advertisement of Corporation and General Securities, Ltd., in the *Investors' Chronicle* and other papers, February 19th, 1927.

WHERE BERLIN BEATS LONDON.

In July, 1927, there was issued in London by Messrs. Baring, Rothschild and Schröder £3,500,000 of City of Berlin 6 per cent. Bonds. It will be noted from the following extract from the Prospectus, dated July 4th, 1927, that Berlin is free from the chaotic conditions of London transport, in that it owns, or controls through share ownership, all the trams, tubes and omnibuses. In fact, the money provided by London financiers is being utilised to extend the overhead portions of the "tubes."

All the tramways, elevated and underground railways, and omnibuses in Berlin belong to or are controlled by the City. At the end of 1926 these consisted of :—

597 km. of tramlines, 280 km. omnibus routes, 57 km. elevated and underground railway lines.

In 1926 the tramways carried over 813 million passengers or a daily average of 2.2 million passengers. During the same period there were 163 million passengers on the elevated and underground railways, and nearly 113 million motor omnibus passengers. Through the introduction of a uniform interchangeable system of fares covering all forms of transport run by the City, the traffic has increased considerably in comparison with 1926.

The City owns land to the extent of about 55,323 hectares, equal in round figures to 214 square miles. On this area forest land owned by the City covers 21,173 hectares, of which 10,015 hectares is permanent woodland. The City also owns 28 properties covering an area of 24,061 hectares, of which 12,216 hectares are sewage farms.

The value of the assets of the City, consisting of real property, plant, machinery, debtors, investments and mortgages, was estimated on January 1st, 1927, at a total of RM. 1,567,300,000. Of this amount RM. 1,125,700,000 represented productive investments. After deduction of liabilities amounting to RM. 479,800,000 there remains a surplus of assets over liabilities of RM. 1,087,500,000.

In addition to the above mentioned transport undertakings, properties and forests, the City owns the following productive undertakings :—

Electricity, gas and water works, cattle markets and slaughter houses, markets and quays.

A net income of about RM. 57,000,000 is included in the City budget for 1927 arising from productive undertakings which are the sole property of the City, representing an investment of about RM. 883,500,000.

The municipal gas, electricity and waterworks have, for the most part, a monopoly within the City area. The gas works supplied in 1925 about 576,100,000 cubic metres of gas, of which 75 per cent. was produced by municipal undertakings. In 1926 the municipal electrical works supplied altogether 717 million Kw-hours of power. The municipal waterworks served 67,000 properties and supplied 121 million cubic metres of water.

GERMAN MUNICIPAL BANKS.

We have in Great Britain one municipal bank, that of Birmingham, which has proved such a success of public ownership that the Conservative Government has persistently refused permission to the numerous other big towns that have sought to follow Birmingham's example. To obtain some of the working capital needed for the rehabilitation of the country's economic life, the German municipal banks issued a joint loan in the United States, and the following are extracts from the Prospectus dated, August 14th, 1926.

The German Savings Banks and Clearing Association (the Central Association) is an organisation for facilitating municipal banking and to assist in the development of credit and saving institutions of municipalities and other governmental subdivisions of Germany. The Association was formed in 1924 as a consolidation of associations of German Savings Banks, Municipal Banks and Clearing Associations, which dated back to 1890. The Central Association comprises thirteen District Associations and two provincial banks. The District Associations have as members approximately 2,500 cities, towns and municipal districts located throughout the country. The two provincial banks are owned respectively by the Provinces of Rhineland and Westphalia and within these two Provinces are located over 5,000 other municipalities.

The above 7,500 or more communities include thirty-eight of the forty-two cities in Germany having a population of 100,000 or more. The cities and towns which are members and the two Provinces embrace more than half the population of Germany and as the country districts generally are also included, it is estimated that the total membership embraces a population, including that of the two Provinces, of over 56,000,000, or approximately 90 per cent. of the entire population of Germany.

The banking division of the Association is the German Central Clearing Office—German Municipal Bank (Deutsche Girozentrale-Deutsche Kommunalbank) with which are affiliated numerous district offices and over 3,000 savings banks

with approximately 5,000 branches. These savings banks are practically all banking departments of municipalities which are members of the Association, or are banking departments of municipal corporations of the two Provinces, but in so far as they are separate legal entities, they are owned by their respective municipalities.

The Central Association and the District Associations are not operated primarily for profit-making purposes, but rather for the furtherance of the common interest and mutual welfare of the members and for the development of the municipal banking, credit and savings institutions. The manner in which the Central Association conducts its business does not require a large capital, but provision has been made whereby the capital may be increased as required in the proper conduct of its business. The paid in capital of the Central Association is $4,464,283. The volume of clearing and other business of the Association in 1924 was over two billion five hundred million dollars and for 1925 over three billion dollars. The present combined deposits of the Clearing Associations, Savings Banks and affiliated organisations of the Central Association amount to over $500,000,000.

BAVARIA'S BANK, MINES, FORESTS, VINEYARDS AND BREWERY.

In 1925 Bavaria raised a $15,000,000 6½ per cent. Loan in New York. The prospectus, dated September 26th, 1925, contained the following statements :

State Properties.

As resources for the payment of its debt, the State, in addition to its taxing powers, owns (wholly or partly) extensive income producing enterprises or properties the present value of which (including the value of its interests in those owned partly) it estimates at over $500,000,000. Among the more important of these properties are forests and hydro-electric systems, vineyards, mines, metallurgical works, the State Bank, the State Mint, medicinal springs and baths, and the Hofbräu Brewery. In addition to the above mentioned income producing assets, the State owns other properties, the value of which, while very large, is difficult to estimate. The well-known Bavarian galleries and museums contain works of art of inestimable value and the former palaces are known to every visitor to Germany. The State also owns lands other than forests, universities, schools, libraries, opera houses and theatres.

Bavarian water power resources have been estimated to be sufficient to meet all future requirements of the State. Exist-

ing and projected developments by the State contemplate an aggregate of more than 2,000,000 hp., of which some 600,000 hp. are assured by plants now in operation or under construction. The State has actively fostered the use of water power, and upon completion of the present programme of hydro-electric development it is expected that Bavarian industries will be largely independent of other types of energy. The existing State-owned power plants generate and distribute power to many of the large industries and in addition hold valuable long term contracts with the National Railways in the State for the supply of motive power.

A GOVERNMENT COMPANY OWNING BANKS, MINES, NITRATES, ALUMINIUM WORKS, ETC.

It is doubtful if a single reader has heard of the VIAG. Yet, it is one of the great industrial concerns of the world, and is carried on by the German Government, which owns the whole of its capital. The following extracts are from the Prospectus dated, December 16th, 1925, of the VIAG'S 6 per cent. Bonds, quoted in New York under the title of United Industrial Corporation.

The United Industrial Corporation (Vereinigte Industrie-Unternehmungen Aktiengesellschaft), or Viag as it is commonly known, was formed in 1923 and is the holding Company for various enterprises controlled by the German Government and constituting one of the foremost European industrial groups. The business of this group includes the wholesale production of electric power, the manufacture of aluminium, nitrates, iron, steel and miscellaneous products, the mining of coal and banking.

The hydro-electric plants of the VIAG system engaged in the wholesale production of electric power have an aggregate installed capacity of over 100,000 kw. The steam power plants of the system located adjacent to extensive lignite coal fields (also owned by subsidiaries) have an aggregate installed capacity of over 325,000 kw. not including 70,000 kw. now under construction. During the twelve months ended June 30th, 1925, the combined output of the power plants controlled by VIAG was in excess of two billion kwh. and it is calculated that during 1926 it will exceed two billion four hundred million kwh.

Through its subsidiaries engaged in the production of aluminium VIAG is the dominant factor in the German aluminium industry. The aggregate production by these subsidiaries now exceeds the total production in any other Euro-

pean country and approximates one-third of the total production in the United States. The bauxite required for the manufacture of aluminium by the VIAG subsidiaries is derived from the extensive deposits controlled by these subsidiaries. Two of the VIAG subsidiaries rank among the leading companies in the German nitrate industry with an aggregate annual production of approximately 80,000 tons. Other subsidiaries own, in various parts of Germany, a number of extensive manufacturing plants engaged in the production of steel, rolling mill products, agricultural machinery, textile machinery, tools, etc. The banking subsidiary, Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft A. G., is the only bank directly or indirectly controlled by the German Government and is an important factor in the economic life of Germany. It has capital, reserves and surplus of over $10,000,000, and deposits in excess of $84,000,000.

In addition to the subsidiaries which it controls through the ownership of all or a majority of their capital stocks, VIAG has large interests in a number of other German industrial enterprises, for example, the Ilseder Smelter Corporation (Aktiengesellschaft Ilseder Huette) of which it owns 25 per cent. of the capital stock. This corporation is one of the leaders in the German iron industry, owning and working the largest known deposit of iron ore in Germany and also controlling the Peiner Iron and Steel Rolling Mills Corporation (Aktiengesellschaft Peiner Walzwerk) and the "Frederick the Great" Mining Company (Gewerkschaft "Friederich der Grosse") which owns and operates one of the largest German coal mines.

Due to the diversified nature and the basic character of the lines of business in which the various subsidiaries are engaged the earnings of this group have a high degree of stability. A substantial amount of the products are marketed in foreign countries, which places VIAG in an advantageous position with respect to the acquisition of foreign exchange for the service of the Bonds.

LOS ANGELES HITS OUT

In the United States, as in our own country, every effort is made by the vested interests to discredit public ownership. Los Angeles, the great Californian city, with a population of over a million, is a stronghold of individualism, and is an "open shop" town. But it owns several of its public utilities, and to counteract the dishonest propaganda against them, a leaflet in the following wording is issued!

CITY OF LOS ANGELES

Bureau of Power and Light

$57,000,000 TOTAL ASSETS.
$800,000 GROSS REVENUE IN 1917-1918.
$11,200,000 GROSS REVENUE IN 1925-1926.
118,000 HORSEPOWER DEVELOPED IN 5 PLANTS ON AQUEDUCT.
488,500,000 KILOWATT HOURS DISTRIBUTED 1925-1926.
223,914 SEPARATE CONSUMER SERVICES ON AUGUST 31st, 1926.
40,952 STREET LAMPS OF ALL TYPES ON JUNE 30th, 1926.
264,210 HORSEPOWER MOTOR LOAD ON AUGUST 31st, 1926.
LARGEST MUNICIPALLY OWNED ELECTRIC SYSTEM IN THE WORLD.

A Record of Success

In order that the citizens of Los Angeles may be advised accurately of the financial status and success of their Municipal Bureau of Power and Light, officials of this Bureau each year retain a nationally-recognised and totally disinterested auditing firm to investigate the accounts, records and operations of the Bureau, and return a report of its audit.

In this folder appears a photographic reproduction of the condensed balance sheet of the audit report made by the firm of Price, Waterhouse and Co., for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1926.

It is disclosed in the audit report—

That the Bureau of Power and Light now possesses assets of $57,416,553.62.

That the Bureau of Power and Light, during the past fiscal year, after paying off every obligation on account of operating and maintenance expenses, depreciation and interest on outstanding bonds, returned a net surplus of $2,796,452.86.

That the total of net surpluses returned by the Bureau since its inception amounts to $15,006,930.83.

That the citizens of Los Angeles possess a clear equity in their Bureau of Power and Light amounting to $19,000,000.

Surplus earnings realised by the Bureau of Power and Light are used to finance permanent extensions and betterments to the Bureau's generating and distributing system, and to pay off the principal on outstanding bonds. It has been these growing surpluses that have helped to build up, for the people of Los Angeles, such a large clear equity in this system within the past few years.

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Their Powers and Duties.

BY

H. SAMUELS, M.A.

Barrister-at-Law.

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By H. SAMUELS, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

1. INTRODUCTORY.

The Local Councillor who is called to serve upon his Education Committee is bound to keep constantly in his mind certain broad distinctions. He has first to realise that the special Committee of which he is a member has not been set up out of some particular kindness his Council feel towards education or because of a desire to devote extra attention to that branch of its activities; it has been established because the Council had no option to do otherwise. In other words the Committee is a statutory Committee, as distinguished from a non-statutory Committee, or one which the Council may form on its own initiative, constitute in whatever way it pleases, and terminate when it feels so disposed. The existence of the Education Committee is no less necessary than that of the Council itself, and its constitution and formation are especially provided for by the law of the land in such a way as not to be dependent on the desires or opinions of the Council or its members. Secondly, he has to remember that there are some things which the Committee may do or refrain from doing as it thinks fit, while there are others on which no such option may be exercised. This is the distinction between obligatory and permissive functions. Now, where the function is one which is expressly referred to in a statute, little difficulty arises. The Local Authority is told exactly what it may or must do and how. But there are many cases where the statute simply empowers a Government Department to make regulations which shall be binding upon the Local Authorities, and recent years have seen an appreciable extension of this practice. Here we have a third distinction worthy of our councillor's close attention—that between the statute on the one hand and the administrative regulations based upon the statute on the other. And although a statutory provision may appear to be quite definite in its intention, it is found in practice that the regulations issued on its authority from time to time by the Board of Education differ widely according to the general educational policy of the Government then in power. It is therefore essential that a jealous watch should be kept on the Board's regulations, since it is not unlikely that a Government may read into a statute something that is not there, or in its unthinking desire to carry through its own party's policy, may issue a regulation wholly repugnant to the intention of the

Parliament which passed the measure. Further, although it is quite true that the power over Local Authorities which the system of grants-in-aid gives to the Board of Education is very considerable, and that the sphere of central supervision is probably larger than in any other branch of Local Government, with the possible exception of Poor Relief, yet there are even within these limits substantial powers available for Local Authorities which many a member of our Education Committees either does not know about or does not trouble to see put into operation. For how many are there who profess to know something about education, and how few by contrast are there to whom many of the provisions in the great consolidating Education Act of 1921 would not come as a complete surprise?

Hence the need of an outline of at least the more important clauses of the Education Act, for an elementary acquaintance with these is indispensable to anyone who would undertake the grave responsibility of administering the educational needs of his or her area. It is therefore proposed in the first place to outline the Act; then an attempt will be made to show how the system works in some respects and to point out where practice is either not in agreement with the Act or being in agreement does not use the methods best calculated to effect the great object contemplated by Parliament when it had the measure under consideration.

That object is stated in the Act (Section 11) to be "the establishment of a national system of education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby." And this phrase "persons capable of profiting thereby" receives further definition as follows (Section 13, subs. 4): "In schemes (to be made by every County Council and County Borough for providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education in respect of their area) adequate provision shall be made in order to secure that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education by which they are capable of profiting through inability to pay fees." Truly a high sounding purpose with which the most ardent educationist will find it hard to quarrel. Whether the provisions of the Act or the administrative regulations made under it are adequate to carry out this purpose is a question which we have to answer in the course of this tract.

II. THE EDUCATION ACT, 1921.

The Act deals with the various subjects in the following order:—

Part I. (Sections 1-10).—Central and Local Education Authorities.

Part II. (Sections 11-16).—Schemes as to powers and duties.

Part III. (Sections 17-41).—Elementary Schools.

Part IV. (Sections 42-50).—School Attendance.

Part V. (Sections 51-69).—Blind, Deaf, Defective and Epileptic Children.

Part VI. (Sections 70-79).—Higher Education.

Part VII. (Sections 80-89).—Provision for Health and well-being of scholars.

Part VIII. (Sections 90-108).—Employment of children and young persons.

Part IX. (Sections 109-173).—Finance, Officers and other administrative points.

Central and Local Education Authorities.

The Board of Education is made the Central Authority, and has to form a Consultative Committee, two-thirds of whom are to be representatives of universities and other bodies interested in education.

The following are constituted Local Educational Authorities (usually referred to as L.E.A.'s) :—

(a) For *elementary* education: County Councils, County Borough Councils, Councils of Boroughs which had a population exceeding 10,000 at the 1901 census, Urban District Councils with a population exceeding 20,000 at the 1901 census (*).

(b) For *higher* education: County Councils, County Borough Councils, and to a limited extent as later defined, Borough Councils and Urban District Councils.

In London the London County Council is the authority both for higher and elementary education. The Metropolitan Boroughs are not educational authorities; they have certain minor powers which will be referred to.

The Education Committee.

Every L.E.A. which is carrying out a scheme of elementary education must form an Education Committee. The scheme for the Committee has first to be submitted to the Board for approval, and this will not be given unless the scheme provides: (1) for the majority of members to be appointed by the L.E.A.; (2) for the nomination or recommendation by outside bodies of educational experts and of those acquainted with the needs of the schools in the area; (3) for the inclusion of women; (4) (where the L.E.A. is not a County Council) for the L.E.A.'s nominees to be selected only from members of the Council; (5) for the general co-ordination of all forms of education.

*The 1901 census is conclusive. Any growth in population since cannot be taken into account. Where the increased figure is due to extension of boundaries, however, there is reasonable ground for going beyond the 1901 census.

To the Education Committee are to stand referred all educational matters with the sole exception of raising rates or loans for education. Before taking any action the L.E.A. has to await and consider the Education Committee's report on the matter in question unless it is of an urgent nature. The L.E.A. can also delegate to the Committee any of its powers relating to education, subject to the same exception as to raising rates or loans. A separate Committee can be formed for any area within a county.

Co-operation between L.E.A.'s.

Various provisions are made to ensure that authorities should co-operate wherever desirable. Joint Education Committees may be formed for a combination of areas. On the application of two L.E.A.'s to the Board of Education, a federation of L.E.A.'s may be formed for purposes which must, or can more conveniently, be considered in relation to a larger area than those of the individual authorities. An L.E.A. may arrange with any local authority for the latter to manage a school within the latter's area, e.g., in London such an arrangement may be made as to a school in, say, Westminster, between the L.C.C. and the Westminster City Council. Lastly, any authority for elementary education is bound to co-operate with the authority for higher education in the matter of preparing elementary school pupils for secondary and higher education and the supply and training of teachers.

Education Schemes.

" With a view to the establishment of a national system of education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby every County Council and County Borough Council must provide for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education within its area " (Section 11.) All Education Authorities may, and when required by the Board of Education must, submit schemes; schemes for higher education should include arrangements for University Extension Classes. A County Council must consult other L.E.A.'s in its area when drawing up its scheme; in all cases steps must be taken to ascertain the views of parents and other interested persons; lastly and most important of all to those who wish to see equality of opportunity in education, we have the condition already referred to, viz.: that schemes must make adequate provision " to secure that children shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education by which they are capable of profiting through inability to pay fees " (Section 13).

If the Board refuses to approve a scheme the L.E.A. may demand a public enquiry, and if after this the scheme still fails to obtain the Board's sanction, a report has to be presented to Parliament, giving the grounds for the refusal.

Elementary Education.

The L.E.A. is bound to maintain and keep efficient as many public elementary schools within its area as are necessary. It has also to provide sufficient additional accommodation in public elementary schools for all children in its area not otherwise provided for.

This rule is the cardinal principle of our system of elementary education, and a few definitions are necessary. " Maintain and keep efficient." These words refer both to the state of the school premises and to the curriculum and education given in them. If there are dangerous holes in the pavement of the playground or if the spring of a door is too powerful for young children to manage, the L.E.A. is answerable for any injuries that might ensue, and the same obligation " to keep efficient " is broken by an L.E.A. which restricts, say, the secular instruction in a non-provided school to certain standards only.

" Necessary." The Board of Education is the final arbiter as to whether a particular school is necessary or not. In deciding the point the Board has to take into consideration both the interests of education, the wishes of the parents, and economy, but a school is not unnecessary if its attendance roll numbers 30 or more.

Before a new public elementary school can be established, public notice has to be given and any objections that there may be to the proposal may be directed to the Board of Education. In the London area the London County Council, before proceeding to erect such a school (unless it is of a non-local character, like schools for defectives), has to consult the Council of the Borough in question; if there is a question of compulsory purchase of land and the latter objects, the purchase cannot be made without order of the Board of Education.

The L.E.A. is bound to furnish practical and advanced instruction for the older pupils in elementary schools. This has to be done either by including suitable courses of this kind in the curriculum or by instituting special classes or central schools.

Then follow a number of powers which the L.E.A. may exercise. The first of these relates to the period before the normal beginning of school life. The L.E.A. has power to supply or subsidise Nursery Schools or Kindergartens. The scope of the L.E.A.'s activity here is wide enough; it may attend to the children's health, nourishment and physical welfare. Secondly, power is given to provide elementary school children with holiday schools, holiday classes and play centres, and the L.E.A. may co-operate with voluntary agencies working in this sphere. Thirdly, the L.E.A. may arrange for the boarding out of any child whose home is too far distant from the school or whose home environment is of a kind that prevents the child getting the full benefit of the education provided. Fourthly, the authority may give scholarships, bursaries or maintenance allowances

to children from the age of 12 to aid their education in public elementary schools up till the time they reach the normal school leaving age. This latter age is 14 or 15, according to the L.E.A.'s decision, but on the application of the L.E.A. the Board of Education may authorise the instruction of children till the age of 16 provided that the L.E.A. has made adequate arrangements for advanced instruction and the transfer of the pupils to a real post-elementary stage of education.

The conditions under which public elementary schools are managed and conducted are partly of general application and partly differ according to the character of the school. In all there must be full religious freedom; if any prayers are said or religious instruction given, these must take place at the beginning of the day or at its close, so that pupils may be able to stay away from them without detriment to their other studies. Again, these schools must be open to inspection at all times by H.M. Inspectors, and they must comply with the qualifying conditions for the grant as laid down by the Board of Education.

In *provided* schools (we are still dealing with public elementary education) there is an absolute prohibition against teaching any denominational creed, that is to say, any catechism or set of tenets which mark a particular religion or sect.

In *non-provided* schools, the L.E.A. is in control of the secular education only. It appoints those who are to teach any subject which is not a religious subject. As regards the other teachers, their appointment needs the consent of the L.E.A., but the latter may withhold its consent only on some educational ground. Similarly, if any teacher of a religious subject is to be dismissed, the Council's consent has to be obtained unless the dismissal is connected with the religious instruction given in the school.

An illustration or two will show how these rules are carried out in practice. If an L.E.A. in the exercise of its power to control the secular instruction in a non-provided school orders secular instruction to begin, say, at 9.45 and continue throughout the day so as to prevent the practice of interrupting the secular studies on Saints' days by the children being brought to church at 11, this is a lawful order. If, on the other hand, an L.E.A. orders its secular instruction to be confined only to standards 1—3, say, this is not a proper direction for secular instruction, because it conflicts with the L.E.A.'s obligation to keep the school efficient. Again, where an L.E.A. dismissed all teachers over 60 ostensibly " on educational grounds," and it was found that no complaints of inefficiency had been made against any, but on the contrary that this class of teacher was most efficient and experienced, and that the real reason was a desire for economy, the dismissal was held invalid, the Court holding that economy was not an educational ground, and that if the discretion given to an L.E.A. was to be well exercised, no other than educational grounds must be taken into consideration. Similarly,

where the managers of a non-provided school dismissed a teacher on the ground of a report that she had ceased to belong to the Church of England, the Court revoked the decision on the ground that it was not enough for the managers to think a religious ground existed, but such a ground must in fact exist.

Again, the rules governing the appointment and qualifications of school managers differ according to whether an elementary school is provided or non-provided. In the case of provided schools outside the London area an L.E.A. which is a County Council appoints up to 4 managers, while the minor education authority (*i.e.*, the Council of the Borough, Urban District or parish served by the school) appoints 2; if the L.E.A. is a Borough Council or Urban District Council on the other hand, it may appoint any number of managers it pleases. Within the London area it is a matter for the Metropolitan Borough Council in whose borough a provided school is situated to decide the number of managers and other questions of management in consultation with the L.C.C., and subject to the approval of the Board of Education; two-thirds of the managers have to be appointed by the Metropolitan Borough Council, and the rest by the London County Council, at least a third of the total being women. (These powers of Metropolitan Boroughs are, however, not exercisable (a) in schools of a non-local character like schools for defectives, (b) in schools where the teaching is confined to advanced instruction to older children, (c) in schools for practical or advanced instruction for pupils coming from different elementary schools). In the case of non-provided schools there may be up to 4 foundation managers, while the L.E.A. appoints 2, unless the L.E.A. is a County Council, when it appoints one, and the other is appointed by the minor education authority. The L.E.A. has full power in all cases to increase a body of managers, notwithstanding the above rules, as long as the same proportions between the different classes are kept. Further, it may group schools under one body of managers. The powers of managers of provided schools are strictly confined to those delegated to them by the L.E.A.

It is then laid down without qualification or proviso that no fees or other charges of any kind are to be made in any public elementary school. This rule can be illustrated by the case of a number of children under the care of a Board of Guardians which boarded them out. They attended an elementary school in the area in which they were living and the L.E.A. promptly sent a bill for the cost of their education to the Board of Guardians in question. The Guardians refused to pay a penny. The Courts ruled against the L.E.A.

School Attendance.

Each parent has a duty before the law of seeing that each of his children between the ages of 5 and 14 receives efficient ele-

mentary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. The L.E.A. has the duty of enforcing this liability of parents by taking legal proceedings in all cases of habitual neglect or where children are found to be continually without proper control or in the company of disreputable persons. The attendance of children at elementary schools must be enforced and regulated by the L.E.A.'s bye-laws, which need the Board of Education's approval. These may, *inter alia,* vary the commencing age from 5 to 6 and the leaving age from 14 to 15, but in the case of a bye-law raising the commencing age from 5 to 6 the Board before granting approval must consider whether there are enough nursery schools in the area and must on the request of ten parents of elementary schoolchildren in the area hold a public enquiry. Bye-laws may not, however, be made to compel a child to be present during any religious observance or religious instruction or to attend on any day set apart as a holiday by those of his persuasion. All bye-laws need the approval of the Board of Education before they can be put into operation.

The Act lays down the following as reasonable excuses for non-attendance at school :—

(1) Sickness or any unavoidable cause.

(2) If there is no school within a distance prescribed by the bye-laws.

(3) If other efficient instruction is given.

With regard to (2) the bye-laws may not prescribe a distance over three miles for this purpose, but the excuse does not hold good in the area of an L.E.A. which provides children with the means of conveyance to school.

With regard to excuse (1) the meaning of " unavoidable cause " has been brought out by decisions of the Courts. A boy who was sent from home to school daily, and who played truant daily, was not considered to be absenting himself from an unavoidable cause. Similarly liable was the parent of a child who came to school in a verminous condition, and was consequently refused admittance, or the parent who kept his eldest child home to look after the others, so as to enable his wife to go out charing. Even if the child is not living with the parent, but is in the custody of a relation or friend, that does not make the parent any the less liable.

Blind, Deaf, Defective and Epileptic Children.

From the definition of these classes of children there are expressly excluded children under the care of a Board of Guardians, and the provisions relating to blind and deaf children in particular do not apply to those who have the added misfortune of being idiots or imbeciles as well.

The duty is laid upon the parent of a blind or deaf child to provide efficient elementary instruction suited to the child's con-

dition, while the L.E.A. must give facilities for such instruction to be given to all blind and deaf children within its area who are not otherwise provided for. This means the provision of certified schools, that is to say, schools furnished with the Board of Education's certificate that they are properly equipped and staffed for the teaching of the blind and deaf. The statutory excuse of there being no school within a particular distance (referred to above) is not to be admitted in these cases, but as regards deaf children the commencing school age is raised to 7.

Defective and epileptic children are the subject of a special investigation which the L.E.A. has to carry out from time to time with the object of ascertaining their number. Facilities for medical examination must be provided in the course of this enquiry, and the L.E.A. may compel the attendance of any child for examination. Before a child can be classed as defective or epileptic a certificate from a qualified medical practitioner approved by the Board of Education is required to that effect; and the practitioner must consult the head teacher or some other person approved by the L.E.A., if the L.E.A. or the parent so wish, a copy of the report of the person so consulted being forwarded to the L.E.A. From the age of 7 the parents of such children have to make suitable provision for their elementary education; the L.E.A. must establish certified schools or classes or else board the children out at places where they can attend certified places of instruction. The control of the Board of Education is somewhat more rigid here than in other cases. Thus an L.E.A. can only board out children of the epileptic and defective class if the Board is satisfied of its necessity, and it can only establish a boarding school if the Board find that there are 45 children who would otherwise go unprovided.

The leaving age in all cases of blind, deaf, epileptic and defective children is 16. Parents are liable to be charged for expenses incurred by the L.E.A. under these special provisions relating to these particular classes of children, it being understood that the L.E.A. has the elemental obligation to provide sufficient public school accommodation free. These charges are to be either agreed on between the parties or else settled by the court.

Higher Education.

As has already been explained, it is not all L.E.A.'s who have functions to perform with regard to the provision of Higher Education, but only County Councils and County Borough Councils. These latter are therefore termed L.E.A.'s for higher education. They have the duty of supplying and aiding the supply of higher education and promoting the general co-ordination of all forms of education. In detail these powers include the training of teachers, the supplying or subsidising of education other than elementary, and the granting of scholarships and maintenance allowances, and the payment of students' fees at schools, colleges or hostels. The schools or classes which the

L.E.A. provides or aids for these purposes need not necessarily be within its own area. A Borough Council or an Urban District Council may assist higher education within the limits of a penny rate. No conditions may be laid down as to religious instruction; in the case of a school or college provided by the L.E.A., no pupil may be excluded or penalised on the ground of his belief; nor may any denominational catechism be taught; in the latter respect, however, the L.E.A. has a discretion, which it may not exercise unfairly, to allow a catechism if the parents so request and if it is without expense to the L.E.A. The L.E.A. may take over Science and Art schools, and may aid research.

It is unnecessary to do more than mention the scheme (still inoperative for the most part) for continuation schools drawn up in the Education Act, 1918 (Fisher Act), and reproduced in the Act of 1921 for the purposes of consolidation. Only a few places which applied before 1921 for an " appointed day " for the commencement of the scheme, as provided by the Acts, have the scheme in operation : in that year the Board of Education postponed all further action as a result of the economy demand.

Since the war period it has become an accepted feature of educational policy that L.E.A.'s should take a prominent part and a proper share of responsibility in the organisation of non-vocational *courses of instruction for adults* in their areas, the legal foundation for these functions being those provisions of the Act which we are at present outlining. As things stand at present, it cannot be said that all L.E.A.'s take an equally broad view of their functions in this sphere. Some are inclined to take up a wooden attitude towards other adult education agencies working in their respective areas, and to regard them as competitors rather than as collaborators helping to raise the common educational level. Thus too often they refuse financial assistance except on the condition that they obtain complete control of the classes. Many facts are left out of account when this position is taken up. For example, there are sound educational advantages to be obtained if a group of persons already combined by some common interest can be formed into a study class, and this is very often the case with classes organised by bodies other than the L.E.A. Much closer co-operation between the L.E.A.'s and the other bodies is needed in many areas, e.g., by means of the formation of Joint Adult Education Committees. A good illustration of the kind of co-operation to be aimed at is that which exists in the Kent area between the Kent C.C. and the W.E.A. On this question generally it is worth while to refer to the studies of adult education in various districts now being published by the Board of Education.*

Health and Well-being of Scholars.

The L.E.A. for elementary education must attend to medical

* *See* Education Pamphlet No. 59 "Adult Education in Yorkshire."

inspection and treatment in elementary schools, while an L.E.A. for higher education must arrange inspection for and may treat pupils in secondary and other schools of that character provided by it. Co-operation with voluntary agencies is permitted, but a general domiciliary service of medical treatment of children is prohibited and L.E.A.'s have to consider means of using the services of private practitioners. The parents of children who are medically treated are liable for the cost of treatment, unless the L.E.A. is satisfied that this is beyond their means. And it is made clear that though these facilities have to be made available by the L.E.A., no one can be compelled to make use of them.

Of great importance are the powers possessed by all L.E.A.'s to provide social and physical training. While the elementary education authority may look after the children, the higher education authority can provide for young persons and adults attending educational institutions. The powers include the supply or subsidising of holiday camps, gymnasiums, playing fields, school baths, and school swimming baths.

Another function of the elementary education authority relates to verminous children. The L.E.A. may direct an examination of any child and, after the examination, order the parent to cleanse him; failing this the child may be removed from school and cleansed. Girls may only be dealt with under this heading by a qualified doctor or a woman authorised by the school medical officer. The latter must, however, be satisfied if the defect is adequately remedied, without insisting on any particular method. Thus where a child was excluded from school suffering from ringworm, the School Medical Officer was not allowed to continue to insist on her attending a particular dermatologist at a particular place, and had to re-admit her although the ailment had been cured by other means.

Arrangements may be made by any L.E.A. for elementary education to feed the children attending elementary schools both on school days and at other times, co-operating with outside agencies like School Canteen Committees, and assisting them with accommodation, equipment and staff. While the cost of the food supplied falls on the parent, the L.E.A. has discretion to provide meals free in cases where it is satisfied that a child would be otherwise underfed and no other funds are available. No member of the teaching staff may be required to undertake duties in connection with this service.

Any L.E.A. may in suitable cases pay the fares of teachers or scholars to and from schools, while an elementary education authority may provide those children who are through physical or mental defect in need of such assistance with guides or conveyances. But an L.E.A. which undertakes this work is bound to make adequate arrangements to suit the kind of passenger it is conveying. A case in point was the failure of an L.E.A. to

provide a second attendant in addition to the driver; the authority was held liable for injuries to a child who fell when trying to descend from the vehicle unaided.

Employment of Children and Young Persons.

The elementary education authority has power to regulate by bye-laws the minimum age and the maximum hours of child employment, and may select particular occupations for total or part prohibition of child employment. With regard to the general legal restrictions on child employment one has to bear in mind the total prohibition against employment in an industrial undertaking made in the Employment of Women and Young Persons and Children Act, 1920. The Education Act moreover empowers the elementary education authority to prohibit or restrict the employment of a child if it thinks the child's health or education is thereby prejudiced. For this purpose the L.E.A. may require a parent or an employer to give information as needed by the authority, while the L.E.A.'s officer can obtain a magistrate's order to inspect a place of employment. On the other hand, the L.E.A. may permit by bye-laws the employment of children of 12 or more for an hour before 9 a.m. on school days, and also the employment of children by their own parents. It may grant licences to children to take part in public entertainments and places of amusements, and may vary the hours during which children under 16 may be employed in such occupations, the general rule being that no child may be so employed between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. Every person obtaining a licence for the training of children as acrobats or circus performers must send a copy to the L.E.A. Lastly, an L.E.A. for higher education may administer unemployment benefit in accordance with a scheme approved under section 6 of the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1923, and if it does so it may assist boys and girls under 18 with advice on the choice of a vocation; in this it may have the co-operation of any Borough or District Council which is itself an L.E.A.

Finance and General.

After enumerating the various powers that an L.E.A. may exercise for the purpose of acquiring land, the Act goes on to lay down the financial basis of the educational system. Each L.E.A. is, subject to the Board of Education's regulations, to receive an annual grant equal to half its net expenditure on education. The provision is important because it enables the Board to insist on the L.E.A.'s work coming up to the standard prescribed in the Board's regulations. Under the Economy (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1926 (section 12), the Board can refuse to recognise expenditure which it thinks excessive having regard to the circumstances of the area and the expenditure on

corresponding services in other areas, or which it thinks to exceed the L.E.A.'s estimate unreasonably: the same enactment also provides for the reduction of the grant by a sum up to £70,000 in any year to an L.E.A. for higher education which does not provide training colleges (other than mere domestic training institutions). And generally (under the Education Act itself) the Board can make a deduction from the grants, but where a deduction is made exceeding either £500 or the amount which a halfpenny rate would produce, the reasons must be reported by the Board to Parliament. Kindergartens are also eligible for the grant if they are open to inspection by the L.E.A. and if the latter has the right of appointing one-third of the managers. Before recognising a kinder-garten for the purpose of grant the Board of Education must consult the L.E.A.

The expenses of a County Council on education are paid out of the County Fund; where, however, an institution (outside the London area for higher education) serves a particular parish, the latter may be charged with the expenses in question after consultation with the Council of the Borough or Urban district if that body is also an L.E.A. Three-quarters of the following can also be similarly charged on a particular parish:—Capital expenditure or rent of a public elementary school and expense of conveying to it children or teachers. But no part of the County Council's expenditure on elementary education may be raised within a borough or urban district, if the council of that borough or district is the elementary education authority.

The education expenses of a Borough Council come out of the Borough Fund, those of a District Council from a fund to be raised out of the poor rate.

Although, as has been pointed out, Boards of Guardians are not liable for the costs of educating their children in public elementary schools, they may contribute to these and to certified schools in proportion to the number of their children who are in attendance there. But an L.E.A. may be compelled to contribute to the expenses of another L.E.A. if children residing in the former's area are receiving elementary education in an institution belonging to the latter.

Any L.E.A. may pay the cost of educational conferences, travelling expenses of its delegates, and so on. The Board of Education's approval is necessary, however, if it is desired to pay the expenses of more than three delegates, or if the conference is held outside the United Kingdom. The payments have to be in accordance with a scale drawn up by the Council.

L.E.A.'s have powers of contracting loans, and the amounts so borrowed by an L.E.A. are not to be reckoned as part of the total debt of the Council for the purpose of the statutory limitations on its borrowing powers. An educational institution which is not liable to inspection by the Board of Education may apply for such inspection, and the Board can carry this out free of cost.

In the case of secondary schools the terms are to be fixed by the Board with the Treasury's consent; while in the case of schools established by scheme under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889, the Central Welsh Board of Intermediate Education is the proper inspecting body. A County Council or County Borough Council may pay the expense of inspecting any such secondary school in its area.

With regard to the L.E.A.'s power of appointing teachers and other officers, it is clearly laid down that these hold their office during the pleasure of the authority, and the authority may pay them at such rates as they think fit and dismiss them if it so desires. *E.g.*, an L.E.A. may dismiss a master if he lives at a longer distance from the school than has been prescribed in the L.E.A.'s regulations, or if it thinks that the employment of married women as teachers is undesirable it cannot be prevented from terminating their engagement, unless, of course, it exercises the power unreasonably or in bad faith.

III. PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

Having completed this general survey of the powers and duties of L.E.A.'s as laid down by statute, we have now to turn our attention to some of the important problems that confront the L.E.A. in the course of carrying them out. What follows falls naturally into two parts. The first main problem is how L.E.A.'s can best use the powers they have over children during the period they are compelled to attend school: the second is how children after that period can best be enabled to continue their education.

Nursery Schools.

Before dealing with the subject of elementary education we must say a word or two about the very important power of providing nursery schools or kindergartens (referred to above). The Ministry of Health has stated that the provision of these schools is "a public health and educational problem of great urgency." The experience of those authorities who have put their powers in this respect into operation, notably London, Manchester and Bradford, is that they provide the most effective and at the same time the most inexpensive means of ensuring the proper care of children in humble spheres during those crucial years between 2—5 when the foundations of their future physical development are being laid. Where these nursery schools are set up, they assist the mother who is trying to feed her family by going out to work; at the same time they provide a healthier environment to the children than the poor and crowded homes from which they come, or the streets with their traffic dangers.

Teachers and Curriculum.

It is generally agreed that, in education, the question, "Who is to teach?" is still more important than the question, "What

are we to teach?" A good teacher will turn even a bad curriculum to some useful purpose, but a good curriculum cannot perform the same service for a bad teacher. Although the number of uncertificated teachers in public elementary schools has diminished during recent years, the rate of reduction is still far from adequate, as is shown by the latest official returns. The latter gives no less than 32,000 uncertificated out of a total of 160,000 teachers in public elementary schools in England and Wales.*

The curriculum taught in public elementary schools has undergone changes in recent years with the object of making the subjects more interesting and bridging the gulf between school and the actualities of life. It is perhaps too early to judge as yet how far, if at all, the elementary school child of to-day is mentally superior to his predecessor of 15 years ago, but this much is clear—there is still room for improvement in the *manner* of teaching the ordinary elementary subjects, and this is a consideration likely to have far greater import to the child's mental development than a mechanical enlargement of the range of subjects. Let us take the teaching of English, for example. There are few countries where the spoken language is spoken so imperfectly as in ours. Many an adult person capable of writing a letter or article in fair literary style is wholly unable to speak articulately and with effective balance. This is in very many cases due to the emphasis laid upon written exercises in their early education to the detriment of practice in the spoken language. The variety of sounds, their value, the best methods of articulating them in turn—these form essential groundwork of the educational fabric of which elementary instruction has in the past shown almost complete disregard. One often hears the history lesson criticised on the ground of it being of too insular a character, too much absorbed in the little world of England instead of the great world outside. If this criticism simply means that English history should be replaced by world history, one has to accept it with some caution. For it is possible to teach world history from a narrow and insular standpoint, while on the other hand English history can be taught without any distortion or cramping of the child's naturally broad sympathies. The main question is not what ground is covered by the history course, but how the ground is covered. Subject to this, the natural starting point for the child will be the lives of great men of different ages and races, and in the selection far less prominence should be given to the soldier and sailor classes than is given at present; in the next stage, the child will be given glimpses into social history at various stages of civilisation. This will be followed by the history of some particular community, an effort being made to present the period dealt with as falling into

* Report of the Board of Education for the year 1924-5 (Cmd. 2695), p. 201.

eras which are seen to follow upon one another in some kind of natural and self-explanatory sequence instead of parcelling it out between centuries or sovereigns. At the latest stage the economic background should be filled in and at the same time the important changes in the machinery of government or the constitution should be explained.

Elementary Education in Country Districts.

The curriculum in rural schools is far from satisfactory, and little seems to be done towards an improvement. While country life should be able to give the child just that physical stimulus necessary to his deriving full benefit from his education, economic causes more than outweigh this and leave the child at a disadvantage in comparison with the urban child. This is probably the root cause why rural areas remain " backward areas " in the sphere of education, and little attention seems to be paid to the need of concentrating on its improvement at each point. Country life offers unique opportunities for the study of nature and for developing the taste for beauty; progress lies in this direction rather than in substituting for the usual elementary subjects from an early age training in outdoor work and preparation for the life of a farm worker. The lot of the latter under present conditions is not so happy that we should seek to yoke the country-born child to it for ever and to rob him of the opportunities open to the young folk of our cities and towns.

The Health of the School Child.

Of the elementary school pupils examined in 1923-4 as many as 19.9 per cent. were found to be in need of medical treatment.* When we read in conjunction with this the statement that only 25 per cent. of L.E.A.'s are making use of their powers in this respect, it is not hard to see where the fault lies. Medical service in elementary schools is comparatively cheap, as the number of ailments is confined within a limited and easily ascertainable range.

Especially valuable is the school dental service. We are becoming daily more convinced of the effects of tooth decay in general physique. In his Annual Report for 1919 the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education gave an authoritative summary of the ailments traceable to this cause, including toxic neurasthenia, anæmia, skin and eye affections.* Although much has already been done, one still hears of numerous complaints from those in charge of the Employment Departments of our large factories that applicants for employment have less healthy mouths than might be expected from the opportunities for treatment provided in the schools. It is worth while noting here that

* Report of the Board of Education for the school year 1924-5 (Cmd. 2695), p. 167.

*Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for 1919 (Cmd. 995) p. 86.

no machinery exists whereby a local education authority can hand over the dental record of a past pupil to his new employer. Most authorities consider they have no power to do this, although in isolated cases it is done as a matter of grace. The matter is one which appears to be in need of regulation from above. Again, more use should be made of skilled nurses in the school dental service. They can relieve the dentist of much routine work, while in many cases they have been found to be even more effective in that essential adjunct of dental treatment—the imparting of instruction in mouth hygiene.

The School Medical Officer.

The county or borough medical officer has as part of his ordinary functions responsibility with regard to infectious diseases, closing of schools, and sanitary condition of the schools; at the same time his sphere extends to the homes of the pupils. It is therefore highly desirable that the greatest possible amount of co-ordination should exist between that authority and the school medical officer. The best method appears to be to make the county or borough officer responsible to the Council for both services, the work in the schools being carried on by full-time officers working under his direction.

Meals.

Another necessary feature of any scheme of care for the health of the school child is the provision of meals. It matters little whether the need arises from the fact that the children live too far from their homes or that they cannot get a decent dinner in their homes if within reach: school children no less than adults at work need a proper midday meal. Just as in industry the tommy box and the meal brought from home in a red handkerchief have been replaced by the industrial canteen, so the "glass of milk and a bun" has to be condemned outright and a hot dinner provided for the growing child. The policy of economy has had disastrous results in this sphere too. In 1924-5 there was a decrease of 738,502 in the number of meals provided for needy children.* Especially alarming is the position in the country districts. Here it is a regular thing for the school-child to have dinner away from home, and the closing of small schools, consequent upon reorganisation, is not improving the position in this respect. It is of little use to aim at efficiency in teaching by methods of centralisation on the one hand and to lessen the efficiency of the pupil on the other by depriving him of facilities for meals. There is hardly a County Medical Officer who does not bear out the complaint as to the inadequacy of the country school-child's midday meal under present conditions. When this is taken into account, as well as the miserable wages and the

* Report of the Board of Education for the school year 1924-5 (Cmd. 2695), p. 170.

unsatisfactory housing conditions prevalent in the villages it is hardly to be wondered at that, despite all the advantages of country life, the country child is far below the average physical standard of the town child.*

Medical opinion agrees that during epidemics careful exclusion of individual children from school is better calculated to prevent the spread of infection than the closing of whole schools or departments. The latter method, apart from the educational loss, leaves children free to run about the streets associating with whom they will. It is well, therefore, that the arrangements for the State grants have recently been revised and that the grant will in future not be lost by any school which remains open with a low attendance under such circumstances.

Physical Training and Instruction.

Even greater than in the treatment of actual ailments is the value of the school as a medium for physical training and instruction in hygiene. And common sense would include in the definition of the latter instruction in questions relating to sex. Looking at the nation from a general point of view, if we regard the unmistakable proofs which the stage and the Press afford of the responsiveness of large numbers of our young and old to prurience, we have little to lose by a change in method. Whether sex instruction is best taught to a class as a whole, or given rather by way of individual tuition, is a question which experience will have to resolve. The experience in works' schools goes to show that the latter is to be preferred, but it would be unwise without actual test to apply this conclusion to younger persons and children.

Size of Classes.

The size of the class is a matter which materially affects both the physical development of the pupils and the quality of the education. The Board of Education claims to be trying to make 50 pupils per class as the maximum where the age is less than 11, 40 for those above 11,—a standard far from satisfactory. There is the closely related question of the size of class-rooms. Where there is no progressive building programme, the old large class-room is still retained, with the resultant difficulty in reducing the size of the individual classes. Rural schools are, as usual, the worst off in this respect. The most recent Board of Education reports show there are still many schools where more than one class is taught in the same room at the same time. Far too low is the average space officially allotted per child, viz.: 10 square feet for children under 11, 12 square feet for others,—(even this standard is in abeyance). When we compare the

* See "The Health of the School Child," Report for 1925 of the Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health *passim*.

standard in France (15 square feet), Belgium, Norway and Denmark (16 square feet)—in parts of the United States it is even as high as 20 square feet—it does not seem unreasonable to urge local authorities to work on a basis of 15 square feet, and to obtain official sanction for this basis in their schemes.

Building and Equipment.

A watchful eye should be kept on school buildings and their equipment. Of course, there are the Board of Education requirements, but as usual they fall far short of what should be aimed at. Many schools still exist that should from a structural point of view be condemned outright, and here again rural districts are the worst off. Apart from the allowance of the appropriate space per pupil as mentioned above, essential conditions of good school premises are a central hall for general assembly, an adequate playground with a portion covered for use in wet weather, cloak-rooms with facilities for drying clothes, a sufficient number of exits, with doors opening outwards, lavatories with a sufficient number of basins, sanitary offices and a good supply of drinking water. The best and most up-to-date advice should be obtained as to lighting, heating and ventilation.

Equipment is of equal importance. Economy "stunts" should not prevent the scrapping of furniture which any doctor would condemn as harmful to the child's physical development. Attention should be paid to the substitution of low tables and small chairs for desks in the case of the children under 6, and for the rest the replacing of the unhygienic double desks or long benches by single sloping desks. Books should be printed suitably to the age of the child. Children are still too persistently given Bibles and hymn books in the smallest print, for example. It is surely not essential to the metaphorical opening of the child's eyes to eternal truths that his everyday vision should be spoilt in the process. And perhaps one might be permitted—although it is a little beyond the range of this tract—to suggest to some future Government that rather than busy itself with the nature of the tenets taught in some Sunday Schools, it might devise some machinery applicable to all Sunday Schools to ensure that they shall not fall below an adequate hygienic standard.

The Problem of the Adolescent.

By far the greatest of present day educational problems and that which demands both the most prudent and the most speedy solution is undoubtedly that of the adolescent and the post-elementary stage of public education.

One starts from the complaint generally levelled against the use—or rather abuse—of the last three educational years, *i.e.*, the period 11-14. In these three years elementary education "marks time," "tapers off into vacancy"—these and similar charges are not unjustly made. To quote the words of the

Hadow Report (*): " At the present day the years between 11 and 14-15 form the opening phase of secondary education for a small minority of children, and the closing phase of elementary education for the great majority. Is it possible so to organise education that the first stage may lead naturally and generally to the second, to ensure that all normal children may pursue some kind of post-primary course for a period of not less than three and preferably four years from the age of 11; and to devise curricula calculated to develop more fully than is always the case at present the powers not merely of children of exceptional capacity, but of the great mass of boys and girls, whose character and intelligence will determine the quality of national life during the coming quarter of a century?"

What are the solutions proposed? There is the scheme of compulsory continuation classes. As has already been pointed out, such a scheme has been contemplated as practicable and is actually on the statute book (the Education Act, 1918 (the " Fisher Act "), and the Education Act, 1921, ss 75-79), but it is a dead letter. So may it remain! It should be borne in mind that study is no less a full time job for the student than teaching is for the teacher. If we desire to have an educated community, it is intolerable that a favoured 10 per cent. should be able to acquire their education in easy and natural stages, devoting their minds to it exclusively, while the rest should be compelled to do this at the same time as they have to concentrate on the business of earning a living.

Another solution is the extension of the system of central schools so as to provide a continuous and progressive stage of education after the elementary stage is finished. For a detailed survey of the various kinds of central schools now existing in this country it would be well to refer to the Hadow Report (pp. 50-64). They are mostly of a selective kind, and leave untouched the problem of those who are not selected. Two facts seem clear: (1) that all normal children between 11 and 14 need some kind of education, following upon the elementary stage, which is not at present being provided for them in the elementary school as a general rule; (2) that the kind of education needed in that second stage is secondary education. The phrase " post-primary," of which the Hadow Report so often makes use, is, to put it colloquially, " neither here nor there." It seems to be an attempt to wriggle out of the mathematical axiom that the second stage follows the first and to escape the consequences of too open a support of the " secondary education for all " principle. Post-primary education *is* secondary education, so why not call it so? The dividing line is the age 11-12. It is clear that only when a real curriculum is drawn up for the years 12 to 15 is there use in raising the compulsory leaving age beyond 14. It will be

* Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent, 1926, p. 36.

remembered that L.E.A.'s have power to raise the age to 15 in their districts; up to the present that power has been exercised in two cases.

Entry into Secondary Schools.

Hand in hand with the introduction of a universal system of secondary education from the age 11-12 should go the removal of the financial barriers to entry into the existing secondary schools.

If the trouble about present day elementary education is that it is a "staircase without a landing," what is wrong with our present secondary education is that it is a "landing without a staircase."* We are apt to point with pride to examples of those who beginning from nowhere and having climbed the "educational ladder," have distinguished themselves in politics, the arts, the professions. But we ignore the too large number of those to whom the "educational ladder" has meant lifelong disappointment, failure and even ruin. Far too great a strain is placed on the child of poor parents if he wishes to attain to the university and has to do so by dint of his own efforts. He has to enter into the scramble for scholarships at the age of 11, at an age when others, more comfortably placed, are able to develop their minds more easily and naturally and to pay due attention to the development of their bodies, secure of their educational future. The scramble continues till the age of 17 or 18, when the boy, having fought for a place at each successive stage, is ready to enter the university. Very often he is by this time so much exhausted that he wholly belies the promise of his earlier years and disappoints those who not unreasonably expected great achievements. So that not even to the extent of those who have successfully climbed the "educational ladder" can it be said that "equality of opportunity" is anything but a meaningless fiction, in our present educational system. We have to realise the true facts of the case. On the one hand, 90 per cent. of the young people between the ages of 14-18 are receiving no kind of education whatever; on the other, according to the most authoritative source,† not less than 75 per cent. of our elementary school children are intellectually capable of profiting from full time education up to 16. If secondary education can be provided free of charge in Continental countries, or in the Dominions, why not here? If fees cannot be abolished at one stroke the number of free places available should at any rate be doubled. Otherwise how can they on whom our law itself has imposed the duty of securing "that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education by which they are capable of profiting through inability to pay fees" pretend that they have even attempted in any serious sense to carry it out?

* See "Secondary Education for All," ed. by R. H. Tawney, p. 26.

† Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places, 1920 (Cmd. 968), p. 9.

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BY

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The League of Nations*

By BERNARD SHAW

WHEN my presence at Geneva during the annual Assembly of the League of Nations in 1928 was mentioned in the Press, I received several letters, of which the following is a fair sample:—

> I cannot help being rather surprised and shocked to read that you "sit on the bench of Mockers and Hypocrites." . . . In this country every little child knows that the League of Nations is only a bluff and nothing but an instrument for the policy of the Allied Forces. . . . I really am at a loss to understand why you don't feel your responsibility as a Mental Tutor of the World, when taking such a step as taking part in the comedy of Geneva, which is a tragedy for every country that does not find mercy in the eyes of the world's High Finance.

This letter is not a statesman's utterance. It is a crude expression of the popular impatience which sees no more in the League than an instrument for the instantaneous extirpation of war, and is ready to throw it on the scrap-heap the moment it becomes clear that no such operation is possible, and that the big Powers have not, and never have had, any intention of relinquishing any jot of their sovereignty, or depending on any sort of strength and security other than military. Roughly and generally it is a fact that the pacifist oratory at the Assembly is Christmas card platitude at best and humbug at worst. The permanent departments of the League have to fight hard to defeat the frequent attempts to sabotage it by the big Powers through their deciduous members.

Whilst I was there the Press was keeping the public amused, not to say gulled, by gossip about the Assembly meetings, at which nothing happens but pious speeches which might have been delivered fifty years ago. It was so impossible to listen to them, or to keep awake during the subsequent inevitable translations, that the audience had to be kept in its place by a regulation, physically enforced, that no visitor should be allowed to leave the hall except during the five minutes set apart for that purpose between speech and translation. Fortunately, the young ladies of the Secretariat, who have plenty of dramatic sense, arrange the platform in such a way that the president, the speakers, and the bureau are packed low down before a broad tableau curtain which, being in three pieces, provides most effective dramatic entrances right and

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left of the centre. When a young lady secretary has a new dress, or for any other reason feels that she is looking her best, she waits until the speaker—possibly a Chinese gentleman carefully plodding through a paper written in his best French—has reduced half the public galleries to listless distraction and the other half to stertorous slumber. Then she suddenly, but gracefully, snatches the curtains apart and stands revealed, a captivating mannequin, whilst she pretends to look round with a pair of sparkling eyes for her principal on the bureau. The effect is electric: the audience wakes up and passes with a flash from listless desperation to tense fascination, to the great encouragement of the speaker, who, with his back to the vision beautiful, believes he has won over the meeting at last.

But for these vamping episodes, and such occasional sensations as the possibility of a great platform artist like M. Briand intervening and shaking the League to its foundations by getting his feet on the ground with an allusion to real things as they really are, nobody would face the task of acting as spectator, least of all in the distinguished visitors' gallery, in which there is little distinction and absolutely no ventilation. A very able administrative official, whose heart and soul are in the League, told me that he has been at Geneva eight years, and never attended an Assembly meeting yet.

Whilst this was going on at the Victoria Hotel, and being daily foisted on the public as the real thing, a battle royal, on the upshot of which the very existence of the League as an effective international organ depended, was raging at the other side of the lake in the National Hotel, between Sir Eric Drummond, the permanent British Secretary-General appointed by the Treaty, and Mr. Locker-Lampson, an Assembly member sent for the month by the British Conservative Cabinet. These deciduous members arrive mostly in scandalous ignorance of the obligations already contracted by their Governments to the permanent governing bodies of the League. As party men they are at the opposite pole to the " good Europeans " of Geneva. As patriots they conceive themselves to be advocates of British national interests (not to say nationalist spies in the internationalist camp), and expect to be supported devotedly by their distinguished fellow-countrymen on the permanent staffs. They are rudely undeceived the moment they begin their crude attempts at sabotage.

Thus the British Jingo Imperialist finds himself writhing in the grip of Sir Eric Drummond whilst the French Poincarist-Militarist takes the full count in the first round from M. Albert Thomas. In 1928, Mr. Locker-Lampson, a novice in Geneva like myself, had to deal with the League's Budget, and tried starvation tactics. Parading the poverty of England, he opposed every increase in the necessarily growing estimates.

The difference at stake to his country was about £4,000! When he was informed that the British representative on the governing body of the International Labor Office had, with full instructions from his Government, pledged the British realm to the increases, he desperately declared that the British Government could not be bound by the action of its own instructed representative at the International Labor Office. He was backed by the countries which were losing no opportunity to reduce the League to impotence, and, in particular, to cripple the Labor Office. How could a gentleman and a Conservative tolerate a Labor Office? What has Labor to do with Diplomacy?

His efforts were as unsuccessful as they were unedifying. Sir Eric jumped on him with all the weight of his authority and his splendid record as the first creator of the international staff. M. Albert Thomas, director of the International Labor Office, a first-rate administrator and a devastating debater, wiped the floor with what Sir Eric had left, all the more effectively because he represented France, the most bellicose of the Powers, but also presumably the poorest, as she had just repudiated 80 per cent. of her national debt, and had therefore the best excuse for meanness. In the end Sir Eric, M. Thomas, and the League won with a completeness that made their victory a disgrace to the vanquished; but the public outside Geneva, gaping at the Assembly camouflage, missed it all. Judging the League, like my vituperative correspondent, by the Assembly, the more hardheaded of our taxpayers see nothing in it but a futile hypocrisy, and cannot understand why they should be mulcted to support it. And they are so ignorant of its constitution that a victory by Sir Eric Drummond would be taken by them, if it ever came to their knowledge, as a British victory to be credited to the British Government.

This situation, in which the permanent nominees of the constituent governments are thrown into resolute opposition to their deciduous representatives, is chronic at Geneva. One of M. Albert Thomas' greatest victories there was won over the French Government when he defeated its attempt to exclude agricultural workers from the scope of the Labor Office on the ground that they are not "industrials." **The really great thing that is happening at Geneva is the growth of a genuinely international public service, the chiefs of which are ministers in a coalition which is, in effect, an incipient international Government.** In the atmosphere of Geneva patriotism perishes: a patriot there is simply a spy who cannot be shot. Even Sir Austen Chamberlain, with his naïve assurances that he is an Englishman first and last, and that the British Empire comes before everything with him, must be aware by this

time that in saying this he has only exhilarated the young lions of the secretariat by a standing joke so outrageous that only a man with a single eyeglass could have got away with it.

I am fully aware of the tendency, lately exposed by Señor Madariaga in the columns of The Times, to fill the posts in the secretariat as well as the benches of the Assembly by diplomats sent to uphold the national interests of their country *contra mundum*, and thus to undo the excellent beginning made by Sir Eric Drummond in building up his staff of Internationalists from the ground. The system of appointment, which, being frank jobbery, is the best of all systems in good hands and the worst in bad, makes such a substitution feasible enough. Fortunately, diplomats have to be bred in-and-in in Foreign Offices and Embassies: ventilation is fatal to them. Now Geneva is a veritable temple of the winds. I will not say that the sort of young gentleman who, being paid to allow his mind to play on the problems of European history with a view to inventing foreign policies, does, in fact, allow it to play on the adventures of ambassadors and their valets with a view to inventing funny stories and making himself socially agreeable (a praiseworthy ambition), is not to be met with in Geneva; but he is an anachronism there, and, being trained to keep himself susceptible to varying social influences and conceptions of good form, soon suffers a Lake change, if not into something rich and strange, at least into an anecdotist whose subjects are the relations between the League's constituent States to one another instead of the relations between the kitchens and drawing-rooms at the Embassies.

In short, the League is a school for the new international statesmanship as against the old Foreign Office diplomacy. This appears more clearly on the spot than at home, where the League is thought of as a single institution under a single roof. In Geneva it is seen as three institutions in three separate and not even adjacent buildings. Two of them are only converted hotels, the quondam Victoria Hotel housing the Assembly or Hot Air Exchange, which I have already described, and the quondam National Hotel, now the Secretariat or Palace of the Nations, where Sir Eric Drummond presides over an international civil service staffed with a free variety of the upper division Whitehall type. In contrast to these survivals is the International Labor Office building, brand-new, designed *ad hoc*, a hive, a Charterhouse, with labor glorified in muscular statues and splendid stained glass windows designed in the latest manner of half-human, half-Robotesque drawing, and with every board room panelled and furnished and chandeliered with the gift of some State doing its artistic best, and succeeding to an extraordinary degree

in avoiding trade commonplaces and achieving distinction without grotesqueness. I have never been in a modern business building more handsomely equipped. Here M. Albert Thomas reigns, not as a king, which would immediately suggest a French king, but as a Pope; for this is the true International of which Moscow only dreams; and M. Thomas, though a Frenchman to the last hair of his black beard, and a meridional at that, is the most genuinely Catholic potentate in the world. And here the air is quite fresh: no flavor of Whitehall leather and prunella can be sniffed anywhere. These neo-Carthusians are of a new order, in whose eyes the agreeable gentlemen who have been shoved into the hotel down the road with Sir Eric are the merest relics of a species already extinct, though too far behind the time to know that it is dead. Nevertheless, the neo-Carthusians know the value of those happy accidents of the old order who run the commissions at the Secretariat, and whose work necessarily overlaps their own at many points. And the Secretariat, though not always quite clear as to why this Labor Office is there or what it is for*, and only dimly and rather sceptically conscious of the new proletarian politics (not having found any mention of them in Thucydides, Grote,

*The Secretariat has some excuse for its bewilderment on this point. There is not on the face of it any reason why there should be two estates of the international realm at Geneva instead of one. The explanation is so absurd that nobody guesses it. When President Wilson was planning the League he asked Mr. Gompertz what Labor expected from the League. (Mr. Gompertz was the secretary to the American Federation of Labor and therefore the figure-head of American Trade Unionism.) Mr. Gompertz could think of nothing more definite to say than that labor must not be bought and sold as a commodity in the markets of the millenium at which the League aimed. As Mr. Gompertz opposes Socialism strenuously in the interest of the conservative Trade Unionism which confines itself to the organization of the sale of labor as a commodity in the market to-day, he was evidently in the position of Balaam, blessing where he intended to curse. However, there was nothing for it but to give Mr. Gompertz a pledge that his stipulation should have due consideration; and it was in fulfilment of this pledge that the Labor Office was established as part of the constitution of the League. A less lucid transaction can hardly be imagined; but the Labor Office is none the less an invaluable asset of the proletarian cause. That it is a nuisance and a mistake from the capitalist point of view makes it necessary for Fabians and other sympathizers with public international regulation of labor to be on their guard against possible attempts to merge it in the Secretariat in the name of Unification, or some such pious word. The effect of unification would depend on whether the constitution of the unified body would be that of the Labor Office, which is modern and fairly proof against class manipulation, or that of the Secretariat, which makes such manipulation dangerously easy. As the Labor Office and its friends are quite willing to let the Secretariat die a natural death, it may safely be assumed for the present that no proposal affecting the independence of the Labor Office will be made except by those whose real object is to abolish it.

and Macaulay) finds that M. Thomas is a tower of strength to it when the League's existence is threatened by the big Powers whose moral standards it is forcing up.

An example will illustrate this moral pressure, and answer the question: "What do all these people do besides pretending that the League can prevent war?" Take the case of the mandates. The Powers have not only their own dominions to govern, but countries which are placed under their tutelage until the inhabitants are able to govern themselves. Let us suppose that Ruritania is given a mandate to govern Lilliput provisionally for Lilliput's good. Ruritania, neither knowing nor caring what a mandate means, but seeing a chance of extending its territory, grabs Lilliput eagerly, and proceeds to exercise all the irresponsible powers of a sovereign conqueror there without regard to the native point of view. This goes on until the representative of Ruritania at Geneva is called on to give an account of Ruritania's stewardship. The representative has a very natural impulse to say haughtily: "Ask no questions and you will be told no lies"; but he finds that this is out of order, as a mandate is, after all, a mandate. Being unable to give answers which are at once satisfactory and truthful, he does what every gentleman does for the credit of his country: that is, lies like a Pauline Cretan. But, being a gentleman, he does not enjoy this method of saving face. When he goes back to Ruritania, he angrily asks what on earth the officials meant by putting him into such a fix, and insists that it shall not occur again, as it must unless the government of Lilliput is brought up to mandate level. This may not be immediately possible; but at all events enough gets done to enable the League to be faced next year with no more than a reasonable resort to prevarication.

The Howard Society, heartbroken by the atrocities to which not only convicted felons but untried prisoners are subject in many lands, is striving for a humane international agreement in the matter. If the League of Nations did not exist, such an object would be unattainable. Without the Labor Office an international agreement by the nations not to compete industrially by sweating their workers would be equally impossible. As it is, there is an agreement limiting the permissible duration of the working day which England is shirking, but which Geneva will shame her into presently: an important psychological operation which would not be practicable without the Labor Office. Even were there no such question as that of war and peace, the League would be able to justify its existence ten times over: indeed this question is now rather the main drawback to the League than its *raison d'être*. Take into account the incipient international court of

justice at The Hague, with the body of international law which will grow from it, and the case for maintaining the League becomes irresistible, and the attempts to starve it disgracefully stupid, even if the Kellogg Pact be nothing but humbug. I stress this because, as a matter of fact, Mr. Kellogg was duped into taking a step backward towards war under the impression that he was driving the Powers to make a giant stride towards peace. By the original covenant of the League, the Powers are bound not to make war until they have first submitted their case to the League: that is, without a considerable delay. Since then the big fighting Powers have been trying to extricate themselves from this obligation and be once more free to make war without notice whenever they want to. Their first success in this direction was the Locarno agreement, the second the Kellogg Pact. Both of them established conditions under which the covenant might be violated; and the Kellogg Pact put the finishing touch by providing that the Powers might go to war at any time " in self-defence." What this means is plain in the light of the fact that the German attack in 1914 was, perhaps, the most complete technical case of self-defence in military history, Germany's avowed enemy, Russia, having mobilized against her. But, indeed, since such excuses for war became conventional there has never been a war which lacked them. Of all the wars which Commander Kenworthy, in his significant book, " Will Civilisation Crash?" has shewn to be on the diplomatic cards, including, especially, a war between the British Empire and the United States, there is not one that could not be, and, if it breaks out, will not be, represented as a war of self-defence on both sides. Mr. Kellogg had better have privileged wars of aggrandisement or revenge, because any Power claiming the privilege would at least have been in an indefensible moral position. As it is, the League must steadfastly ignore all the much-advertised proceedings at Locarno and Paris exactly as it was itself ignored on both occasions, and insist on the Covenant as still binding.

But the Pact made the pacifist ice so thin in 1928 that the Assembly skaters hardly dared to move on it; and this was why M. Briand made such a sensation when he cut a figure or two on the outside edge as if there were nothing the matter. The panic-stricken journalists accused him of all sorts of malicious intentions; but he really said only two things, both of which needed saying. The first was that Germany's pose as a disarmed State was only a *reductio ad absurdum* of disarmament, as Germany, with her convertible commercial aircraft, was just as able as any of the Allies to make the only sort of surprise attack that is now really dreaded. The second was that the next war may not be a war of conquest or

self-defence or revenge, but a crusade: a crusade for Internationalism against Nationalism and Imperialism, for Socialism against Capitalism, for Bolshevism against Liberal democracy: in short, a war for ideals, in which case the present alliance between M. Briand and M. Poincaré would hardly hold. M. Briand did not give these instances. I am crossing his t's and dotting his i's very freely; but that is what it came to. If it were not for such occasional interventions as this of M. Briand, the Assembly might be dismissed as mere window-dressing in an otherwise empty shop. But window-dressing has its importance. If the big Powers neglect it as part of their habit of ignoring it and making pacts and "naval arrangements" and the like behind its back whenever they are really interested, and slighting it when they are not, whilst at the same time the little States are clinging to it and sending the best men they can spare to represent them at it, it may end in the League being dominated at some important crisis by the superior ability of the envoy of some hardly perceptible South American Republic, and the big Powers being reduced to insignificance by the incapacity for international affairs of second-rate party careerists who have no business to be at Geneva at all. The Genevan prestige of England stood high in the days when the Labor Government sent Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson to discuss the protocol. In 1928 we had novices with absurd instructions writhing helplessly in the grip, not only of first-rate officials who are also in effect ministers, but of representatives of baby States whose armaments, when they have any, are comparatively negligible.

Even if the Cabinets of the big Powers are still so short-sighted and narrow-minded as to wish to reduce the League to insignificance, they will certainly not do it by sending half-tried lightweights there when the smaller States are sending their heaviest champions. Neither, however, must they send what are called representative persons. M. Briand never received a deeper insult than when the French Press, imagining that he had merely made a vulgar attack on the Germans, congratulated him on having been the spokesman of French opinion. His real achievement was to have held the fort for sane internationalism for some years in the teeth of Poincarism. Geneva is not the place for the man in the street. The street is full of persons with parochial minds: jingo minds, imperial minds, foreigner-hating minds, senselessly pugnacious minds, and senselessly terrified minds. A League representing such people would wreck civilization in ten years if they could by any miracle be induced to combine against it. Our salvation in these days depends on the small and unrepresentative percentage of persons who can see further

than the end of their noses; and of such must the League be if its enormous potential values are to be realized.

The League is not, as many of its friends fear, in any danger of dissolution. Its roots had struck deep before it appeared above ground in 1919; and in spite of its apparent impotence in the matter of war and peace all the serious statesmen of the big Powers now know that they cannot do without it. It may be said of it, as Voltaire and Robespierre said of God, that if there were no League, it would be necessary to invent one. But it may not always be *the* League, one and indivisible. Already there are two Leagues of Nations: one so-called at Geneva, and the other called the United States of America. The Geneva League is not psychologically homogeneous; and in 1928 it received an alarming shock in consequence. The most considerable British statesman at Geneva then was Lord Lytton, who was representing, not the British Western, but the British Eastern Empire. And his contribution to the proceedings of the Assembly shewed how very unreal a League of Nations—even one which virtually comprises two great Leagues stretching from the Urals to the Rockies—may become east of Suez.

Speaking as the member for India, Lord Lytton said that the Geneva League was not worth to India what it was costing her. Then he struck at the Achilles heel of the League. He reminded the Assembly that the decisions of the League must be unanimous, and left it to infer that if its proceedings continued to lack all interest for India, no more unanimous decisions would be forthcoming. And at that he left it.

Now it is clear that if Asia uses the League to deadlock Europe and America, Europe and America must admit that East and West cannot work in double harness, and that the East must have Leagues of its own, working with Geneva just as America does. This seems likely, now that Lord Lytton has fired his warning maroon, to be the first fission; but it may not be the only one; for psychological homogeneity is strained at Geneva longitudinally as well as latitudinally. The Nordic race beloved of North American and German "blonde beasts" may be a romantic fiction; but when we speak of a Nordic temperament and a Latin temperament we are indicating facts which distinguish the north from the south of Europe as they distinguish the north from the south of America; and these facts may deadlock or greatly hamper Geneva until it recognises that the Federation of the World will come before the Parliament of Man, which can hardly be realized until Man becomes a much less miscellaneous lot than he is at present.

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LABOUR'S FOREIGN POLICY.

What has been and what might be

BY

H. M. SWANWICK.

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LABOUR'S FOREIGN POLICY.

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THERE is no department of politics in which the policy of Labour is more markedly opposed to that of the two older parties than the department of foreign affairs. From its very constitution, we might infer this difference; for the British Labour Party is the only one of the three parties in Parliament which is a member of an International organisation: the Labour and Socialist International.

Sir Austen Chamberlain has explained on more than one occasion that the true Briton abhors a general principle. Even if this be true, it may yet be possible for an eccentric who does happen to be interested in general principles to infer them by observing the long-continued actions and utterances of politicians —even of the most "unprincipled." They may not themselves be aware of it, but all past Liberal and Conservative Governments have based their foreign policy on the ancient and outworn conception of a world composed of independent, competing, a-moral Sovereign States, which were compelled by the very law of their being to adopt in relation to each other methods essentially those of war. In direct opposition to this ancient conception is the new one, accepted whole-heartedly only by the Labour Party: that of States whose sovereignty is voluntarily limited by the obligations of law, the acceptance of arbitration and the development of co-operation. This conception leads to the adoption of methods of peace.

The development of this co-operative and international view of the relation of States was extended over many decades, and it would be absurd to claim that it has been the discovery of the Socialist Party alone, here, or in any other country. What Socialists may justly claim is that theirs is the political party which has most whole-heartedly adopted and made propaganda not only for this ideal in the abstract, but for the practical measures necessary for its realisation. While in this country Conservatives and Liberals alike do lip-service to the new principles of law, arbitration and co-operation, as laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations, yet many of their past actions have belied these principles. While all parties in this country declare that they stand for peace, only one, the Labour Party, is willing to pay the price of peace.

It cannot be too clearly understood that the two above-mentioned conceptions of the relations of States to each other are

mutually destructive and that, by his timid clinging to indefensible portions of the old conception, Sir Austen Chamberlain has been hindering the development of the new, not only here but—because of the importance of the British Empire—all the world over. The old conception always looked towards war, concerned itself with methods appropriate to war and converted statesmanship into strategy; peace was merely an interval between wars. The new conception looks towards peace, concerns itself with methods appropriate to peace, and puts statesmanship at the service of co-operation.

Effete diplomacy, based on the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of States, gets round the obligations of the League Covenant (which cuts deeply into that doctrine) by every available subterfuge and ingenuity. The letter of the law had not been broken by this Government, but the spirit is being broken most of the time.

It is proposed here to examine very briefly the record of Mr. Baldwin's third Administration in regard to foreign affairs, and to contrast it with the policy which Labour would have pursued and has declared its intention of pursuing, if returned to power at the General Election.

THE LABOUR PROGRAMME.

I.—Strengthening the League of Nations.

Taking in their order the main points of the foreign policy of the Labour Party, as officially set forth by the Annual Conference, at Birmingham, in October, 1928, we find the first place given to the strengthening of the League of Nations. Obviously, if international co-operation is to take the place of international anarchy based on nationalist exclusiveness, the great organ of international co-operation—the League of Nations—must rely on the passionate loyalty of members and the respect of non-members. It will be possible for the League to resist any formidable outburst of belligerent feeling only when it has attained a secure place in the hearts of the peoples, so that in a clash of loyalties, the greater will overcome the less.

What has been this Government's record in regard to creating this loyalty to the League? Under Mr. Baldwin's third administration, Great Britain has (1) not broken the Covenant, (2) paid the assessed contribution to League expenses, (3) sent its Foreign Secretary regularly to attend sessions of the Council and the Assembly. Beyond this, it would be hard to find any direction in which Great Britain has strengthened the League in the course of the last four and a half years. On the other hand, there have been many occasions when our Government has definitely

obstructed the development of the League, and it has on no occasion been the initiator of forward movements, such as the Economic Conference, the Disarmament Conference, or the renunciation of all war.

Among many examples which might be given, the following will illustrate this judgment :—

Alliances. The League Council having the duty of judging impartially between States which are in dispute, it is obvious that no State-member should—in Mr. Wilson's phrase—" play favourites " with any other State. We should have no alliances, understandings, commitments, or bargains, which might prevent our giving as impartial a judgment in any quarrel as is consistent with human frailty. Yet frequently the language and still more frequently the conduct of our Foreign Secretary have indicated relations, now with France (in regard to Germany and the occupation), now with Spain (in regard to Mosul and a permanent seat on the Council), now with Fascist Italy (in regard to Abyssinia), which suggest, not friendship alone—a wholly admirable state—but a common front against some other Power or Powers.

League Finance. It is obvious that the finances of the League must be subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny and conducted with intelligent economy. They are, as a matter of fact, far more carefully scrutinised by International Committees than are most national budgets, and rightly. But " economy " does not mean " not spending," and it should have been anticipated that, as the League grew and developed, the amount of its expenditure would necessarily increase. At the 1928 Assembly, the British delegation, which had been for years past objecting to increased expenditure, proposed to refer back the proposal of the Budget Committee for an increase of 1,500,000 Swiss francs over the previous year's expenditure of 25,371,244 Swiss francs; this increase was chiefly due to expansion in the work of the Internatonal Labour Office (I.L.O.), and to new work recommended by the Economic Conference of 1927. It would have brought the League budget up to £1,070,000, this sum including the work of the Secretariat and its many Committees, the Council and Assembly, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the I.L.O. and its Committees. No one in his senses could deny the world's crying need for economic co-operation; yet Mr. Godfrey Locker-Lampson was put up to propose a reduction of the estimates by one million francs. It is satisfactory (though humiliating to our national feeling) to record that, in the event, the Assembly actually increased the sum, not by 1,500,000 francs, as originally proposed, but by 1,800,000 francs.

It is well to ask ourselves what proportion of our total expenditure goes to the maintenance of the League, and what we get

in return for it. Great Britain is at present assessed at (roughly) 10 per cent. of the League's expenditure. Upon the League budget for 1929, therefore, we shall pay only £108,000, and even some of this may be returned. Our total national expenditure in 1927 was £838,585,000, and out of this the League receives about one-eighth of a farthing in the pound. If Great Britain derived no direct cash advantage out of this expenditure—ludicrously small as peace insurance, when compared with our expenditure on armaments (£118,600,000 in 1927)—it would still be immensely profitable in indirect ways. But it happens that we have also derived remarkable financial profit, directly. The British loan to Austria of 2¼ millions, which was, in 1922 threatened with complete loss through the bankruptcy of that country, has, as a consequence of the League reconstruction scheme, been paying a steady interest of £187,134 yearly; or nearly £80,000 more than our annual contribution for League expenses.*

Such results should not, of course, be anticipated as a necessary consequence of our membership of the League, but they do expose the meanness of the Government's attitude. Although a Labour Government would certainly not encourage any slackness in League expenditure, we may feel sure it would not starve or cripple work so essential to civilisation.

The Eight Hours' Convention. The conduct of the Government in regard to this Convention is a crying scandal. It was signed in 1919 at Washington by the British representative. The British Government has postponed ratification from year to year till, in 1926, a Conference of Ministers of Labour from the more important industrial countries in Europe met in London in order to define the terms. Ratification was to follow, but did not. On March 11th, 1929, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland gave to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. a more detailed criticism than his Government had yet published, but he made no constructive proposals. Labour, as usual, stood firm and the representatives of the French and German Governments also opposed the united forces of the Employers, declaring that revision would embarrass them.

Mandates. The conception of the Mandated areas as a " sacred trust of civilisation " is magnificent if honestly held, but repulsive if made a hypocritical cover for annexation or exploitation. The honest conception possesses one guardian in the Mandates Commission of the League, which exists to enquire into the way in which the " sacred trust " is exercised. In September, 1926, the Commission, which has always acted tactfully and discreetly, presented to the Council two requests—one was that cer-

* The figures in this paragraph relating to the Austrian Loan are derived from *Headway*, November, 1928.

tain questions (covering no new ground, but methodising enquiry) should be permitted, and the other that, under exceptional circumstances, the Commission should be entitled to receive, in person, petitioners from Mandated territories. The whole body of Mandatory Powers on the Council—France, Belgium and the British Empire—rallied to the attack on the Mandates Commission, and Sir Austen Chamberlain's rebukes lacked none of the asperity for which he has an unpleasant reputation. He makes no secret of the fact that he dislikes even the very small interference with national sovereignty contained in the Minorities Treaties and the Mandates system.

II.—The Renunciation of War.

The Pact of Paris, commonly known as the Kellogg Pact, was, after sixteen months of negotiations, signed in Paris by the United States, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the British Empire, Germany, Italy, Japan and Poland, and was then open to all the nations of the world to sign. By it the signatories (1) 'renounce war " as an instrument of *national* policy " (an undertaking which excludes acts of war committed under *international* authority), and (2) agree that the settlement of disputes " shall never be sought except by pacific means."

This epoch-making declaration was ratified first by the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and then by the United States, after a prolonged debate in the Senate. The British Government, whose loud and interminable trumpeting of the Locarno Treaty has become a subject for derision, has ratified the Pact of Paris without any reference to the House of Commons, on the plea that everybody is agreed about it. Is it not lamentable that the Government, so lavish with pageantry and pomp for militarist or imperialist occasions, should have no public honour to offer this occasion? Is it indeed because we are all agreed? Or is it because the British Government fears some reference to the " understandings " under which we agreed to sign the Pact? These include (1) the maintenance of the " inherent right " of every sovereign State to self-defence and (2) the condition that " there were certain regions, the welfare and integrity of which constituted a special and vital interest for the Empire's peace and safety " and that " the Government accepted the proposed Pact on the distinct understanding that it did not prejudice their freedom of action in that respect."

The Government has not named these regions; they certainly include Egypt (which would prefer the protection of the League lead); possibly a region round the Persian Gulf; conceivably Afghanistan. There is nothing to prevent this " understanding " from being extended to any region we please. On the same

grounds, France might have excluded Belgium, or Poland, or Czechoslovakia; Italy might have excluded Albania, and for the matter of that, so might Yugoslavia; Germany might have excluded Austria. But they did not. And the Covenant of the League provides us with all the safeguards to which we are entitled, for Article XI. declares that—

> "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

It is an indirect but very effectual method of discrediting the League to insist upon a sort of "re-insurance" instead of boldly relying on protecting our legitimate interests in and through the League.

The two "understandings" mentioned by the British Government are not properly called "reservations," and they are not incorporated in the Pact. The Labour Party has therefore formally announced that it repudiates them and proposes to be bound by the strict terms of the Pact itself.

III.—Disarmament.

The third Baldwin Administration has played solemnly farcical variations on the theme of Disarmament. It sent representatives to five sessions of the League Preparatory Commission for a Disarmament Conference, and in 1927, at Geneva, took part in a Naval Disarmament Conference (commonly called the Coolidge Conference) with the United States and Japan; it is difficult to see that it did anything on any of these occasions, or subsequently, except entangle the question further and rouse considerable suspicion of our policy in America, Germany, and even France. In the Preparatory Commission, the British, Japanese and American representatives wished that naval armaments should be limited by categories, but the British and Americans could not agree as to the types of ships and guns to be excluded from limitation and this difference of opinion appeared irreconcilable at the Coolidge Conference. The Americans wished to limit all classes of combatant vessels, including light submarines (peculiarly desired by the French), and 10,000-ton cruisers, armed with 6 to 8 inch guns (peculiarly desired by the British); the British wished to limit ships over 10,000 tons, whether aircraft carriers or cruisers (peculiarly desired by the Americans). The French had presented a scheme for reduction by total tonnage which would have enabled them to have a larger number of the small vessels, submarine and otherwise, which they desire.

When at the Fifth Session of the Preparatory Commission, in March, 1928, the deadlock appeared to be complete all round, Mr. Hugh Gibson (U.S.A.) suggested that various Governments and groups of Governments might try by direct negotiation to eliminate their difficulties. Accordingly, Sir Austen Chamberlain negotiated privately with M. Briand, and between them the two Governments agreed to accept the Anglo-American plan of reduction by categories, but to propose the reduction of the big ships which America wanted and retain the smaller ships which France and Great Britain wanted. As a *quid pro quo*, Great Britain offered to withdraw her opposition to the French claim regarding trained military reserves.

Naturally, when this proposal leaked out through the French Press, Germany, whose trained reserves have been so drastically limited by the Treaty of Versailles, took alarm at the last point. Sir Austen's telegram in reply to our Minister in Berlin was in the very best style of old diplomacy, for he considered he had reassured Herr Stresemann by explaining that " the *text* of the compromise " proposed by France and Great Britain referred exclusively to naval limitations, while there was only an " *understanding* " with France about the withdrawal of our opposition to her mass of trained reserves. Later on, Lord Cushendun, left as caretaker when Sir Austen's health broke down, actually asserted in a telegram to Washington that it would be a " misapprehension " to represent the arrangement with France as a bargain; it was nothing of the sort; the British Government had quite independently come to the conclusion that " it would be impossible to move the French and the other European Governments " from their position in this matter. In reply to this it is enough to quote the actual text of a note by Sir Austen Chamberlain to Lord Crewe, dated June 26th, 1928, in which, after detailing the naval part of the suggested compromise, he concluded :—

> " You should add that the adoption of this suggestion, which His Majesty's Government recognise would be a concession to their views on naval classification, *would enable them to meet the French Government* by withdrawing their opposition to the French standpoint in regard to army-trained reserves."

The words italicized (by me) plainly show that the proposal was intended to be a bargain : " You roll my naval log and I'll roll your military log !" We cannot be surprised that Germany was alarmed. Neither can we be surprised that the United States was indignant at the Anglo-French Agreement, which, in the words of the American Ambassador in London, " appears to fulfil none of the conditions which to the American Government seem vital."

Small wonder if it began to be thought that there was some strategical basis for this British complaisance to French submarines and that the frequent revival of the phrase "Anglo-French Entente," even on ministerial lips, alarmed not only America, but all those Europeans who regard strategical alliances as dangerous to the League. More particularly must Germany ask herself how Great Britain is to carry out impartially her guarantee under the Treaty of Locarno, if she has tied herself up in this way to one of the possible disputants. If French and British fleets are to be considered as making one, this Entente is explicable; not otherwise.

Moreover, we induced Germany to sign the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles by the statement that it was "to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations," and it is simply putting our heads in the sand to refuse to see that by their unjustifiable delay in carrying out their side of the undertaking, the victors in the late war are tempting Germany to seize upon every device by which she can protect herself against the militarism to which we refuse to put an end and which is encamped on her very soil.

The fact is that, on this question of disarmament, none of the victor powers have had any policy but that of a scramble to keep as much as they each could. They have consulted their military, naval, air and chemical experts and have attempted to pursue the old policy of "trying to make every tree in the garden taller than every other tree" precisely as if the League of Nations did not exist. It may be said that we are not worse or more foolish than many other Powers, and this would be true if we were not greater than most and therefore more deeply responsible for holding up disarmament. For in a matter like this, it is for the strongest to lead the way.

In contrast with this confused grasping at contradictories the Labour policy is plain. Meaning what it says by "the Renunciation of War," intending to accept All-In-Arbitration, it declares its aim to "abolish the element of force from international relations" and not to rest content "until all nations have mutually agreed to reduce their armaments to the minimum required for maintaining national and international order." It is the only party which could give confidence to the world that it meant what it said in the matter, and its return to power would probably result in the decay of many militarisms in other countries.

IV.—Arbitration.

The "gap" in the Covenant. The Covenant makes it much less easy to wage aggressive war, but such wars are still possible

and it was the intention of the Labour Government in 1924 to render them impossible by continued action with other powers through the celebrated Geneva Protocol. This instrument, unanimously recommended to all the Powers by the Fifth Assembly, would have introduced All-In-Arbitration and have coupled with it a Disarmament Conference to take place in 1925. One of the first acts of the Conservative Government was to reject the Protocol, and it has ever since then firmly rejected pleas for All-In-Arbitration and even the offer of Treaties on the part of such peaceful and non-provocative states as Switzerland, Sweden and Holland.

The General Act. The Ninth Assembly (1928) recommended for signature a treaty called " The General Act for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes." In it there is full provision for all varieties of national settlement, but the British Government has received it with marked coldness and obviously intends to do nothing about it. This Act is the positive side of the negative in the Pact of Paris, by which we bind ourselves never to seek the solution of a dispute " except by pacific means." If we mean this, we must develop the " pacific means " and our refusal to do so bears a, perhaps undeservedly, sinister interpretation; just as many men, who had not cared one way or another about the enfranchisement of women were forced, at last, to ask themselves why, after all, it was being so obstinately opposed. If Great Britain will not sign the General Act, if she will not herself accept the very undertakings which she pressed upon France and Germany and backed by her guarantee in the Treaty of Locarno, will not all her asseverations fail to reassure people who ask why she still keeps ajar the little door of lawlessness leading back to the old European anarchy which was the ultimate cause of the war?

The principles of the General Act have been accepted by the Labour Party and we may feel confident that its signature by Great Britain would be followed by many other signatures and would, as it was intended to do, greatly facilitate the process of Disarmament.

The Optional Clause. When Great Britain became a member of the League, she recognised the League's Permanent Court of International Justice as suitable for the adjudication of certain (legal or justiciable) disputes; but she did not sign the " Optional Clause " of the Statute establishing the Court, by which she would have bound herself (with or without qualifications) to carry such disputes to the Court. As time has gone on, over 26 States-Members have in one form or another accepted the obligations of the " Optional Clause," including Germany, who signed as

soon as she became a Member in 1926. ' There is little doubt that, if we signed, the rest of the Members would fall in with us, and the Labour Party has declared its intention of signing, with, possibly, one or two qualifications which would in no way affect the binding nature of the undertaking never to seek the settlement of international disputes except by pacific means.

V.—Economic Co-operation.

It is obvious that so long as States feel there is a danger of war, there will be a tendency to try to be self-sufficient. In the case of Great Britain it is so manifestly impossible that these islands should be self-sufficient that the tendency has been to try to attain self-sufficiency within the Empire, and the struggle for this has been responsible for many of our wars and annexations and for our attitude in regard to sea-power. Once the danger of war were reduced to a minimum by the methods already suggested, we could not only throw down barriers of trade, but we could develop, by means of the League and of all-inclusive organisations of trade and industry outside the League, a degree of economic co-operation which would in time set every man, woman and child beyond the reach of want and out of the power of exploitation. The consumer, as well as the worker, could be protected by international action, if only confidence could be established.

VI.—Publicity.

Open Diplomacy. It will be remembered that when the Labour Government was in office it made a declaration that it would enter into no treaties or agreements without the consent of Parliament, and in 1925 the Labour Party went so far as to pass a resolution that—

> " No Treaty or Convention of any kind shall be binding upon this country or will be recognised as such by any future Labour Government until it has been confirmed by Parliament."

On July 11th, 1927, Sir Austen Chamberlain declared that the Government will undertake no future engagements on behalf of our country without submitting those engagements to Parliament and having the approval of Parliament for them."

Nevertheless, Sir Austen's preference for pre-League methods of diplomacy does not diminish. He has used Geneva far more as a meeting-place for private confabulations than for action in and through the League, and he contributed largely to the disastrous failure of the Extraordinary Assembly in March, 1926, when his secret undertakings to France and Spain and Poland

served to encourage the aspirations which prevented the admission of Germany at that time. Again, it was not till the Abyssinian Government appealed to the League that the British people became aware of the mapping out in that country of " Spheres of Influence " between the British and Italian Governments. It is methods such as these that bring us to the edge of an " inevitable war " without our knowing our danger.

It is significant that Sir Austen should have proposed that the League Council should meet only three instead of four times a year on the ground that it has not enough to do. But it is a popular gibe that " the Council touches nothing which it does not adjourn," and this is mainly because anachronistic diplomacy, like that of Sir Austen, cannot bring itself to treat frankly the problems that come before the Council, but prefers the old secret methods, by which all sorts of unavowed pressure can be used.

Espionage. Diplomatic spying and all the shady methods of the Secret Service are not only ineffectual for good, but a positive bar to frankness and understanding. Unavowable shady characters who frequently sell the same valueless " secrets " to a number of mutually hostile gulls and who become expert in manufacturing those which they cannot find, lead by the nose men who should be responsible statesmen; the Foreign Office becomes an appendage of Scotland Yard.

VII.—Political Co-operation.

The kind of co-operation which the Labour Party contemplates is with *all* Powers *all the time*, and not with one Power or set of Powers in opposition to another Power or set of Powers; a co-operation which shifts about and has no significance or stability. When Spain failed to get a permanent seat on the League Council, her representative complained openly that she had been ill rewarded for the support she had given to Great Britain over Mosul! We have joined with Fascist Italy in some very queer dealings over Abyssinia (kept secret from Abyssinia as well as from the British people), and, in spite of the admirable reciprocity (on paper) of the Treaty of Locarno, our foreign policy, whether from fear or friendship, leans always to the side of France.

We not only pocketed a share of the French receipts from the invasion of the Ruhr (which we had declared illegal), but to oblige the French Government we continued our occupation of the Cologne area for many months after evacuation was due, according to the Treaty. We do not, or dare not, speak clearly about the total evacuation of the Rhineland, which should have taken place as a consequence of the Locarno Treaty and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations.

In regard to Russia, Conservative policy has led us further and further away from an understanding, has certainly not prevented Bolshevik propaganda, and has lost us many millions of pounds' worth of trade at a time when it was of vital importance to us to extend our commerce. The Arcos raid in 1927 was an outrage which, while it certainly damaged Russia, damaged us at least as much. Undoubtedly one of the first acts of a second Labour Administration would be to resume diplomatic and commercial relations with Russia and settle outstanding differences by Treaty or by arrangement.

The folly of our alienation of America in order to oblige France scarcely needs to be enlarged upon. The United States, by its negotiation of the Pact of Paris, by its signature and ratification, has made the greatest step towards the rest of the world since its repudiation of the Versailles Treaty and its refusal to join the League. It has, in fact made a treaty of eternal peace with all the world, including Russia. It is as difficult for a great Power to be truly international as for a camel to enter the needle's eye, and yet the greatness of the United States, as of the British Empire, depends precisely on whether they can achieve this miracle. For this it is absolutely essential that we should discuss the whole question of the Freedom of the Seas with the United States and come to the only—which is the international —solution: that they shall never be closed by any Power *as a matter of national policy*. If we do not come to terms with the United States on these lines, nothing is more certain than that it will increase its navy until it is in a position to turn the tables upon us and claim against us the belligerent rights which we claimed in the last war.

Continuity?

Lord Grey of Fallodon last November renewed the plea for continuity of Foreign Policy. But the Labour Party cannot travel the same road as the other two parties. They look back; the Labour Party looks forward.

Lord Grey hoped that Foreign Affairs might not be made an election issue; the Labour Party regards it as one of the most important of all issues and one on which this Government (as well as previous Liberal and Coalition Governments) has gone disastrously wrong.

Lord Grey suggested that the Anglo-French naval agreement had perhaps been an "isolated blunder." Such blunders are too costly and this one was not isolated.

Sir Austen Chamberlain is, in one respect at least, too modest; he has some principles; and he acts on them.

They are not the principles of the Labour Party, and the Labour Party intends to oppose them.

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AGRICULTURE AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

BY

G. T. GARRATT.

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Agriculture and the Labour Party

By G. T. GARRATT.

The future of the farming industry presents one of the most difficult problems which the Labour Party has to face. Agriculture has, for many years, been the " last item on the agenda," the hopeless subject which no Cabinet dares to tackle. On the other hand many optimistic theories about farming in England are widely accepted in the Labour movement, while the land question has been so mangled by rival protagonists that it is difficult to get any countryman to take it seriously. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of land in English farming. The industry is chiefly engaged in turning uneatables into eatables, and reducing bulky food-stuffs, cereals and vegetables, into more concentrated forms. In these operations either land or animals can be used. A dairy farmer has frequently to decide whether he will spend £12 on four tons of basic slag for his pastures, or one ton of dairy cake for his cows. Both slag and cake are uneatable by-products to be converted into milk, but in one case the farmer uses both land and cows, in the other his stock only. It will be seen in a later section that the tendency in England is to use the land less, and to rely chiefly on stock, fed upon purchased food-stuffs. In farming parlance the land is used to provide bulky " roughage " for the stock, but the " concentrates " are imported.

It is best to look upon land partly as a machine, partly as a reserve of potential feeding stuffs. In the old and much worked lands of Europe and India the first aspect is of chief importance, and land is reckoned good or bad according to the ease with which it can be cultivated, and its retentiveness of the manures which are added to it. On virgin lands the second aspect is the most important, for these are so rich in humus that crops can be taken from them for two generations without any replenishing. The exploitation of such lands must be more profitable than the cultivation of old land, the soil deficiencies of which have to be supplied. One hears too frequently such remarks as " Why should our young men go to work in Canada when there is as good land at their own door?" The movement from old land to new has been going on for centuries. It can be seen in America to-day. The " Middle West " was typical virgin land which brought the first exploiters considerable prosperity. It is now almost worked out, and the old farming families are either migrating or being forced into " conservative " farming, the

European farming which is based on returning to the soil each year some of the constituents which have been removed by the last crop. Such farming is, in every country, very unremunerative compared with industry, and the latter, in America as in England, tends to drain from the former all the most active and enterprising men.

There is no real virgin land in England, and our land must usually be classed according to its efficiency as a medium of cultivation, or the ease with which it can be made to grow the valuable grasses. It may be too heavy to be handled easily, like our boulder clay, or too light to be retentive of manure, like the sandy soils which are to be found in certain Eastern counties, and which are so characteristic of North Europe. The amount of really good land, retentive but easy to work, is very limited. One recent development must be remembered. Modern economic changes are helping the light lands against the " strong " lands. Manures keep their price or become cheaper. Labour grows more expensive. Soils which are wasteful of manure are, therefore, relatively more profitable than those which require an excessive amount of labour. It is the heavy intractable clays which are going down to grass. The lighter lands are holding their own. In the West of England the difficulties of managing clay land are increased by the heavy rainfall and lack of winter frosts.

The position to-day is that five of our thirty million acres of agricultural land are classed as " rough grazing." Of the remainder some two-fifths are under arable cultivation. About a million acres are used for fruit, potatoes, and market garden crops. Two and a half million are under wheat and barley, the remaining arable land being used for crops which fit in with our " mixed " farming system, and are mostly used for feeding stock. Nearly all our land is in the hands of small scale producers, providing their own capital, and employing little labour. Arable farming has not proved sufficiently attractive to encourage the speculative capitalist, and only a small proportion of our mixed farming is undertaken by companies working on a large scale. The few exceptions are usually retail dairy companies, and the co-operative societies, but the latter have not found the business profitable, and are tending to give up their farms. The 300,000 men who call themselves farmers and graziers only employ some 670,000 men and boys, and even this latter figure is deceptive, for the proportion of lads under 21 is fifty per cent. higher than in industry generally. The regular workers, over 21 years old, only numbered 452,900 in 1927. The wage-earners in the farming industry are decreasing, the men who are their own masters seem to be increasing very slowly. Probably under five per cent. of our farmers now employ as many as ten men.

This exceedingly complex small-scale industry does not appeal to any except the most doctrinaire as a suitable subject for nationalisation. It would also appear that agriculture, unlike most other industries, does not lend itself to mass production except on prairie land or for beet growing. " Conservative " farming seems to be a small scale occupation. All serious political opinion is, therefore, in favour of modifying rather than replacing the existing organisation of English farming, based on the medium sized mixed farm. It will be best to consider separately the three sides of the industry: (1) The land and the landlord's responsibilities; (2) The farm and the tenant's responsibilities; (3) The marketing of farm products.

1. Land and Buildings.

The typical English farm is owned by a private individual, and leased to a farmer. About three-quarters of the thirty million acres used for agriculture are held under this tenure. Of the remainder some six million acres are occupied and worked by their owners. Though the owner-occupier is rapidly becoming a common farming type—the number of such holdings and their area doubled between 1919 and 1924—the change is often one of name only. Most of the new tenants are old tenant-farmers who have been forced to buy their holdings on the breaking up of large estates. In nearly every case a heavy mortgage was raised in order to purchase, so that these farmers have really got " a bank for their landlord," and in many cases, owing to the fall in the price of agricultural land, the mortgage now exceeds the value of the farm.

More than a million acres of agricultural land are in the hands of public or semi-public bodies. The County Councils administer a little less than half a million under the Small Holdings Acts. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners own a quarter of a million acres, and the Universities an even larger area. Crown lands and the Duchy of Cornwall cover an area of nearly half a million acres, but much of this is woodland and waste.

The landlord's responsibilities include all permanent buildings, the farmhouse, homesteads, and cottages, drainage, roads, gates, etc. In most parts of England the landlord seldom advances money to his tenants for the purchase of " live and dead stock," nor is this ever considered to be his duty. Farming capital and landlord's capital are quite separate things. It is the latter which is being considered, and there is little doubt that in this respect English farms are badly equipped compared with those of most Western European countries, and that at present the position is getting worse rather than better. The best buildings are to be

found on a few large estates, where the owner is a wealthy man who looks upon his land as a hobby, and on farms which have been purchased by men who bought willingly, and have more capital than the size of the farm requires. Public bodies are usually better landlords than private. Their administration is more businesslike, and they are more consistent and generous in their estate management, partly because they are not mulcted for death duties. On the whole, however, the work is badly done, and in England an estate is considered to be well run if it is not actually deteriorating. Farm buildings are usually worse than farmhouses. Many of the former were planned when ideas of animal hygiene, labour saving, the conservation of farm-yard manure, and the production of clean milk were all totally different to those held to-day. In most cases the general " lay-out " is wrong, and many were planned when threshing was still done by hand. Farm drainage is also very much neglected. Pipe draining now costs about £10 an acre, which is the actual price of poor arable land in the Eastern counties. The work is therefore so uneconomic that little except mole draining has been done for many years, and the old pipe systems lie in the ground, blocked up and useless. Landlords are even more loath to build farm workers' houses than they are to indulge in drainage schemes. Even as " tied houses " these cottages are hopelessly uneconomic to build, and the whole system being open to obvious objections, the future of such houses is uncertain.

The position, then, would seem to be that the landlord's side of farming is everywhere neglected, except on a few estates where good work is done on a basis which is not really economic. The three great needs are for new farm buildings, better drainage, and more houses for wage-earners, and in some areas houses and homesteads for small-holders. For economic reasons private landlords, even when farming their own land, are unlikely to spend money on such enterprises, nor can they borrow money for the purpose. It is a form of investment which no solicitor would encourage, an important point, because vast areas are actually held under trusts. The substitution of public bodies for private landlords is, therefore, the only possible solution. The position was stated very clearly by Lord Irwin, the former Minister of Agriculture, in 1924:—

> " Any of us who are accustomed to live in the country, who watch the process going on, see to-day a deterioration in what I may call the capital equipment of the land and soil, whether in buildings or in drainage. . . . This means either that the soil is going to be starved, and is gradually going to lose some of its fecundity by the land becoming waterlogged, and so on;

or the nation is going to say: ' We cannot watch this process going on,' and the State will come in to fill the function of the old landlord by lending capital. When it does that you may depend upon it that it will claim some measure of control in the business that it finances, and so you may well find yourself within measurable distance of something like nationalisation by a side wind."

The present Conservative Government, with its enormous majority, and its control over the House of Lords, might easily have effected this transfer under conditions very favourable to the landlords. It has, however, contented itself with two palliatives, the Rural Housing Act, and the Agricultural Credits Act, which are about as effective in preventing deterioration as is the Lord Mayor's Fund to settle the problem of unemployment in the mining industry. It will be therefore left to the Labour Party to carry through the transference, and no one who has ever arranged for the Government acquisition of land is likely to underrate the complexity of the problem. It will have to be faced, and all that it is necessary to state here about the method to be employed is that compensation will be paid to the dispossessed landlords on the basis of the existing " Schedule A " assessment, and will be paid in the form of transferable land bonds bearing fixed interest. Normally the land which is farmed by its owner will not be affected, unless the owners themselves would prefer their farms to be taken over. This would happen frequently, as many owner occupiers are at their wits' end to find capital for carrying on their farming, and would gladly sell their farms if a sale " without possession " in the open market did not mean a very heavy loss.

The administration of the newly-acquired land would be in the hands of County Committees not unlike those already administering the considerable estates acquired under the Small Holdings Act, e.g., areas of over 26,000 acres in both Norfolk and Suffolk, and of over 18,000 in Cambridgeshire. The Committees would need to be strengthened, made more democratic, and brought into closer touch with the Ministry of Agriculture.

The transfer would have many direct and indirect advantages.

(1) The State would be assisted in the constructive mapping out of the whole country, in afforestation schemes, land settlement on suitable soils, and the preservation of natural beauty spots.

(2) Public bodies, with their power to raise loans, would be able to undertake the rebuilding of homesteads, and the provision of houses. Any drainage schemes would be immensely assisted by having all land under one control. At present those few

landlords and owner occupiers who want to drain their land are often discouraged by the difficulty of getting water away owing to the state of their neighbours' ditches.

(3) A unified authority would lead to the levelling up of the industry. Farmers would no longer have to study the idiosyncrasies of their landlords, and the farmer who habitually starves his land would not be able to move from one farm to another. The industry as a whole would gain by the readjustment of farm boundaries, and the single authority would be in a very favourable position to inaugurate and support schemes of co-operative enterprise amongst their tenants.

(4) A single authority would lead to great economy of management. Much of what is now called " land agent's work " is carried out expensively and inefficiently by private firms, college bursars, solicitors, and others, who often live some way from the estate. Ultimately the industry has to bear the cost of management, as well as the heavy legal expenses whenever the smallest piece of land is transferred. A comparatively small increase in the staff of the County Agricultural Officer would enable him to extend his activities to the whole of the agricultural land. In most cases the existing leases would be continued, and the amount of administrative work would be small.

(5) Similar economy would be effected in the matter of repairs. On large estates there are usually estate carpenters, on the smaller ones the repairs are " jobbed " out to local firms. On an estate which included all the agricultural land in a county a few specialist employees would do the necessary maintenance work much better and cheaper than under the present haphazard system.

(6) Land, once under the administration of the County Council, is saved for ever from the clutches of the land speculator. This would prevent the worst kind of speculative building, and the holding up of land with a potential building site value. It would also make it easier to choose and obtain the best site for schools, playing fields, etc.

(7) In various subtle ways the change would improve the status of farming. Blackacre would be primarily a farm, and not merely an outlying portion of a " desirable residential and sporting estate." Giles, an excellent farmer, but intolerably cantankerous when the hunt rides over his winter corn, would not have the same difficulty in renewing his lease. The patriarchal system has had its day. It had some advantages, but led to many abuses. It must go.

The chief opposition to the transfer of agricultural land is due to the confusion, assiduously encouraged by Conservative politicians, between the nationalisation of land and of farming. There are many practical objections to any large scale incursion of the State into the farming industry, and no such development is intended. A more serious argument against the Labour Party's proposals is likely to be brought forward in counties where there are large estates under Council management. It will be suggested that transfer to the State is responsible for the high rents charged for small holdings. This charge must be met by describing the actual financial transactions involved when the estates were taken over. The land was bought at an inflated price, usually at somewhere between forty and fifty years' purchase. The State charges six per cent. on the capital cost, and tenants also pay an addition for amortisation, a ludicrously unfair charge, as the land does not fall in to them. These charges raise the rent of land, which was formerly paying £1 an acre, up to £2 10s. 0d. or £3. This weakness would not apply to the Labour Party's proposals, but it must also be remembered that any scheme of breaking up a large farm into small ones, if the latter are to be provided with homesteads, must raise the rent as reckoned on an acreage basis.

2. The Farmer.

The Labour Party's proposals do not include State farming, though some farms might be run in various parts of the country as a standard of good farming. In actual practice the County authorities, especially in the arable areas, would probably find themselves left with a certain number of farms which they could not let on satisfactory terms, and which they would farm themselves. On the whole, however, English farming would remain in the hands of individuals, and the State would exercise such pressure as it thought advisable in the same way as any large landlord. The bad farmer would not have his lease renewed, and the threat of non-renewal would be much more effective than to-day. The good and enterprising farmer would be encouraged by getting the buildings he requires. It would be easier to draft in new tenants, and land could be given to them from farms where the tenants, though suitable otherwise, have not sufficient capital to stock the area they rent at present. The public does not realise the extent to which large farms are now held by men who are practically bankrupt. The writer is a member of a pensions committee which has within two months received three applications for old age pensions from men farming over three hundred acres. In each case the applicant was able to show that he had no assets except his diminishing stock, but only a steadily increasing overdraft. From a national point of view it is a calamity that men should in such cases retain control of large areas of land.

3. Marketing.

Ultimately the problem of re-organising our farming industry turns upon the farmer's budget. Buildings, drainage, conditions of tenure, credit facilities, intelligent management, all these are important factors, but the future depends upon whether a well-run mixed farm on average soil will show, over a series of years, a sufficient surplus to provide better wages for the men employed, and an income for the farmer which will attract enterprising and intelligent men into the business. Most of the items on the expenditure side of the farmer's budget are, to a large extent, outside his control. Feeding stuffs, artificial manures, wages, rent, rates, repairs, railway charges, and the purchase of implements make up the bulk of his outgoings, but the individual farmer has very little say in the price which he pays for these services or commodities, nor can he usually reduce them substantially by combined efforts. Groups of small holders may join together to buy manures or cake, but anyone farming on a large enough scale to order goods by the truck-load has little to gain in this way. On the other side of the balance sheet, not only the farmer's incomings, but also his farm capital—his live stock, his stacks, and his growing crops—are entirely dependent on the fluctuations of markets, which are influenced to an overwhelming extent by two factors over which the farmer has no control, the price of imported food and the seasonal demand of industrial and city people. Very slight movements are sufficient to absorb the year's rent, or to make the difference between profit and loss on a year's work. A movement of four shillings a quarter in the price of wheat will cover the whole rent of the land on which it was grown, but such a change may occur during an afternoon's market. During the last two or three years both sheep and pigs have been the subject of violent price fluctuations. On three eastern county farms, the costings on which were analysed by Messrs. Venn and Carslaw, the fall in the price of sheep between March, 1925, and March, 1926, was sufficient to cause a loss of 47 per cent. on a total capital of £5,000. Pigs have been an even wilder trade, and the gambling nature of the " porker " business makes it almost impossible for a farmer to appreciate minor economies in feeding and management, which make a difference of two or three per cent. in the cost of production. Low and irregular prices for agricultural produce are the crux of the whole problem.

Agricultural depression since the war has been world wide, except on virgin land, but there are special difficulties in England. For many years nearly every European country and most of the large exporting areas of virgin land have found in England the best market, not only for certain main crops, but even more for any surplus they may have after a good season. Other European

countries are either protectionist or their urban population is too small to induce exporting firms to arrange for the commercial channels through which they could market their goods. Thus Denmark is a free trade country, but Copenhagen does not tempt even a Dutch potato grower to get rid of his surplus there, though there might be occasionally a small demand at a price higher than in England. There are well over thirty million people in England who are entirely divorced from the countryside, and the business of feeding them has fallen into the hands of several highly capitalised concerns, whose mills, factories, and distributing organisations are arranged, except as regards the liquid milk trade, to deal almost exclusively with sea-borne food stuffs. These concerns either use their own retail shops, like the Union Cold Storage Company and the Co-operative Wholesale Society, or else they supply the vast army of small-scale retailers. It is necessary to emphasise this point before discussing co-operation, for co-operative selling by English farmers is too often brought forward as a panacea by people who are really generalising from some particular commodity. This question must be considered in some detail, for the proposals of the Labour Party are dependent on the reorganisation of the home market.

Our agricultural produce may be divided into six main groups, and such division is essential. The marketing problem in each is different, and a great deal of the nonsense talked upon political platforms by all parties is due to general statements which are applicable to one group only. The figures are based on statistics for 1925, when the total value of all produce sold off farms was reckoned at £225,000,000.

1. Milk and milk products make up just a quarter of the total, and dairy farming is now the most important branch of English agriculture. Five out of every six gallons is sold as "liquid milk," and as this is one of the few commodities produced on our farms which is not directly in competition with foreign imports, the farmers have been able to get better prices than for butter and cheese, which are subject to very severe competition. The distribution of milk in the smaller towns is usually done by farmers themselves, but the supplying of the London and the larger cities requires a considerable amount of capital, and in the South is dominated by one or two firms. Farmers' "pools" or co-operative ventures are hardly likely to have enough capital to fight the London combines, but they are making some headway in the North of England, where retailing is more chaotic. There are several farmers' co-operative creameries which deal with surplus milk, but they are handicapped by the very low price of butter compared with that of liquid milk, and

by their inability to offer any more than the retailing combines, which buy most of their milk direct from the farms. The future would seem to lie in the public control of the retail milk trade in the cities and industrial areas. No very great decrease in the cost of distribution is possible until the household consumption has risen to the level of that in the United States or Sweden. The peddling of small quantities of milk to every house must be expensive, but the elimination of competition would save some waste. The field for farmers' co-operation is very restricted, unless they can drive the dairyman out of business, a contingency which is highly improbable, and might not help the public.

2. The fattening of cattle and sheep for the butcher is the next largest branch of farming, amounting to 23 per cent. of the total. Nearly all fat stock is sold through local markets, and the bidders are butchers, or the salaried buyers for butchers' rings in the large cities. Apart from the retailers there are few speculative middlemen in this business, and the only method of eliminating the middlemen is for farmers to run co-operative butchers' shops. These sometimes do quite well in small country towns, but the system will not stand any extension to the cities and industrial areas. A farmers' butchery is always faced with a dilemma. If it sells foreign meat it is merely another competing shop in a trade where competition is very keen, and everyone's hand is against the newcomer. If, however, the co-operative venture sells only home-grown meat, there will be seasons when it cannot compete against the ordinary butcher's shop, nor can it rely upon any feeling of loyalty amongst its customers, for all except the very richest people are quite used to eating chilled and frozen meat. It is absurd to talk as if farmers, with their few thousands of capital, could fight powerful organisations like the Union Cold Storage.

3. The sale of pig-meat realises over £26,000,000 yearly, which is about 12 per cent. of the total. Most of this is bought by butchers as pork, and the same arguments apply to the "porker" trade as to fat stock generally. The bacon trade involves a fairly simple factory process, and is a suitable industry for a farmers' co-operative venture. Unfortunately there is intense foreign competition in the bacon trade, a competition which will become insupportable when the Argentine and North Africa are more developed. The farmer, therefore, prefers to sell his pigs for pork, just as he prefers to sell his milk "liquid" rather than as butter. There are a few middlemen in the pig trade, but the speculative profits are taken by the retailers themselves.

4. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures for the wheat sold for milling (as apart from poultry feed), and of barley sold for

malting (as apart from grist). The combined value of both would not exceed 8 per cent. of the total agricultural produce, a figure which is hardly appreciated by certain arable farming enthusiasts. To this same group we can fairly add sugar beet, bringing the total to about 10 per cent., because all three have to undergo an expensive process before they can be sold to the public as bread, beer, or sugar. In no case is it likely that farmers could undertake the process themselves. Milling is quite out of the question, for the industry is controlled by the mills at our large ports, and the smaller inland millers are rapidly being driven out of the business, yet apart from farmers undertaking the milling, malting, or sugar extracting processes themselves there is no room here for co-operative ventures. The farmer can always sell direct to the miller, maltster or sugar-beet factory. The first two groups undoubtedly make speculative profits, but these do not seem to be sufficient to make either industry very prosperous. If the inland millers get driven out of the business altogether, it may be necessary for farmers to collect their wheat to be ground at the port mills, but at present the idea of a wheat " pool " in England could only be advocated by people who do not understand the position.

5. Poultry and eggs are sold to the value of about £15,000,000 yearly, which is considerably more than the total sale of wheat. This is an industry in which grading and classification is essential, and because of this the speculative middleman flourishes exceedingly. There is an immense field for organised societies which will collect, grade, and guarantee eggs from its members, and will help them to dispose of their poultry. Whether it would be best for the producer to carry through the whole business, and retail to the consumer, is a more debatable point.

6. The same arguments apply to the fruit and vegetable industry, most of which is totally disorganised, and in the South of England is dominated by that ridiculous anachronism, Covent Garden. The wastage here is enormous, but while the poultry industry should be able to organise itself, and the fruit growers are already showing signs of doing so for themselves, some assistance is needed both from the Government and from municipalities to help them over the initial stages.

It is clear that no general policy is applicable to these different groups. In the case of milk, sugar beet, and pork, the question of direct foreign competition is negligible, nor is the speculative middleman an important factor. The retailing of milk in the larger towns will be brought under public control, but otherwise there will be no alteration in the conditions governing these three commodities, except that the markets through which the porker trade is carried on may also come under public control. The

reorganisation of the fruit, vegetables, poultry and egg marketing is already being taken in hand by the Ministry, and to some extent by the Farmers' Union, and this work must be pressed on. It would be made much easier if the State was sole landlord. The State might include potatoes, but probably no other form of fruit, vegetables, and poultry under the operations of the Import Boards to be described in the next paragraph. The commodities mentioned in the paragraph comprise nearly three-quarters of the total produce from our farms.

It is clear that little can be done to alter conditions in the production of meat and wheat without controlling imports. At present four-fifths of the wheat consumed in England, and two-thirds of the meat, is imported, and the home prices are controlled by these imports. The foreign meat trade is already the monopoly of a trust, and the Labour Party proposes to take over this business of importing meat and wheat, which would be entrusted to Import Boards. The advantages of these schemes are that it would enable the Government to make bulk purchases from the exporters' " pools," which are already in existence in Canada and elsewhere, and eliminate the number of extremely prosperous speculators who take their toll *after* the pool has sold the wheat or meat. It would be possible to assist the Dominions, and to place wheat or meat on the market at prices which could be arranged for many months ahead. By steadying the prices of these commodities the English farmer would be able to get somewhat better prices from the butcher and poultry feed dealer, and he would be able to conduct his work on a more businesslike footing. The milling industry would also be taken under public control, and would probably arrange to mill a certain proportion of English wheat. Local authorities would deal with the mills direct, organise the baking of bread, and fix its price.

It is difficult to foretell the exact lengths to which the work of the Import Boards would be carried, or how far the State will be ultimately drawn into the control of the internal markets. For the same reason no mention has been made of the important functions which the consumers' co-operative movement would take in the reorganisation of our whole system of marketing food. It is important to emphasise the point that there is no great future for retailing by farmers' co-operative societies. The effect of the Labour Party's proposals will be to put groups of English farmers in a position to deal on equal terms with the existing retailers, and with the factory owners who purchase their goods, and in the case of wheat to take the whole business of milling and baking under State control.

LABOUR'S AGRICULTURAL POLICY.

The foundations of the Labour Party's policy, which are to be found fully stated in *Labour's Policy on Agriculture,* are the emancipation of agricultural land from the hampering restrictions of private ownership, the establishment of equitable and humane conditions of life and employment for all rural workers, and the creation of the largest possible measure of security against the catastrophic changes in market conditions which are the curse of the industry to-day. With a view to encouraging good husbandry, to establishing security of tenure at fair rents for efficient farmers, and to finding the capital for development which landlords to-day are unable to provide, the State should acquire the ownership of the land on equitable terms. At the same time, with the advice and assistance of bodies representing the experience of practical agriculturists—the representative character and influence of which it should seek to strengthen—it must set itself to improve the financial and commercial organisation of the industry, with the defects of which farmers, however capable, cannot cope unaided. It must ensure, as has long been done in France and Germany, that both short and long term credit and facilities for insurance are easily available, must encourage the development of machinery for grading and collective marketing, both wholesale and retail, must secure that the farmer has at his disposal as efficient a service of transport and electrical power as are available for the manufacturer, and must introduce stability into the prices of meat and grain by the collective purchase of imported food stuffs. (From *Labour and the Nation.* Revised edition. Published by the Labour Party, 1929, price threepence.)

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NATIONAL FINANCE

BY

F. W. PETHICK-LAWRENCE, M.P.

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NATIONAL FINANCE

By F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, M.P.

" Under a Conservative Government British industry is secure and trade flourishes." In some such words the old-fashioned Tory was wont in days gone by to sum up his argument in favour of his party. To-day he dare not make the assertion, for it is palpably untrue. For nine and a half out of the ten years that have elapsed since the Armistice, Conservatives have formed the Government, or have been the predominant partners in it, and at the end of the decade the essential facts are widespread unemployment and languishing industry.

But there is one section of the population which has benefited enormously by the financial policy of the Coalition and Conservative Governments. That section is the *rentier* class, which during all these years has drawn a fixed money income out of the community. As mortgagees, debenture holders, state-bond-holders, etc., they have a first charge on the annual product; and the adversity of the land, the workshop, or the nation as a whole, does not therefore diminish their gross income. On the other hand by every reduction in income tax, supertax, and other direct taxation their net income has been increased; and by the general fall in prices resulting from the Government's deflation policy, culminating in the restoration of the gold standard, the purchasing power of each £ of it has been augmented. It is probably well within the mark to assert that a man with a fixed gross income of £10,000 a year is twice as well off as he was in 1920, and that the share taken by the *rentier* class as a whole out of the total annual product of the nation has risen since that year by 40 or 50 per cent.

What this passive element has gained the active producing element has lost. This is at once the cause of the poverty of the workers and of the slump in trade, and also the explanation of the fact that there is always plenty of money available to take up new issues of capital which may be floated on the London market. Moreover, every achievement in " economy " as the word is understood by the Conservatives and many Liberals (which means the curtailment of the social services in order to reduce " direct " taxation) aggravates this evil. Mr. Churchill's notorious Economy Act provides the most apt illustration. By that he cut down the State's contribution to National Health Insurance, thereby preventing the Approved Societies making the valuable

extensions in the provisions for maternity and in dental benefits which they had been planning to do; he reduced the State's share of Unemployment Insurance; he depleted the Road Fund, curtailing necessary development. Later, he induced Lord Eustace Percy to tamper with the education programme, and persuaded Mr. Neville Chamberlain to cut down the housing subsidy and reduce the expenditure on milk for expectant and nursing mothers. A truly marvellous achievement in perverted ingenuity!

The excuse that this "economy" set free *new* money to be spent in the benefit of trade is wholly false. Every extra penny gained, by these means, by the well-to-do was money which would otherwise have been spent by poorer people; and the displaced expenditure would have been far more valuable to the community in every way than the expenditure on luxuries which was substituted for it.

Labour's Double Task.

The task which confronts the next Labour Government in the matter of finance is a double one. In the first place it has to provide the public money which will be required to finance a progressive Labour programme. This includes a substantial increase in the social services. Health, housing and education have all to be adequately provided for. The claims of distress have to be met. National development has to be undertaken on an extensive scale. But the second obligation is no less important. If it is to justify its existence it must also bring the banking and credit system of the country into line with the most enlightened modern thought, so that British industrial life may be helped and not hindered by the working of these essential services.

In framing his budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Labour Government will turn his eyes first to the expenditure side of the account in order to see what charges can without loss be pruned away. His eye will be caught by the item of £113 million being spent this year on the fighting services. It is then that he will take courage from the attitude of his colleague, the Foreign Secretary. Just to the extent that Labour policy in foreign affairs is less bellicose and more conciliatory than Conservative policy, will the Labour Chancellor find it possible to secure reduction in the armament preparations of the country. Nevertheless, the new expenditure outlined in the preceding paragraph is certain to eat up all and far more than all of his savings under this head, and force him to impose additional burdens on the community.

What form will these additional burdens take? It is quite certain that they will not include additional taxes on food. Indeed, it is part of essential Labour doctrine that the existing taxes on sugar, etc., are injurious, and ought to be abolished at the earliest opportunity. They will not take the form of additional protective or safeguarding duties to which the Labour Party is opposed, both on principle and because so often their result is to make the workers pay more for their common requirements than would otherwise be the case. The main source to which Labour looks for additional receipts for the national exchequer is direct taxation. It believes that the best tests of ability to pay are income and capital wealth.

These tests must be discriminately applied. Just as the poll tax of long ago yielded to the income tax of last century, and that in turn to the present graduated taxation of incomes, so to-day further adjustment is required in order that the extra burden which can quite properly be placed on the shoulders of the really rich shall not at the same time press unduly on those already struggling with almost more than they can bear. The nature of the discrimination which the Labour Party contemplates is indicated by the proposals for the " surtax," which were carried at the Birmingham national conference this year.

Labour realises that income tax payers include among themselves two widely different classes. There are those who, by their strenuous exertions, are making year by year a precarious income, which will fall off when they are incapacitated by ill-health or old age, and will cease altogether when they die. There are, on the other hand, those who, either as the result of inheritance, or of successful business or speculation years ago, are the owners of fortunes, on the interest of which they are living without any need for further exertion. This interest will continue to be paid to them intact when they are ill or old and (subject only to death duties) will be paid to their legatees when they are dead. Existing income tax law recognises this distinction to-day, and allows (in estimating tax) a deduction of one-sixth off " earned " income before it is put on a level with " investment " income; but in the view of the Labour Party this discrimination is not nearly adequate.

The Surtax.

The resolution at Birmingham, therefore, proposed that an additional charge (originally called " surtax ") should be imposed on recipients of investment income. A little consideration soon shows that if this were to take the form of a flat rate of tax on all such income a great deal of injustice would be involved and

much hardship inflicted. A surtax of 2/-* in the £ on the income of the millionaire might cause him some inconvenience; but the same impost on the tiny investment income of the widow struggling to bring up her young children on the savings of her deceased husband would be a crushing cruelty. Further discrimination is therefore required. It was accordingly proposed that in the first place an inferior limit should be set, below which the surtax should not operate, and secondly, that above that limit the system of graduation should be introduced. The limit suggested was £500 a year. It therefore follows (1) that no person whose income is derived from his own current exertions would be called on to pay a penny of this special tax; (2) that no person whose investment income was less than £500 (derived, that is to say, from a capital in the neighbourhood of £10,000) would be called on to pay it; (3) that persons whose investment incomes exceed £500 a year would have to contribute on a graduated scale on the excess above £500, so that when the excess is small the proportion of their income that they would have to pay would be exceedingly little.

There is not much object in discussing at this stage either the amount of the new impost or the precise form in which it should be engrafted on existing income tax law. Such matters will have to be decided by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the advice of the Treasury, when he knows what new money he will require in order to balance his budget. Since the scheme of a Labour surtax was originally drafted, Mr. Winston Churchill has adopted the word " surtax " for his own modification of the supertax, but the essential idea of the Labour scheme remains unaffected.

Another source to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer will look for revenue is inheritance. The natural instincts of humanity sustain a dying man in wishing to hand over to those near and dear to him some tangible marks of his love and affection. But the extension of this principle to vast blocks of wealth marks a change so considerable as to amount to something almost wholly different, as to which the community has a right to express an opinion. Already the State has stepped in and claimed a share of the estate, and there is to-day room for a further development of this claim. The Labour Chancellor will therefore feel free to raise the death duties above their present figure, taking care at the same time to protect the revenue from the evasion at present

* In 1921 the rate of income tax was 6/- in the £, to-day it is 4/-, so that a flat increase of 2/- on investment incomes would do no more than put it back for them at what it was 8 years ago, while leaving the tax on earned incomes at 4/- in the £ as at present.

practised by elderly persons when they give away a considerable part of their fortune during their declining years.

A form of wealth to which attention was directed by the National Conference of the Labour Party at Birmingham as suitable for special taxation was urban ground-value, which to-day is being constantly increased, not by the exertions of the landlord, but by the activities of the community. It is therefore appropriate that either by the taxation or rating of land values or both the community should seek to gain some compensatory revenue for itself. Such action will not prejudice, but rather assist any subsequent scheme of land nationalisation upon which a Labour Government may hereafter determine.

It must not by any means be supposed that the above list of new sources of revenue is exhaustive. A Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer will, of course, be free as all other Chancellors, to impose with the consent of Parliament such burdens on the community and in such form as seem appropriate at the time. But equally it must not be assumed that all the taxes suggested above will necessarily be imposed. It may well be that the general policy of a Labour Government will prove so beneficial to the trade and industry of the country that the yield of the existing taxes is thereby substantially increased, and many reforms refused by the Conservative Government on account of " economy " can be brought into effect out of the surplus revenue thus obtained. The Labour Chancellor will, however, be expected, within reasonable limits, to provide the cloth for such a coat as the Labour Cabinet desires to have cut, and the schemes outlined above indicate the principal sources from which this cloth can, if necessary, be obtained.

Banking Currency and Credit.

I now turn to the second part of the functions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, namely, his duty, as head of the Treasury, to control the general lines of national finance and to inaugurate such legislative changes with regard to banking, currency and credit as modern conditions may require. Labour has been thinking long and deep on these questions, and as a result has formed certain general conclusions both as to mistakes which have been made by previous Governments and as to the direction in which reforms are required to-day. In this connection it is interesting to note that most modern economists, many enlightened employers, and even some progressive bankers, go a long way with Labour in this matter, and though they may not all accept the full Labour programme, are in substantial agree-

ment as to the nature of the malady and the adoption of some steps such as Labour advocates to deal with it.

The Bank of England, as it exists to-day, is a survival of an age which has long since passed away. It was all very well, when banks were a sort of special safe deposit, for the controllers of a particular safe to be private individuals. No one need use their safe unless he liked. To-day the central banking institution of any country has executive powers relating to the price level, credit, exchange, and foreign loans comparable with those of the Government itself, and its decisions are fraught with consequences as momentous to the well-being of the country and of the world as many of the major decisions of the Cabinet. It is incredible that this country can continue much longer to allow the Bank of England, almost alone among great central banks,* to remain a private concern, and to appoint directors and a Governor who are not in any way responsible to the Crown, the Government or Parliament, but solely to the private shareholders of the Bank. The Labour Party stands, therefore, quite definitely for such a reconstruction of the constitution of the Bank of England as will bring it under public control. It is not proposed to make it a Government Department, or a subdepartment of the Treasury, but to convert it into a public corporation, the directorate of which shall include representatives of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Industry, Labour and the Co-operative Movement. This will provide a stable and broad basis for its management, and restore to the Bank the respect for its decisions which recent events have tended to shake.

Stability of Prices.

I have referred earlier to the deflation policy pursued during the last decade by Coalition† and Conservative Governments, with the assistance of the Bank of England. It is clear to-day that this policy of deliberately causing a fall in the general level

* In U.S.A. the ultimate control of the banking and credit system is in the hands of the Federal Reserve Board, which consists of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Controller of the Currency, and six Members, who hold office for ten years, and are appointed by the President of the United States.

† As head of the Coalition Government Mr. Lloyd George bears the prime responsibility for the great deflation policy of 1921, which sent prices tumbling. But in the Lloyd George Unemployment pamphlet of March, 1929, we find the final steps in this policy taken in 1924-5, under Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Winston Churchill, described as follows: "An ill-considered and precipitate return to the gold standard which struck a disastrous blow at our export industries."

of prices inevitably involved the strangulation of our export industries and consequent widespread unemployment. Unfortunately an attempt to go back on this error by a corresponding inflation (or an increase in prices) would bring equally serious consequences, one of which would be the reduction in the real wages of the workers. Inflation and deflation, though opposites, are in fact no more a cure for one another than is scalding a cure for frost bite. What mankind urgently requires is a standard of value which will be as stable and reliable as the yard measure is for length or the gallon for volume. Without it all human transactions in which the element of time enters are unreliable. The gravity of the problem presented to the people of this country was forcibly expressed on October 30th, 1928, by no less an authority than Sir Josiah Stamp in a speech at Bolton, when he pointed out that the root problem of the economic future of Great Britain was stability in the price level, and that if this problem could not be satisfactorily solved Great Britain might find herself reduced to a second-rate economic position in the space of ten years. It will therefore be one of the tasks of the next Labour Government to play a leading part in conjunction with the Governments of other countries in seeking a solution of this problem.

Such a solution, however, will take time to find, and further time to bring into effective operation. More immediate domestic action will be needed if British industry is to be rescued from its present deplorable plight and British workers are to find once again the means to earn a living. The Labour Government will accordingly, as I have already indicated, inaugurate a substantial programme of national development, including a vigorous housing* campaign and extensive construction of roads, bridges, and other works of a useful character. The extent to which this will really tend to absorb the unemployed will depend, however, largely on the method of finance adopted. If the money to be found for these schemes were to be obtained from the imposition of new burdens directly or indirectly upon existing industry, little gain might be expected. But if the burden of the cost itself or, in some cases, of the interest on such cost falls mainly on the *rentier*, a substantial reduction in unemployment may be expected.

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* Mr. Lloyd George, in the Liberal pamphlet on Unemployment, criticises the Government's reduction in the housing subsidy, but when the Labour Party in December, 1926, opposed this reduction, only seven Liberal M.P.'s joined them in the division lobby, three Liberals voted with the Government, and thirty did not take the trouble to vote either way.

Municipal Banks.

The Labour Party are also pledged to extend the facilities for Municipal Banks. At present only one municipality, viz., that of Birmingham, is allowed by law to have a bank. In spite of the phenomenal success of this enterprise, which has encouraged thrift, and proved of great economic advantage to Birmingham, none of the other great municipalities of the country are allowed a similar opportunity. This anomaly, which is defended by the flimsiest arguments, must be brought to an end as soon as possible, and permission granted to all municipalities of a certain size to operate under proper safeguards a bank for their citizens.

Wider questions remain behind concerning the more scientific use of the nation's credit for promoting industry of benefit to the community. There is a large body of opinion both inside and outside the Labour Party highly critical of the present use of credit power by the Bank of England. On the one hand there is a growing feeling that, quantitatively, domestic credit might with advantage be stretched without involving inflation or a departure from the gold standard or a reversion to unstable exchanges. On the other hand the question is being asked why there should be no qualitative differentiation in the credit given to enterprises according as they are beneficial, neutral or actually deleterious to the community. Labour has not so far expressed any definite views on these subjects except to recommend an enquiry in order that they may be elucidated. Quite clearly they are not matters which can be decided by a hasty judgment of the man in the street. But equally clearly a Government which refused to act after consulting with well-informed opinion would be guilty of criminal neglect.

The problems awaiting the next Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer will be by no means easy of solution. In both the realms of taxation and financial reform he will be ridiculed and obstructed by big interests. But with sound judgment, loyal support and resolute will he has the chance of blazing a trail which will make his term of office memorable in the annals of the nation.

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Fabian Tract No. 230.

IMPERIAL TRUSTEESHIP

BY

the Rt. Hon.
LORD OLIVIER, K.C.M.G.

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IMPERIAL TRUSTEESHIP.*

" It is now becoming a commonplace of talk that British policy requires more exact definition, that general terms like Trusteeship are of comparatively little value, and that this country has everything to gain by an authoritative declaration of the rules that are to guide its Colonial administration in protecting the land and labour of backward peoples."—(" The Times," 29th July, 1929, " East Africa—The Next Step.")

A new political party, coming for the first time into responsible power, has found itself called to deal at critical points with a number of crucial issues in domestic, foreign and Imperial policy.

The outstanding Colonial issue involves the whole future of the relations between Europeans and Africans. Action has to be taken upon the Report of Sir E. Hilton Young's Commission. The leading recommendation of that Report† was that " the field of native interests should now be clearly defined and safeguarded, that there should be a clear idea now and at each stage of development what British policy both as regards natives and immigrants is to be, and that this policy should be affirmed not merely as that of one political party but with the concurrence of all."

Another important decision is challenged by a Bill just passed in Southern Rhodesia proposing to restrict the right of natives to buy or occupy land. Legislation affecting native interests in Southern Rhodesia is reserved for sanction by the Imperial Government, which thus remains in this respect trustee for the natives. The right proposed to be abrogated is guaranteed in the King's Letters Patent, establishing the Colony's constitution.

The principle expressed in the Covenant of the League of Nations (Art. 22), that Imperial Powers must be regarded as trustees for the interests of peoples under their sovereignty " not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world," was not new to British Imperialism. It had long been accepted in regard to our rule in India. In regard to Colonial possessions, however, the use of the word trusteeship had not been familiar. The reason for this difference was that Englishmen of the Victorian period habitually thought of our Colonies merely as outlying British communities under the sovereignty of the Crown, in which British traditional principles

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* Reprinted by permission from the *Contemporary Review*, September, 1929.

† Report on Closer Union of the Dependencies in British East and Central Africa (Cmd. 3234).

of justice, liberty and equality of civic privilege could not fail to be respected and enforced.

The words of the Covenant, that "the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation," imply that the duty of European Imperialism towards these communities is to be regarded as similar to that declared by Britain in India, namely, that they are to be helped to become "**able to stand by themselves.**"

But this was not the only declaration made in the Covenant. By Article 23 all members of the League "**undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control**": that is to say, Great Britain and all the other parties to it pledged themselves to adhere to those principles which Englishmen had already been wont to claim without any misgiving were in force throughout the King's Dominions.

In 1923 the Imperial Government announced that it recognised in regard to all the African territories under its authority the principles* of trusteeship declared in Article 22. And, the same notable document went a good deal further in saying what they meant, namely, that in regard to such territories:—

"The interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former must prevail. . . . In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population; and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races. . . . In their opinion the *annexation* of the East Africa *Protectorate,* which . . . has thus *become* a *Colony* . . . in no way derogates from this fundamental conception of the duty of the Government to the native races. As in the Uganda Protectorate, so in the Kenya Colony, the principle of trusteeship for the natives, no less than in the mandated territory of Tanganyika, is unassailable. This paramount duty of trusteeship will continue, as in the past, to be carried out under the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the agents of the Imperial Government, and by them alone. . . . Meanwhile the administration of the Colony *will follow the British traditions and principles which have been successful in other Colonies.*"

These declarations would naturally and congenially convey to most home-dwelling Englishmen a fairly clear understanding of what was meant. Unfortunately, however, owing to some of the methods adopted during the last thirty or forty years of Imperial development in Africa, and in the understanding of a good many who have been active in that development, these pronouncements, and their natural and straightforward interpretation have appeared disconcertingly paradoxical. As the Hilton Young

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* Kenya White Paper (Cmd. 1922).

Report puts it: " They have in some quarters come to be regarded either as a threat of injustice, which it is right to resist, or as a pious declaration, which was never intended to be taken seriously."

The reason for this is that, during that period of the development of our new Imperial Estates which began after the " Partition of Africa " (i) the interests of the African natives have not been regarded as paramount, and no one engaged in the process has ever pretended they were, or ought to be, so regarded; far less that where they conflicted with those of Europeans the latter must give way and (ii) the Imperial Government has in various general relations and in various particular instances omitted or failed to secure " just treatment of the native inhabitants under their control," and has markedly departed from " the British traditions and principles which have been successful in other Colonies."

In order to illustrate what it is to which the British Government pledged itself both in the Covenant and in its own subsequent declarations, I will briefly recall the leading case in which the proceedings of British Imperialism diverged from the traditional principles to which these subsequent declarations have appeared to promise a wholesome and very needful return.

The motives which weighed with British statesmen for extending our rule over African territories in the Partition of Africa were chiefly two: (1) the economic importance of securing sources of minerals and materials which would otherwise have been appropriated by other Governments: (2) the desire to protect Africans from destruction and exploitation. That period followed one of effectual reluctance on the part of British Governments, Conservative and Liberal alike, to extend the Empire. That reluctance was conquered by the pressure of new economic motive; but at first it gave way only partially, and largely, in fact, because extension commended itself to many who hoped thereby to save Africans from the slave trade and other modes of European aggression. For it was becoming impressively manifest that, whether European national Governments assumed sovereignty there or not, those countries would be penetrated, and the land and labour of their inhabitants exploited by Europeans. Not only did the Congo " Free State," so called, teach the world that lesson, but Africa was alive with prospecting and concession-hunting expeditions, the precursors of organised enterprises sufficiently well armed and financed by cosmopolitan capital to be capable of dealing, without the support of any national Government, with any African tribal people and eating out the

heart of their country, as the Boers had eaten up lands in South Africa, and would have eaten up much more had British Government at the Cape not established " Protectorates " over Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and other coveted territories.

When Mr. Rhodes was pressing his scheme for British Cape-to-Cairo dominion, he met with stubborn resistance on the part of the Home Government against any project of annexation, or even of establishing further Protectorates. It was insisted that he must make his own arrangements with native chiefs and a Company be formed to exercise over British subjects, but not over natives, any powers of Government that might be found necessary.

Lord Salisbury, in granting the British South Africa Company's Charter, promised and intended to safeguard the rights and property of the local natives. All that Rhodes had acquired from Lobengula, their paramount chief, was leave to seek and extract minerals in such locations as he should assign. It was expressly presumed that the Company had no concession of land and no right to alienate farms or township holdings to Europeans. The Charter specially stipulated that " careful regard shall always be had **to the customs and laws** of the class or tribe or nation, **especially with respect to the holding, possession, transfer and disposition of lands.**" The Company from the outset ignored this obligation, Dr. Jameson having, in fact, promised, by an agreement kept secret from the British authorities, to grant farms and " loot " to all who joined in his expedition. When these operations began to develop and Lobengula protested, Lord Ripon sent a telegram pointing out that they were unauthorised and requesting that Jameson should be instructed to " moderate his proceedings." The first Matabele War followed; and Lobengula's death and the ensuing confusion made it difficult to maintain control: but thenceforward the Company entirely disregarded that clause and claimed and exercised unrestricted ownership as in fee simple of all the land in the country. After the Company's further proceedings had provoked the second Matabele War, the Colonial Office abandoned its earlier position, and in the Order in Council of 1898 merely prescribed " that the Company shall from time to time *assign to the natives* land sufficient for their occupation, whether as tribes or portions of tribes and suitable for their agricultural and pastoral requirements." This change of attitude towards native land rights was made in order to facilitate the Company's policy of developing the country as an agricultural property, Mashonaland having failed to pay as a gold-mining proposition. The assignment of even such reserves was delayed for more than twenty years,

Europeans in the meanwhile picking out the lands most advantageous for settlement. When reserves were at length defined, in 1920, there were still 264,700 natives left living as tenants at will, and subject to rent, on lands outside of them, most of which were according to native " customs and laws " their own ancestral property. In 1925 the Southern Rhodesian Land Commission reported that there were then 274,300 natives so living. These natives have no legal property whatever in their holdings. " Large numbers,"* say the Commissioners, " are being given notice to leave the land as farms become more extensively developed and large estates are cut up. . The late Government inaugurated a policy of charging each adult male who occupied Crown Land a rental of £1 per annum." The Hilton Young Commission calls attention to the need for safeguarding rights of natives similarly situated on the enormous properties alienated in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

Thus British Imperialism having, in framing the Charter, shown its intention " to follow the British traditions and principles which have been successful in other Colonies," that is to say, to respect native land rights, had, by the year 1898, been induced in furtherance of the capitalist system of European settlement, to forsake those principles and to adopt in their stead those of the Boer voortrekkers in dealing with Africans. The British Imperial principles had been †established with success within the sphere of British authority at the Cape, but had been repudiated in the Boer extensions of occupation northwards, where, on any land desired by Europeans, the native only remains on sufferance as a squatter, a labour tenant or a bond labourer. That was the principle which the Chartered Company followed in " developing " Southern Rhodesia, which persists to-day even on the lands still in the hands of the Government, and which it is proposed to maintain.

In 1917 the Company were declared by the Privy Council to have no title to unalienated Rhodesian land, which was adjudged to belong to the Crown. Similar judgments, Orders in Council, and legislation, have made all lands (not alienated or excepted) in Northern Rhodesia, Swaziland, Nyasaland, and Kenya, likewise the property of the Crown; and in ‡Kenya reduced the natives even in the reserves to the position of Crown tenants at will, with-

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* Report of S. Rhodesia Land Commission, 1925. See especially ss. 168-173 and 310-313.

† See " The Cape Colour Question," and † " Bantu, Boer and Briton," by Professor W. M. Macmillan (Faber & Gwyer).

‡ See Judgment of Sir Jacob Barth, C.J., 1921.

out any kind of legal property in their holdings. This is the greatest scandal of all our dealings with Africans, and it is felt and has been protested against both by natives and by their local European sympathisers as the strongest injustice to which they have been subjected.

No wise man would desire to upset the Privy Council's decisions. Juris ically fictive, imaginative, arbitrary, and even cynical as they are, they established the only basis on which an Imperial Government desiring to protect and do justice to natives could find a firm footing. Moreover, they embody the very sound principle that, fundamentally, land belongs to the King, that is, to the State, a principle not uncongenial to African native ideas. But those judgments cannot be held to imply that the Crown owns those lands without obligation to regard estates and interests legally, customarily or equitably established in them. Even where a country is annexed by conquest (as is held to have been the case in Southern Rhodesia) such private interests are not expropriated. Far less could they be held to have been in a Protectorate established by treaty. Yet this position has been established in Kenya.

Persons even in high official and judicial positions have talked of African natives as having no ideas about property in land, or any laws or customs that British Courts could respect. That was the Boer attitude. It is very convenient in colonising African "white man's country." But the Southern Rhodesia Land Commission were at some pains to insist on the fact that the "customs and laws with respect to the holding, possession, transfer and disposition of lands," in that territory are well established and ascertainable. So are they elsewhere. They are unwritten, and are therefore not familiar to many Europeans, but the discussion and settlement of questions arising upon them forms an important duty of tribal chiefs and elders.

We have declared ourselves the natives' trustees. Natives have repeatedly claimed that their land rights, laws and customs, ought to be respected. According to their convictions it is iniquitous that they should be ignored, and that when they have never vacated their lands or alienated their interests in them the Crown should ignore those rights, impose rents upon them, or sell to Europeans and leave them in the positions I have referred to. Any trustee for natives must be deemed trustee for their interests in real property as against the domain of the King. The King is as much bound in this situation to do justice to natives' rights as to any other estates in real property encumbering his ownership.

Yet when the Masai sought legal protection from being evicted, for the benefit of a leading settler, from the reserve assigned to

them in perpetuity by a formal treaty, the Court disclaimed competence to deal with their action against the Crown. I recall this notorious bit of chicanery because it furnishes a typical illustration of the reasons why Kenya settlers were staggered and even derisive when it was announced that the Government was trustee for natives and their interests paramount.

The course which any Government professing trusteeship ought to follow is clear. It ought to ascertain, recognise and uphold in its Courts, as against the Crown as nominal residuary owner, the rights and interests in land existent in native law.

Within the Reserves the equities can be decided as now by the native Councils, backed by the authority of the Crown. Outside of the reserves either these rights when proved ought to be asserted by the Trustee and recognised by the Courts, in which case the charging of rents, as in Southern Rhodesia, is an extortion—or should it be desired on legitimate grounds of public expediency to expropriate them, they ought to be indemnified as in civilised countries. This obligation has, in fact, been often admitted where the Colonial Office has had control, but not always or fully. It has been and is ignored in regard to lands alienated by the Chartered Company or the Rhodesian Government. Elementary principles of British justice demand that these anomalies should be remedied or redressed, and that the concessions to Africander voortrekkers' principles, which gained prevalence between 1893 and 1898 in Rhodesia, should be reversed. If this obligation were not otherwise obvious it is made incontestable by our declaration of trusteeship for natives, by our renewed declaration that we would deal with them justly and by the crowning declaration that we would follow the British traditions and principles which have been successful in other colonies.

The Afrikander practice of ignoring native land rights and leaving the native in the position of a squatter, labour tenant or bond servant on the land, has largely conduced in South Africa to the unhappy state of relations between Europeans and natives, reflected in the dominant issue (White versus Black) of the recent General Election. The political party now in power there frankly disclaims British Imperial principles, and also, apparently, the promise of just treatment in Article 23 of the Covenant. In the recent controversies about the Colour Bar and the Cape franchise, its apologists (in the London " Times " and before the local Parliamentary Committee) have expressly declared that considerations of justice are quite irrelevant to the questions at issue.

I have written thus lengthily about land because in that connection it is so especially obvious that any Government committed

to the three declarations that I have quoted must act on principles absolutely distinct from the principles—equally clearly defined—of Afrikander dealings with native rights—which have so influentially prevailed both in Rhodesia and Kenya.

The Hilton Young Report discusses helpfully the meaning to be assigned to the phrase "Paramountcy of native interests." What is required, they consider, is:—

> "first, to define what are the essential native interests; secondly, to settle what are the conditions which must be created and preserved in order to give those interests a fair field in which to start and an adequate measure of protection and assistance for their development, and, thirdly, to allow nothing to interfere with those conditions. Subject to these requirements, the Government must do all in its power to help the immigrant communities."

They rank native interests in the following order: Land, economic development, Government Services and taxation, labour, education, administration and political institutions. They put land first, and political institutions last. In Kenya the topic of political institutions has been treated as the primary subject to be discussed. The reason is no mystery. It has been neatly expressed in a speech of an elected member of the Legislative Council: "The position of the labour market is serious. You will never solve the problem until you have control of the country—when you have that you will immediately solve it. The policy of the Government should be that every male native must work. . . . If that policy were to be applied we should have the politicians at home determined to do us in. There is no solution except to get control of the country in our own hands."

But the Commissioners rightly conceive the order of precedence. For, as they warn us, echoing the words of Sir George Grey in respect of the same issues, long ago, at the Cape, in dealing with Africans the most important thing is that we should act justly, and it is in regard to land that Europeans have dealt with natives in the manner which appears to them most unjust. No African native accepts or will ever accept as just the principles on which capitalist Imperialism in South and East Africa, as distinguished from British Imperial policy on its old lines, has dealt with their interests in land. Next to land, African natives feel the burden and question the justice of European rule in regard to taxation. Labour comes next. The compulsion to labour is veiled and is for the most part indirectly applied through land policy and taxation. Tribal Africans are accustomed to duties of *corvée* for tribal purposes. But they feel as unjust and oppressive the increased demand and rigour of compulsory public labour which has been introduced in Kenya and Uganda. They

also detest the Registration and Pass Laws enacted in order to keep them at work. No " trustee " government can pretend to believe that these laws were enacted in natives' interests, or in any interest save that of immigrant European employers. With regard to Education, ambitious natives desire to get what they may, but they are not stung by any sense of injustice in not obtaining it, except in so far as a few of them realise that much of their taxes goes to educate Europeans, and comparatively little for natives.

Next in importance to Land, then, comes Taxation. Here our duty as trustees is obvious. It was in Southern Rhodesia under the Chartered Company's rule that a new departure was made in British Colonial financial practice by imposing upon the poorest class of the population* heavy direct poll or hut taxes. The example was followed in Kenya. It is unnecessary to discuss how far these taxes were fixed with the motive of making natives work for white men. If we are to follow " the principles which have been found successful elsewhere " (and which, where departed from, have been vindicated by unhappy experience) we shall approach the question of what is proper taxation simply from the point of view of comparative equity and capacity to pay. The Commission on East African Government appointed by Mr. Thomas in 1924 and disbanded by Mr. Amery was asked to examine into the incidence of taxation. Mr. Ormsby-Gore's sub-committee, which visited East Africa, did not report on the equity of rates of taxation; all it said on the subject was that the primary reason why Kenya natives went to work on estates was to earn money to pay their taxes, and that more of the taxation levied there from natives appeared to be spent for the benefit of Europeans than for their own. These questions still demand to be cleared up. The nominal direct tax on natives in Kenya is 12s. per adult male. From the figures of official returns it would appear that the actual incidence must be at averages of from 23s. to 30s. per adult male. The nominal Kenya tax is twice as high as those of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. If natives leave their homes to work, the maximum they can earn on liberally-paying estates is 12s. a month. A local Report on labour supply alleges that the average value of native production in the reserves does not amount to more than from 70s. to 90s. per annum per family, of which not more than 30s. worth is saleable produce. Manifestly, such rates of taxation on very impecunious people are grossly excessive.† Quite independently of the ques-

* In addition to rents for occupying their own land.

†The Governor of Kenya did institute an enquiry into this question, but the results have never been published. They were, I am told, too inconvenient.

tion whether the produce of taxation is fairly spent the official statistics present an incontestable case for enquiry, approached from the point of view of a single-minded trustee for the natives.

The dictum that native interests are to be paramount, is one that can easily be ridden to death or dialectically to be absurd. But it is not necessary to claim so much as that. All that is required is resolutely to repudiate and to eliminate the Afrikander ideas of the proper and legitimate manner of dealing with natives which have been allowed to infect British colonial policy in one corner of what is still called the British Empire. Not more is necessary than the observance of Article 23 of the Covenant—to be just, and to act in accordance with the British traditions and principles which have been found successful in other colonies. The Colonial Office knows well what these are. The general duties of Government are equally obligatory in respect of the rights of all citizens, whether European, Indian or native. Its primary duty is justice: not development. That is good Magna Carta doctrine. So far as the Government has assumed the rôle of trustee for the interests of people " not yet able to stand by themselves," the duty of the Colonial Office is to ensure that the personal interests of its wards are clearly recognised, represented, promoted and vindicated, either through executive help or, when sufficient, by means of the Courts, so as to ensure that those interests do hold their own under the conditions we are imposing on them.

The whole of the early development of Kenya Colony has been warped, as can be proved by a hundred quotations from the speeches and writings of those settlers who the Hilton Young Report declares have obtained an altogether undue predominance in the direction of policy by being handled on the basis of the assumption, not that native interests were to be paramount, not that the Government were trustees for native interests, but that the paramount duty of Government was to promote the rapid settlement and exploitation by Europeans of the country's resources, and to use all its power and influence to promote this development by getting natives to work on estates: the interests of the natives coming in only at the tail-end of this process through the economic and educational benefits to be gained by them in the earning of wages and through " contact " with Europeans.

The only safe foundation of policy—for it is one which no Englishman will repudiate and the observance of which these Africans were promised in the name of the Queen—is what I have indicated: just treatment, their rights in land, refusal to discriminate between privileges on racial grounds, refusal to

revive the fallacy, which in the West Indies after the abolition of slavery went far to ruin those colonies, of assuming that the progress and prosperity of mixed populations depend on weighting public policy in favour of estates cultivation, and adjusting taxation and privileges to subserve the maintenance of a "labour supply." That policy may enable some Europeans to get rich quick, as a few (especially land-jobbers) have done in Kenya: but it is not necessary for the healthy development of European estate economy, and it becomes very quickly disastrous and ruinous to it.

With regard to political institutions, which the Hilton Young Report put last, there is at this moment less essential need for overhauling existing arrangements than in regard to any of the other topics. The only just course which experience has proved to be a safe and prudent one is to establish for the electoral political franchise (within whatever area is administered under one Council) a common standard of qualification to develop political and administrative experience through institutions of local Government, and, until the franchise for an elective legislature admits of a fair general representation to keep the control of policy in the hands of the Crown's representatives.

What is urgent is to continue the investigation and criticism intended by the first Labour Government of the actual quality of the administration. A critical and honest review of the existing conditions in all the East African colonies is needed to satisfy Parliament that those just and equal principles of British Imperial rule which prior to the Imperial development period were assumed as axiomatic are, in fact, being observed. The fiscal and financial administration of Kenya and similar colonies, and not only their land and labour policy need to be criticised by the Colonial Office from the point of view of the natives for whom it is trustee as stringently as those aspects of administration have repeatedly had to be overhauled in the West Indies and other Crown Colonies, where the control or dictation of policy has been similarly in the hands of one economic class.

When, in the light of such reliable understanding definition is given to the principles in accordance with which we propose to exercise our trusteeship, I should feel very little fear of any difficulty in their acceptance by all political parties in this country, or of any risk of the maintenance of such policy being upset by local class interests.

The laws and customs of Africans, recognised in their own communities as of sacred authority, are essentially a structure of

civilisation. The idea of law, which it is the function of the chief or Council to enforce, is a social possession which no Imperial power professing to aim at building up civilisation can afford to tamper with. If cherished and approved institutions are treated as negligible, demoralisation is quickly engendered, whilst if the rights they embody are overridden merely or even apparently because it is advantageous to Europeans to override them, confidence in the justice of European civilisation is also made impossible: all social sanctions are weakened and the claim that the King acts justly is rendered in the eyes of the natives an empty pretence. The authority of chiefs, the native equities in regard to land, have far too often been superseded from deliberate motives of European Colonial policy. A demoralised and uncontrolled African proletariat is thus being created, which it is part of the same policy, as we see to-day in South Africa, to exclude from equal rights in European political and industrial institutions. This, and the accumulating resentment the process engenders, are the encroaching danger in Africa. No enduring African civilisation can be built up on such lines.

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THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1929

—HOW TO MAKE THE BEST OF IT.

BY

SIDNEY WEBB.

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THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1929—

HOW TO MAKE THE BEST OF IT.

By Sidney Webb.

The Local Government Act, 1929, is now the Law of the Land; and the County and County Borough Councils (including the London County Council) have the duty of considering how to make the best of it for the million or more persons directly concerned as recipients of Public Assistance, and for the community as a whole.

The statute, with its 135 Sections and its appendices (Schedules), extending over 190 pages of print, falls into eight parts, which have the very slightest connection with each other. Thus, we may distinguish first (*a*) the financial provisions relating to "de-rating" and the substitution of a series of "Block Grants," according to a complicated formula, for most of the existing Grants in Aid (with the important exceptions of those for Education, Police, and Lunacy, and those received by Port and Harbour Authorities, all of which remain unaltered). These provisions, together with those relating to the financial adjustments between the Poor Law Unions and the Councils, will be gradually worked out by the Ministry of Health and the Financial Officers of each Council. The Councillors need not concern themselves with these financial details, which it is practically impossible to alter, and on which no question of administrative policy at present arises. Equally beyond the need for immediate consideration are (*b*) the sections relating to Town Planning, which are designed to make slightly more effective the law on this important subject, and (*c*) the sections making a number of detailed amendments in Local Government law and procedure, which will generally be welcomed by zealous administrators. Similarly, (*d*) any consideration of the sections reorganising the administration of the service of Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths may be postponed. The same may be said of (*e*) Part III. of the Act, which revolutionises the service of maintenance of the highways outside municipal boundaries. Apart from consequential provisions contained in the last two parts, there remains (*f*) Part I. of the Act, which abolishes all the existing Poor Law Authorities, and transfers their powers and duties, their assets and their liabilities, to the Councils. It is this Part I. of the Act, with the Schedules relating to them, that Councillors, as administrators, will for some time to come have mainly to consider.

The first task, during the year 1929, was the framing of the " Administrative Scheme " by which each Council has had (Section 4) to provide for the assumption, on April 1st, 1930, of its own share of the gigantic work now performed by over 600 Boards of Guardians and their joint or federal bodies, including the maintenance and treatment of over a million persons receiving Poor Relief, and of the management, under new conditions, of over one thousand separate institutions, containing about a quarter of a million beds—the whole involving an addition to the annual expenditure of the Councils of something like forty millions sterling.

This " Administrative Scheme " had to be submitted by each Council to the Minister of Health before October, 1929. Many of these draft schemes were unsatisfactory, especially in regard to their failure to take full advantage of the power given by Section 5 to " break up the Poor Law," and make better provision for the persons now dealt with as paupers. Fortunately, the schemes can be amended at any time, with no greater formality than was involved in the original scheme. To this question of amendment Councillors ought now to address themselves.

It is obligatory on each Council to appoint one new Committee, the Public Assistance Committee (and, except in County Boroughs, Local Committees also). The Council may, if it chooses, include in its Public Assistance Committee co-opted members (" some of whom must be women "), up to a maximum of one-third of the whole number of the Committee. The disadvantage of having co-opted members is that their introduction brings in an element of irresponsibility to the electorate, and tends to lessen direct Democratic Control of administration, if not also of policy. On the other hand, the addition to the function of the Councils is so large that the elected Councillors may not be able to do even that part of the work that ought not to be devolved on officials. Moreover, the assistance of some of those familiar with Poor Law work, and especially of women (who might otherwise find no place on the Committee) may be of great value. Some Councils have appointed their Health Committee to be also the Public Assistance Committee, a course which can hardly be recommended in any but the smallest Authorities.

A like question arises in connection with the " local and other sub-committees " which the London County Council may appoint (Section 18), the " Guardians' Committees " which other County Councils must appoint (Section 7), and the " sub-committees " which the Council of a County Borough may appoint (Section 7 (6)). These may in all cases consist partly of persons

not members of the appointing Council. In Counties other than London the "Guardians' Committees" must consist of not less than 12 and not more than 36 members and must include (*a*) members of the County Council representing electoral divisions in the area; (*b*) members of the Councils of the Urban or Rural Districts in the area, nominated by the Councils thereof; and other persons, women as well as men, making not more than one-third of the Committee.

In the last case, where co-option is compulsory, as well as in London and in the County Boroughs where it has been adopted, every effort should be made to secure the co-option of proper persons—not exclusively from one political party, one religious denomination or one social class—who have had personal experience, either of the life of the manual-working, wage-earning household, or, at least, of the administration of Poor Relief, Care Committee, or Maternity and Child Welfare work.

The most important point of policy for the Council to decide is the action it will take under Section 5 (for London, as modified by Section 18). This provides that the Council shall "have regard to the desirability of securing that, as soon as circumstances permit, all assistance which can lawfully be provided otherwise than by way of Poor Relief shall be so provided." That is to say, the Council should *take out of the Poor Law* all the present services of the Guardians that its own powers enable it to perform under other statutes. But the Act does not compel the Council to do this immediately, or even to do it at all. The Government refused to make the Section obligatory, on the plea that some Councils might find it inconvenient to make the changes as early as April 1st, 1930. It can be done at any time by an amending Scheme; and this ought always to be kept in mind.

There can be no doubt that this "taking out of the Poor Law" of as many assisted persons as possible is, on every ground, desirable. It is in the public interest that such classes as the sick, the mentally deficient and the blind should not be merely "relieved" as paupers, but skilfully treated for their infirmities, with the sole intent of cure or amelioration. It is equally desirable that the mothers and infants, and the children and adolescents should not be introduced to the Poor Law. Pauperism is only too apt to be demoralising alike to the recipients of Poor Relief, and to all who come in contact with it. The more its volume, in each County or County Borough, can be contracted—so long as equally good provision, or better provision, is made for necessitous persons *outside the Poor Law*—the smaller the amount of demoralisation. Moreover, to get rid of the over-

lapping and duplication of rival services now existing in every County and County Borough ought to mean a positive economy for the ratepayer. Every Council already treats, assists and maintains sick persons under the Public Health Acts (which are not limited to infectious diseases); mentally defective persons under the Mental Deficiency Act; blind persons under the Blind Persons Act; infants (and their mothers) under the Maternity and Child Welfare Act; and children and adolescents under the Education Acts. Why should it maintain, at great expense, a separate and distinct public service for persons of the very same kind under the name of Poor Relief?

Thus, whatever has been done at the outset, the Administrative Scheme ought certainly to be amended as soon as possible so as to provide what is intended in Section 5, namely, that the public assistance given to all persons falling within any of the five classes above mentioned should be dealt with, *not by the Public Assistance Committee under the Poor Law,* but by the Council's Health Committee, Mental Deficiency (or Asylums) Committee, Blind Persons Committee, Maternity and Child Welfare Committee, and Education Committee respectively.

This course may possibly be still objected to by timid or reactionary officials or Councillors on certain grounds, none of which have any substantial importance. *It may* seem to *them* easier to handle, *as a whole,* the work transferred from the Boards of Guardians; and to refer it, *as a whole,* to the new Public Assistance Committee. It may be urged that any change will involve many alterations in the existing institutions of one or other sort; some shifting of their inmates; and certain readjustments of staff; all of which could hardly be completed satisfactorily before the appointed day, and never will be completed unless Councillors press for it. But it is quite a mistake to suppose that the Administrative Scheme must be carried completely into effect, at all points, and in all its details, on that or on any other day. There is nothing in the Act to require this. The Poor Law Workhouses, infirmaries and separate schools have anyhow been taken over as going concerns, and they can go on without shifting the staff or the inmates or making any change whatever, as long as the Council finds convenient. The Act has provided for this difficulty by making it clear that nothing is to affect the power of the Council to " provide relief for the poor " under the Poor Law, in the existing institutions or otherwise, just as the Guardians have hitherto been doing. Thus, whatever may be said in the Administrative Scheme, no patient (and no official) need be moved, and no institution need be changed, until the Council has completed all the necessary

preparations.* All the Administrative Schemes originally made are imperfect in one or other particular; they will all have to be amended by new schemes from time to time. The Councillors should press for early amendment.

Part II.—Assistance in Place of Relief.

Unfortunately, the new Act does not enable the Council to abolish pauperism completely by " taking out of the Poor Law " all the several classes now in receipt of Poor Relief.† Thus, the Council has no statutory powers to make any provision for necessitous able-bodied persons (not being mentally defective or certified as of unsound mind). Even its powers to provide for the unemployed through a Distress Committee, have, by the repeal of the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905, been swept away. The Council takes over from the Boards of Guardians the absolute duty of relieving every necessitous person; and (in the absence of any statutory powers other than the Poor Law) must (except in London) deal with the able-bodied through its Public Assistance Committee; assist them only as paupers, with all the disabilities of paupers; and do for them only what the Minister of Health, by his Relief Regulation Order, 1911, specifically authorises. The Council, in short, must either admit the necessitous able-bodied poor to the workhouse, or grant them Outdoor Relief *conditional on the performance of " Test Work " however small may be the amount of relief granted.*

The fact that the Council is thus legally restricted with regard to the able-bodied does not seem a valid reason for keeping under the Poor Law the sick, the mentally defective, the blind, the mothers and infants, or the children and adolescents, for whom Parliament has now enabled the Council to provide something

* The officials of the Ministry of Health seem to take the view that no section of paupers can be taken out of the Poor Law unless and until a Council is in a position to do what is required by such persons by different officers than those administering the Poor Law powers of the Council, and notably not until such persons can all be accommodated in other than Poor Law premises. But this does not appear to be laid down in the Act, nor to be requisite. The presence of lunatics, blind persons, children or maternity cases in a Poor Law institution does not necessarily compel them to be treated under Poor Law powers, or at the expense of the Public Assistance Committee. The Minister of Health should be asked what legal warrant he has for objection to this course.

†The large class of persons certified as of unsound mind are deliberately left unaffected by the Act, as it is intended that they shall be completely dealt with by another Statute, in the manner recommended by the Report of the Royal Commission on Lunacy, 1924-7. They are to be wholly taken out of the Poor Law, and dealt with on Public Health lines. Meanwhile, they will remain in the care of the Asylums Committee of the Council.

more appropriate than Poor Relief. The Poor Law view used to be that Poor Relief could be given only to the head of the family—the husband and father if alive—and the wife and children could not be dealt with without his being involved; usually, indeed, not without his own application on their behalf. But this is no longer the case. Wherever the husband is absent from home the wife and children are, if necessary, relieved as if there were no husband. Moreover, wherever Poor Relief to the husband is refused (on the ground, for instance, that he ought to seek employment, or that he could get it if he chose !), Outdoor Relief is now granted in many unions, where necessary, to the wife for herself and her children, without any allowance for the man. This is assumed to be on the lines of the Merthyr Tydfil Judgment, and it is not objected to by the Ministry of Health, provided that the husband is allowed the option of entering the workhouse himself if he chooses. Hence there is no longer any difficulty in assisting separately the wife and children in one way, and the husband (if at all) in another way.

The Administrative Scheme is intended by Parliament to "take out of the Poor Law" all that is being done, on the ground of destitution, by the Boards of Guardians for expectant and nursing mothers and their infants in so far as this assistance *can* already be provided by the Council, irrespective of destitution, under the Maternity and Child Welfare Act. Probably no Council yet does all that it could lawfully do under this Act. In fact, the Act expressly provides that a Council may lawfully carry out any scheme calculated to promote the children's welfare that the Minister of Health approves.

At present, Councils usually do no more than (i) offer medical examination (and sometimes any necessary treatment) for the expectant mother; (ii) provide institutional treatment for confinement; (iii) visit every home in which a birth occurs, and offer, through the Health Visitors, advice, milk, and sometimes clothing, for the infant; and (iv) invite the mothers to bring their babies regularly to the Infant Welfare Centre, sometimes right up to the age of five, for examination, weighing, advice, and sometimes treatment. What the Council does not yet do, and what the Boards of Guardians regularly do, is to grant the necessitous mother (usually a widow not entitled to any National Widows Pension under the Contributory Pensions Act, or a wife without a husband at home) a weekly payment of fifteen or twenty shillings a week, with which to rear her children. This is now granted as Outdoor Relief, with all the demoralisation and disabilities of Pauperism. It would be a thousand pities for the Council to continue this way of providing for the unpensioned

widow and her children, as Poor Relief and through the Public Assistance Committee. It would be far better (i) to include this provision of a weekly subsistence for unpensioned widows with children, in the service to be transferred under the Administrative Scheme to the Council's Maternity and Child Welfare Committee; and (ii) simultaneously to submit, for the approval of the Minister of Health, an amending scheme for Infant Welfare under the Maternity and Child Welfare Act, enabling such subsistence allowances to be granted. This would involve no increase of cost either to the Council or to the Government, and it would enable the whole service for this class of persons to be concentrated (outside the Poor Law) under one committee.

Nothing is said in the Act about the outdoor medical service of the Poor Law, in which some 4,000 part-time district medical officers give medical attendance in the homes of the necessitous sick—mainly those (i) who are, for some reason, outside the Medical Benefit of the Health Insurance scheme; and (ii) the homekeeping wives, and the children, for whom that scheme does not provide even medical attendance. This extensive and ubiquitous medical service is transferred on April 1st, 1930, to the Councils. It must be continued. What will the Councils do with it?

The institutional provision for the necessitous sick (Poor Law Infirmaries, etc.) will clearly be relegated to each Council's Health Committee, and thus be " taken out of the Poor Law." It seems to have been taken for granted in the House of Commons that the Outdoor Medical Service of the Poor Law would go with the institutional service with which it ought certainly to work in the closest association. But hardly any Council has yet systematically provided, under the Public Health Acts, a domiciliary Medical Service. It has been done, without objection, in this or that locality in this or that special case. Domiciliary nursing, too, has been extensively thus provided. In fact (as in the analogous case of Maternity and Child Welfare) the Public Health Acts enable a Council to do, *with the approval of the Minister of Health,* almost anything for the prevention and cure of disease (without limitation to infectious diseases) that is thought to be required in the public interest. Thus it seems to be open to a Council desirous of unifying and co-ordinating all its provisions for the sick poor, (i) to include in a new Administrative Scheme the association of the Poor Law District Medical Officers with the rest of the Poor Law Medical Service, and to relegate the whole of the Council's provision of medical attendance and Nursing to a single committee, naturally the Health Committee; and (ii), if this is held to be necessary, simultaneously to apply to the Minister of Health for approval of a service of domiciliary

medical treatment and nursing for the necessitous poor (under Section 133 or otherwise) of the Public Health Act, 1875.

The Poor Law "Separate" Schools and Cottage Homes should pass to the Council's Education Committee. A County or County Borough Council already has power, alike under the Education Acts and under the Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act (now embodied in The Children Act of 1908) to maintain Boarding Schools in certain cases. With the consent of the Board of Education, an Education Authority may, if it thinks fit, transform any Poor Law School into a General Boarding School, open to all children or to such children only as needed residential care, at such fees, and with such free places and scholarships as it deems advisable. It should therefore be possible under Section 5 by providing in the Administrative Scheme for the relegation of the Poor Law institutions for children of school age to the Council's Education Committee, to take these Schools out of the Poor Law and thus to release their children from the stigma of pauperism. The Council would, of course, be free to make regulations for the admission to what would have become its residential schools, of such children as it thought fit, upon such conditions of payment or otherwise as might be desirable.

But a large majority of the children of school age now maintained as paupers are on Outdoor Relief; and these, together with a small number of others in Poor Law institutions, are already attending the Council's Public Elementary Schools. Several thousand others, being orphans, are sent to these schools by the foster parents, with whom they are "boarded out" by the Guardians, at weekly payments. All these children, bereft of a mother's care, need to be continuously watched by the teachers and specially examined by the School Medical Officers. The existing powers of a Local Education Authority to give assistance towards maintenance of necessitous scholars in its day schools are large and somewhat indefinite. It would be a good thing if, by suitable provisions in the Administrative Scheme, all public assistance given to necessitous children attending the Public Elementary Schools could be concentrated in the Education Committee (which has already to provide school meals for those who need them); and thus taken out of the Poor Law altogether. Where (as in the majority of cases) the children live with their parents or with one of them, who are in receipt of Outdoor Relief to enable them to maintain such children, would it not be better for the child that he should not grow up as a pauper? He might, by a slight development of the present Boarding Out System (now applicable only to orphan or deserted children), be regarded as *boarded out with his own parents,* whom the Education Committee

would hold responsible for his proper upbringing. No child, however necessitous or negligent its parents, ought to make acquaintance with pauperism or the Poor Law.

There is one important function, not mentioned in the Act, but implicit in the new allocation of duties, namely, that of maintaining a complete Register of all the Public Assistance, of whatever kind, that is being granted by any authority whatsoever, to any member of a family. Such a Register exists, at present, only incompletely, and only in unco-ordinated fragments, not available for immediate consultation by any Commitee. For lack of such a Register one family may be receiving Public Assistance from several different sources unknown to the various committees dispensing benefits. Moreover, without a full knowledge of the family circumstances, past as well as present, it is impossible in certain cases to discover what it is best to provide for this or that member of the family, who happens to be in need of treatment or aid. The Administrative Scheme, accordingly, should be amended so as to provide for the maintenance, by the Public Assistance Committee—perhaps in charge of a special officer, for whom an appropriate title would be Registrar of Public Assistance —of a comprehensive Register of all the forms of Public Assistance administered by any of the Council's Committees and sub-Committees. Such a system of registration would enable a complete and accurate family record to be immediately available for every Committee or sub-Committee having to deal with a case.

But there is another duty which it is equally important to unify. The law compels the Council, in many cases, and allows the Council in others, to make charges on the persons whom it assists, or upon the parents or others responsible for their maintenance; and to recover from them the whole or part of the cost incurred by the Council. Nearly every Committee of the Council has to make such charges, and seeks to recover a large number of small sums. In order to prevent overlapping and decisions inconsistent one with another—in order, too, to save expense—this service ought to be concentrated in one office, and directed by a single committee. The District Auditor will, under the new Act, be vigilant in compelling the Council to seek to make these recoveries. It is for the Council to decide what sums in each case it is proper to press for. This duty might well be entrusted to the Public Assistance Committee, which would have at its disposal all the information of the comprehensive Register which it is suggested should be maintained.

London.

The complete "Break up of the Poor Law," which may be difficult for the County Boroughs and for all other counties to

secure, is, by the new Act, made easy for the London County Council. By the special Section (18) which the London County Council insisted on the Minister of Health accepting, the Council is empowered to entrust *any* of the new powers conferred upon it to *any* of its Committees. It must, indeed, like all other Councils, appoint a new Committee, the Public Assistance Committee. But, unlike all other Councils, it is not required to entrust that Committee with the administration of any part of the Poor Law.

Thus the London County Council is free, if it chooses, to delegate to its Health Committee (and not to its Public Assistance Committee) all the powers which the Metropolitan Asylums Board or the Boards of Guardians have hitherto exercised with regard to any persons requiring medical attendance or nursing, whether in respect of tuberculosis or any other infectious disease, or in respect of any non-infectious disease, or in respect of pregnancy or childbirth, or in respect of senile or any other infirmity or affliction.

The Council may direct such powers to be exercised in conjunction with any other powers possessed by the Council under the Public Health Acts or other statutes relating to the sick or infirm. It may do this alike with regard to domiciliary medical attendance and nursing, and with regard to institutional care and treatment, irrespective of whether it is done under the Poor Law or under other statutes.

Removing Poor Law Taint.

Similarly, the London County Council is free to entrust to its Education Committee (and not to its Public Assistance Committee) all the powers hitherto exercised by the Boards of Guardians, and their School District Managers, with regard to children of school age, as well as those relating to children up to 16 who are blind, deaf and dumb, or crippled. It is clear that the administration of all the Poor Law Schools, Cottage Homes and Scattered Homes should be so dealt with. The Poor Law children now " boarded out " with foster parents should equally be transferred to the care of the Education Committee.

All these children would thereby be taken out of the Poor Law, and cease to be paupers. It would be an excellent thing if a similar provision were put into the Administrative Scheme with regard to the larger number of children whom the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians now maintain on outdoor relief. These children, for the most part, already attend the Council's elementary schools. Should they not be regarded as " boarded out " with their own parents to whom the Education Committee (in succession to the Board of Guardians) would make the

necessary payments, and whom the Education Committee would hold responsible for the proper rearing of these children?

Mothers and Children.

In like manner the London County Council is free to entrust to an appropriate Committee of the Council, or to the Maternity and Child Welfare Committees of the Borough Councils, not only (like other Councils) all that has hitherto been done by Boards of Guardians for destitute mothers and their infants, but also (herein unlike any other Council) it is free to entrust to the same Committee the special provision for such persons which the Guardians have alone been able to make. The grant of food and clothing, even the grant of a weekly subsistence allowance, to expectant or nursing mothers who seek the aid of the Maternity and Child Welfare Centres could be entrusted (even if these payments have to be charged to the Poor Law account) not to the Public Assistance Committee, but to the same Committee that at present administers those centres.

Hitherto comparatively little has been done under the Mental Deficiency Act, and thousands of mentally defective persons have been left to be herded in the workhouses, or maintained on doles of outdoor relief, with the very minimum of proper treatment. The London County Council has now the opportunity, by making provision in the Administrative Scheme, for the relegation to its Mental Hospitals Committee of the *whole treatment of mentally defective persons*, of whatever age, sex, or condition, whether under the Poor Law or under the Mental Deficiency Act, of unifying an important social service.

In most of the above cases it is possible for the London County Council, by its Administrative Scheme, to take out of the Poor Law and relieve from the stigma and the disabilities of pauperism all, or nearly all, the sick and infirm, the children of school age, the expectant and nursing mothers and their infants, and the mentally deficient. (It will presently be possible to do the same for the persons certified as of unsound mind.)

The Destitute Aged.

It is certainly unnecessary to dump the old people upon a general Public Assistance Committee, and the London County Council is, at its own request, expressly not required to do so (Section 18). There remain to be dealt with in the Administrative Scheme (i) the healthy aged of either sex who have failed to get National Old Age Pensions, and whom the Guardians have hitherto maintained on outdoor relief; and (ii) the able-bodied unemployed.

Why should not the destitute aged, to whom the London County Council will certainly continue the Guardians' subsistence allowance, be entrusted, in the Administrative Scheme, not to the Public Assistance Committee, but to the Council's own Old Age Pensions Committee? That Committee could then substitute what would virtually be "County Council Pensions" (even if they have to be charged to the Poor Law account) for what the Guardians have hitherto paid as outdoor relief.

The Able-bodied.

Those able-bodied men and women, for whom the Employment Exchange can find no situations, and to whom the National Insurance Scheme refuses benefit, have now to be provided for by the London County Council, in succession to the Guardians. The Council will wish to do something better for them than the workhouse; and something less farcical than the test work that is supposed to accompany outdoor relief.

The Central (Unemployed) Body, under the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905, is practically taken over by the Council. What is suggested is that the Council should refer the whole problem thus presented to it, together with the administration of all the statutory powers that the Council now possesses or may possess for the purpose, not to the Public Assistance Committee, but to a Special Committee on Unemployment. It is only by concentrating on the problem the attention of a specialised Committee that any wise treatment of this difficult problem can be expected.

Co-ordinating Assistance.

Even more important in London than elsewhere is the function, not mentioned in the Act, but implicit in the new allocation of duties, of maintaining a complete register of all the public assistance, of whatever kind, that is being granted by any authority whatsoever, to any member of a family in the metropolis. For lack of such a register one family may be receiving public assistance from several different sources unknown to the various Committees dispensing benefits.

Moreover, without a full knowledge of the family circumstances, past as well as present, it is impossible in certain cases to discover what it is best to provide for this or that member of the family, who happens to be in need of treatment or aid. An early amendment of the London Administrative Scheme, accordingly, should expressly provide for the maintenance, by the Public Assistance Committee—perhaps in charge of a special

officer, for whom an appropriate title would be Registrar of Public Assistance—of a comprehensive register of all the forms of public assistance administered by any of the Council's Committees and Sub-Committees.

Unify Charges.

But there is another duty of the London County Council which it is equally important to unify. As already mentioned, the law compels each Council in many cases, and allows the Council in others, to make charges on the persons whom it assists, or upon the parents or others responsible for their maintenance; and to recover from them the whole or part of the costs incurred by the Council. For the London County Council this is of special importance. Nearly every Committee of the Council has to make such charges, and seeks to recover a large number of small sums. In order to prevent overlapping and decisions inconsistent one with another—in order, too, to save expense—this service ought to be concentrated in one office, and directed by a single committee.

The District Auditor will, under the new Act, be vigilant in compelling the Council to seek to make these recoveries. It is for the Council to decide what sums in each case it is proper to press for. This duty might well be entrusted to the Public Assistance Committee, which would have at its disposal all the information of the comprehensive register which it is suggested should be maintained.

Thus, the new Local Government Act offers almost endless scope to progressive Councils, and every intelligent Councillor should press for the fullest use of the new powers.

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The Personnel of the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, 1851-1929

BY

ROBERT T. NIGHTINGALE.

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ROBERT T. NIGHTINGALE.

I.

The connection between public opinion and public policy is slighter in foreign affairs than in any other sphere of politics. In normal times international relations have little palpable impact upon the life of the people. They are obscured by more vivid domestic issues until war or some sudden crisis throws a high light on their significance. Even since the Great War, although public realisation of the importance of foreign affairs has begun to be aroused in the late belligerent countries, in England at any rate, direct contact between popular opinion and Government action is still both sporadic and uncertain.

What is true of the British people as a whole is almost equally true of its representative assembly. Parliament has but little power over the conduct of foreign affairs. Some of the most momentous changes in the country's relations with other Powers have, in the present century, been accomplished without reference to the House of Commons, and often without even its knowledge. The people's representatives have no effective control over that department of public affairs which is at present of more vital concern than any other.

Most British Foreign Secretaries, indeed, regard their actions as matters of exclusively executive concern. A Cabinet of twenty Ministers, already overworked in their own departments, is not, however, a body which can conduct the country's foreign relations. The Foreign Secretary on his own subject dominates his Ministerial colleagues. Experience shows that he can avoid consultation with all the Cabinet save two or three of the principal Ministers. The Cabinet as a whole has an authority not much greater than that of Parliament in guiding foreign policy and even in controlling decisions which may pledge the nation to future hostilities.

Accordingly, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is subjected to less criticism from people, Parliament and Cabinet, and enjoys a greater freedom from outside control than any other Minister. It does not follow, however, that he is in the position of an isolated autocrat possessing, as Bryce said, "all but unlimited discretion." Fifty years ago, a Foreign Secretary, if he were of the Palmerston type, could stamp his whole policy with the mark of his individuality. But to-day the ramifications of international affairs are such that no one man, even

if assisted as at present by two parliamentary under-secretaries, can exercise an adequate supervision over the whole field of international relations. Just as Parliament has delegated foreign affairs to the Cabinet, and the Cabinet to the Foreign Secretary, so the Foreign Secretary is compelled by the pressure of business to delegate an increasing proportion of his authority to his chief permanent officials. Personal administration on any considerable scale is impossible. The Foreign Secretary is responsible for the lines of policy adopted, but in their practical execution he is guided by the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service.

The ephemeral political amateur must necessarily be greatly dependent on the established administrative expert. In foreign affairs the dependence is accentuated, owing firstly to the growing congestion of business, and secondly to the fact that intercourse between nations is carried on largely by ambassadors and envoys stationed abroad in each capital. These diplomatic representatives possess the exact knowledge on which the Secretary of State's decisions must be based, and they are also his chief means of implementing the policies on which he decides. The number of British embassies and legations has increased from 22 in 1851 to 46 in 1929. The Foreign Secretary, oppressed by the accumulation of affairs and the growth of contacts with foreign Powers, is drawn away from outside influences and relies increasingly on his official advisers at home and abroad.

The dependence of the Foreign Secretary upon his bureaucratic subordinates means that the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service are departments of greater autonomy than any other section of the British Civil Service. An exceptionally great authority is wielded in foreign relations by the bureaucracy in comparison with the democracy. It is truer in international even than in domestic affairs that to discover the incidence and effects of State action it is necessary to examine not merely the legislature and the executive, but also the administrative machine by means of which principles are translated into practice. Day-to-day relations with foreign Powers are in the hands of accredited representatives enjoying virtual independence. And whereas in domestic administration the future can in a measure be foreseen and provided for, in foreign affairs passing incidents often prove subsequently to be crucial, and crises usually arise without warning. On such occasions much of the Foreign Secretary's authority perforce devolves upon his representatives on the spot. Moreover the actual conduct of international relations depends in the main on the interaction of personalities. Individuals count for more than institutions.

Enough has been said to show that the instrument through which foreign policy is conducted, and in practice to a large extent

created, is of foremost importance, and that accordingly the character of its personnel is worthy of the closest examination.

John Bright, speaking in 1858, described England's foreign policy as " neither more nor less than a gigantic system of out-door relief for the aristocracy of Great Britain." What truth was there in the generalisation at that date? Has it become less true since then? If so, to what extent? To such questions and their implications a quantitative analysis of the kind that follows can alone provide satisfactory answers.

II.

A permanent, competitively selected administration was one of the greatest political inventions of the nineteenth century. The reform of the British Civil Service began in 1855. Until then the administrative machine had been manned by placemen who owed their positions to family and political influence. The growth of democratic ideas and the multiplication of the State's liabilities made the system of patronage intolerable. The remedy applied was the competitive examination, which gradually opened the Civil Service to members of the newly enfranchised middle classes.

The first breach in the aristocratic political régime was made by the Reform Act of 1832. But it was nearly a quarter of a century before any step was made towards democratisation of the Civil Service. Realisation that administrators, like governors, must, if they are to be good servants of the people, be drawn from the people, came slowly and reluctantly.

In the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service progress was much slower even than in the rest of the Civil Service. Until 1880 no limit beyond a " qualifying test " was set to the patronage of the Secretary of State in making appointments to the Diplomatic Service, and even the " limited competition " then instituted was not, to quote the report of the Macdonnell Commission of 1912-14, " calculated materially to raise the efficiency of the service or to widen the area from which candidates were drawn." Until 1919 no candidates could sit for the examination for either the Diplomatic Service or the Foreign Office unless they were " known to the Secretary of State or recommended to him by men of standing and position on whose judgment he could rely and who themselves knew the candidates personally." Even after nomination, candidates were not permitted to sit for the examination until they were approved of by a Board of Selection who were beyond question influenced by considerations of social eminence. Moreover, until after the Great War it was made a condition of nomination that candidates should possess a private income of not less than £400 a year.

The reason why the democratic principle has been extremely slow in permeating the methods of recruitment for the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service is to be found in the theory by which foreign affairs have been conducted. "There is," wrote Bagehot in the 1860's, "one kind of business in which our aristocracy have still, and are likely to retain long, a certain advantage. This is the business of diplomacy. . . . The old-world diplomacy of Europe was largely carried on in drawing-rooms, and, to a great extent, of necessity still is so." Diplomacy was thought to require a breeding and finesse that could be found only amonst the aristocracy and the gentry. It was a branch of public affairs in which suitable administrators could be secured only if the democracy continued to select them according to the aristocratic principle. To associate on equal terms with the Ministers of foreign Governments, a diplomatist should possess the elegance and refinement of manners which result from gentle birth and aristocratic upbringing. Thus, until 1919, the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service remained as a relic of the régime which had first begun to crumble in 1832. It was almost a century after the first step had been taken towards democratisation of the State when the career of diplomacy was opened unconditionally to ability.

III.

Some explanation is due of the nomenclature and classification adopted in this study. The term "aristocratic" has been applied to all who hold hereditary titles. The category of "rentier" includes all others who possess independent means which exempt them from the necessity of working for a livelihood. The great majority of this class belongs to the landed gentry and to county families. When, as often occurs, a man is a rentier and also follows a profession, he has been classified under his calling. The number of rentiers therefore is in fact somewhat greater than the figures disclose. "The Professions" comprise the Church, the Law, the Army and Navy, and Medicine. "The Higher Civil Service" indicates the Foreign Office, the Diplomatic Service, the Consular Service, and the rest of the administrative Civil Service.

The numbers of those educated at Eton and Harrow are given separately. Other public schools are sub-divided into two sections. The "leading public schools" are for this purpose nine in number, Westminster, Rugby, Marlborough, Clifton, Winchester, Malvern, Cheltenham, Charterhouse, and Haileybury. Under "lesser public schools" all schools are included if they are to be found in the "Public Schools Yearbook," a list which comprises, after allowance for the schools already enumerated, some 140 places of education. Where a man has

been at more than one university, both are recorded. Education at universities abroad is noted, but many classified under the head " No University " have doubtless studied languages at foreign universities. It is to be observed that the calculations derived from the tables are subject to a certain margin of error, since it has been impossible to obtain complete statistics.

The ranks included in this inquiry are, in the Foreign Office, permanent, deputy, and assistant under-secretaries, chief clerks, counsellors, and assistant secretaries; and in the Diplomatic Service, ambassadors extraordinary and envoys extraordinary. In the period 1851 to 1929, 249 men held one or more of these posts, of whom 39 served in the Foreign Office alone, 192 in the Diplomatic Service alone, and 18 in both services. Table I. shows their parentage and the school and university they attended, and gives the same particulars for the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service separately.

TABLE I.

(*a*) Parental Occupation.

	F.O.	D.S.	Total.
Aristocrats	17	82	93
Rentiers	6	36	39
Foreign Office	1	3	4
Diplomatic Service	4	10	12
Consular Service	1	5	6
Other Civil Service Departments	4	6	7
Church	2	11	13
Law	3	8	10
Army	5	19	24
Navy	1	3	3
Medicine	–	4	4
Parliament	4	3	6
Business	2	9	10
Literature	–	2	2
Academic	–	1	1
Stage	1	–	1
Unclassified	6	8	14
	57	210	249

(*b*) School.

	F.O.	D.S.	Total.
Eton	27	67	85
Harrow	6	23	27
Leading Public Schools	6	36	38
Lesser Public Schools	4	22	26
Other Schools	–	9	9
Military and Naval Colleges	–	5	5
Privately	1	18	18
Abroad	2	9	10
Unclassified	11	21	31
	57	210	249

(c) UNIVERSITY.

	F.O.	D.S.	Total.
Oxford	15	62	72
Cambridge	9	31	36
London	–	2	2
Edinburgh	–	3	3
Glasgow	–	1	1
Dublin	–	5	5
Belfast	–	2	2
Foreign Universities	3	5	7
No University	24	100	115
Unclassified	7	5	12
	58	216	255

The above table provides a broad picture of the nature of the personnel of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service during the last eighty years. The most striking deduction is that 53 per cent. belong to the aristocracy or the gentry. Twenty-two per cent. were sons of men following one or other of the professions, but only 4 per cent. came from business families. Among parents dependent on their own efforts for a livelihood, civil servants and soldiers form easily the largest categories. The extent of heredity is worthy of remark: 12 per cent. were sons of members of the Foreign Office or the Diplomatic Service, and if the Consular Service and the rest of the administrative Civil Service are included, the percentage is 17. Investigation shows that the tendency for sons to follow their fathers in a diplomatic career was more marked in the earlier part of the period. Rather surprisingly, among those included in this analysis, only six were the sons of politicians.

Attendance at one or other of the great English public schools is the hall-mark of a high social position. Sixty per cent. went to the eleven most exclusive schools. Of the remaining 40 per cent., well over one-half attended the lesser public schools, received a military or naval education, or were educated privately or abroad. Only nine men out of 249 have been traced who went to schools other than the recognised public schools and the military and naval colleges, and of these five were not diplomatists *de carrière*. Forty-five per cent. of the personnel of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service went to the two foremost schools in the country, and over one-third were Etonians.

The statistics of university education bear out the inferences already clear. Of those who received higher education 90 per cent. went to either Oxford or Cambridge. The remaining 10 per cent. are accounted for by three who went to Edinburgh and seven who went to Irish universities. Not a single man went exclusively to London University. By far the largest category in this column, however, consists of those who went to no university at all. It is significant that only about one

man in two of those occupying the selected posts in the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service was university-trained.

A comparison of the two services shows that the Diplomatic Service is the more socially exclusive. The aristocratic and rentier classes form 56 per cent. of the Diplomatic Service, but only 40 per cent. of the Foreign Office. This fact is probably due to the attraction to men of noble birth of service abroad in an environment of Courts and aristocratic society, and equally no doubt to the necessity until recently for ample private means to supplement the diplomatist's official salary. A perceptibly higher proportion of the Foreign Office personnel consists of public-school men, and indeed no member of the Foreign Office has been traced who has attended any school in this country other than the public schools. In contrast, 13 per cent. of diplomatists have been educated either privately or abroad. This is due to the important part which foreign languages play in diplomacy, and to the exacting linguistic tests imposed on entrants to the Diplomatic Service. It is notable that among men trained at British universities every member of the Foreign Office without exception went either to Oxford or Cambridge, while 6 per cent. of diplomatists went elsewhere.

Table II. shows the proportion of aristocrats at some of the principal British embassies and legations.

TABLE II.

Country.	Total Number of Diplomatic Representatives, 1851-1929.	Number of Aristocrats.
France	9	8
U.S.A.	14	8
Germany	12	10
Belgium	10	8
Austria	16	12
Italy	13	6
Russia	15	11
Portugal	18	10
Greece	12	8
Netherlands	14	10
Sweden and Norway	20	10
	153	101

A majority of the ambassadors to the republican United States have been of aristocratic birth, and the French Republic has since 1851 received no ambassador, with the single exception of the present one, who has not been a member of the aristocracy. Furthermore, the proportion of aristocrats is distinctly higher in the more important than in the less important diplomatic posts. Over the whole period 35 out of the 66 ambassadors (or 53 per cent.) have been aristocratic in origin, but in the case of envoys the proportion is only 73 out of 194 (or 38 per cent.).

These figures lend colour to the theory that preference is shown to aristocrats in appointments to the highest-placed chancelleries.

The broad conclusion indicated by the statistics hitherto tabulated is that the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service are wholly unrepresentative of the general community whose accredited delegates they are. Their members are drawn to the extent of 37 per cent. from the aristocracy, which consists of no more than about one thousand families, and to the extent of 86 per cent. from the aristocratic, rentier, bureaucratic, and professional classes—classes which form a mere fraction of the total population.

IV.

It is important to discover whether, during the seventy-nine years under review, any change in the character of the personnel has taken place, and whether the reforms in the procedure of recruitment which have from time to time been effected, have enlarged the circle from which entrants are drawn.

Attention must be given mainly to the pre-war period, because, although far-reaching reforms in the examination system were carried out after the War, their effect during the last decade is as yet difficult to estimate. The system that the reforms of 1919 supplanted was recruitment by what has been called "limited competition." In the Foreign Office "limited competition" replaced patronage as early as 1857, but in the case of the Diplomatic Service there were two landmarks in the reform movement. In 1857 pure patronage was supplemented by a "qualifying test." No competitive element was, however, introduced into the test, and it was not until 1880 that "limited competition" was set up. Table III. gives particulars for 51 men who went into the Diplomatic Service during Period I., up to 1856, the period of undiluted patronage; 30 during Period II., 1857 to 1879, the period of the "qualifying test"; and 87 during Period III., 1880 and after, the period of "limited competition."

TABLE III.

(*a*) Parental Occupation.

	Period I.	Period II.	Period III.
Aristocrats	32	15	25
Rentiers	5	4	23
Higher Civil Service	5	3	12
Professions	3	7	19
Parliament	1	–	2
Business	–	1	4
Literature	1	–	–
Academic	–	–	1
Unclassified	4	–	1
	51	30	87

(*b*) SCHOOL.

	Period I.	Period II.	Period III.
Eton	15	7	38
Harrow	3	8	10
Leading Public Schools	7	5	18
Lesser Public Schools	2	5	5
Other Schools	2	–	2
Military Colleges	2	1	–
Privately	6	2	7
Abroad	3	–	3
Unclassified	11	2	4
	51	30	87

(*c*) UNIVERSITY.

	Period I.	Period II.	Period III.
Oxford	8	13	34
Cambridge	8	1	15
Edinburgh	2	–	–
Dublin	3	2	–
Foreign Universities	2	1	2
No University	27	13	36
Unclassified	2	–	2
	52	30	89

The foregoing table is evidence of a well-defined movement towards democratisation in the Diplomatic Service. During the epoch of patronage two out of three diplomatists were aristocrats. After the reform of 1857 the proportion declined to one in two, and when competition was inserted in the examination in 1880, to less than one in three. The percentage of men whose fathers earned their own livelihood rose from 20 in the first to 37 in the second, and 44 in the third period. The proportion of sons of civil servants increases perceptibly after 1880, and the parental categories of professional and business men show a marked expansion over the whole period. The percentage educated at the eleven most exclusive public schools rises from 49 in the first to 67 in the second and 76 in the third period. The higher proportion of public-school men in recent years may be attributed to the fact that Roman Catholics, who have always been numerous in both the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service, were formerly debarred from going to English public schools, and were educated, as investigation bears out, either at Catholic schools in England or abroad, or privately at home. Since the abolition of patronage there has been a discernible increase in the proportion of academically trained men. Moreover, it is noteworthy that not a single diplomatist of distinction who has entered the service since 1880 has been trained at any university other than the two premier ones.

In the case of the Diplomatic Service and, to a less degree, the Foreign Office, there has been a constant influx of men who have not entered the services at the usual age or passed through the lower ranks. Table IV. gives particulars including their previous careers, for these outsiders, who number 47 in all, and form 20 per cent. of the personnel of the Diplomatic Service and 11 per cent. of the Foreign Office.

TABLE IV.

(*a*) Parental Occupation.

Aristocrats	10
Rentiers	6
Higher Civil Service	5
Professions	17
Business	5
Literature	1
Unclassified	3
	47

(*b*) School.

Eton	9
Harrow	3
Leading Public Schools	6
Lesser Public Schools	12
Other Schools	5
Military and Naval Colleges	2
Privately	3
Abroad	3
Unclassified	4
	47

(*c*) University.

Oxford	11
Cambridge	8
London	2
Edinburgh	1
Glasgow	1
Belfast	2
No University	24
Unclassified	1
	50

(*d*) Previous Career.

Consular Service	25
Higher Civil Service	5
Politics	9
Army	1
Navy	1
Royal Household	2
Law	2
Journalism	2
	47

It is clear from the above table that this category is drawn from a lower social class than the remainder. The percentage whose fathers belonged to the leisured class is 34, in comparison with 57 for the rest of the personnel. The professions are here the largest category of parental occupations. Sixty-five per cent. of those who spent their lives in the Foreign Office or in diplomacy were at the more exclusive public schools, as contrasted with 38 per cent. among the laymen, and in the foregoing table public schools of the second rank form the largest scholastic class. Of the seven members of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service who alone have exclusively attended any British university other than Oxford or Cambridge, it is notable that three have been men who entered the services after careers elsewhere. It is worthy of note also that the proportion of outsiders who have had an academic training is silghtly below the general average for the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service.

A study of the previous careers of men under this head reveals the fact that a majority of them had served in the Consular

Service. Earlier a number of the twenty-five thus accounted for had been student interpreters, while others had passed through the Army and become military attachés before being drafted into the Consular Service. In some countries where a thorough knowledge of national traditions and customs is desirable, it has been a common practice to fill diplomatic vacancies from the junior service. Four out of ten diplomatic representatives in Japan, seven out of thirteen in China, three out of eight in Morocco, two out of four in Ethiopia, and all three in Costa Rica have been appointed to their embassies or legations without previous experience in the Diplomatic Service, and all of them have graduated through the Consular Service. Of the 47 men drafted into the Foreign Office or the Diplomatic Service from outside, all except four came from some career of State service or public life. It is noteworthy that 19 per cent. of them were drawn from politics and in recent years there is observable a growing disposition to award the highest posts to distinguished politicians. Of the four most recent ambassadors at Washington, two—Viscount Bryce and Sir Auckland Geddes—had been Ministers of the Crown.

Ambassadors and envoys promoted from below or from outside have frequently had diplomatic careers of unusual distinction. Sir Ernest Satow at Pekin and Tokio, and Sir John Jordan at Tokio, both of whom were preferred from the Consular Service, were diplomatists of special prominence. Sir William White at Constantinople was one of the most celebrated of ambassadors. Two ex-politicians—Viscount Bryce in the United States and the Marquess of Dufferin in France—were outstanding diplomatic successes.

The Macdonnell Commission on the Civil Service of 1912-1914 made certain recommendations for the reform of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service which were put into effect in 1919. The two services were amalgamated into a single "Foreign Service." While special proficiency was still required in foreign languages, the general examination scheme was assimilated to that for the rest of the administrative Civil Service. The conditions requiring a candidate, before he could proceed to the examination, to obtain a nomination from the Secretary of State himself or from someone "of standing and position," and also to possess a private income of at least £400 a year, were both abolished. Effect was given to the proposal that "the salaries and allowances in the Diplomatic Service should . . . make it possible for a member of that service to live upon his official emoluments."

It is a matter of great importance to discover whether the adoption of these reforms has had any marked influence on the

nature of the personnel recruited since 1919. Statistics are sparse, but the Reports of the Civil Service Commissioners 1923 to 1928 give the places of education of the 31 successful candidates during that period. These figures are set out below.

TABLE V.

(*a*) School.		(*b*) University.	
Eton	7	Oxford	19
Harrow	3	Cambridge	11
Leading Public Schools ...	10	London	1
Lesser Public Schools ...	9	No University	1
Other Schools	2		
	31		32

The Macdonnell Commission carried out a similar analysis for the same number of years just before the War, and it is instructive to set down their findings. " We have been furnished by the Civil Service Commissioners," states the Report, " with the educational antecedents of the successful competitors for attachéships in the years 1908 to 1913 inclusive. No fewer than 25 out of 37 (about 67 per cent.) came from Eton, while all but a very small fraction had been educated at one or other of the more expensive public schools. In only one case was any university other than Oxford or Cambridge represented." The conclusion is that " no further evidence is required to show the limiting effect of the present regulations upon the class of candidates from which the Diplomatic Corps is recruited."

Some change in the character of the personnel admitted appears to have resulted from the adoption of the new regulations. The percentage coming from Eton has fallen from 67 to 23. But the change is not profound: 65 per cent. in the later period attended one or other of the eleven leading public schools—a percentage which is actually five points higher than the corresponding percentage for the whole period since 1851. Moreover, every entrant, with the exception of one from a preparatory school and another educated at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, received a public-school education. Furthermore, as in the six pre-war years, there is only one instance of any university other than Oxford or Cambridge being represented, and this entrant in the later period was also an Oxonian. It is worth noting that while during the whole period studied only about one man in two was university-educated, in the selected post-war years one man alone out of thirty-one did not receive an academic training.

The general inference which follows from a study of the effects of the various reforms in the examination regulations is that they have been substantial but not profound. There has

been a gradual modification of the personnel, but no radical transformation. During the period of patronage nearly three out of four diplomatists were members of the aristocracy or gentry. Since then, democratisation of the conditions of entry has enabled civil servants and professional men increasingly to send their sons into the Foreign Service. The series of reforms has not yet sufficed, however, to make the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service representative of all classes of the community. No trace is discoverable, even since the Macdonnell Commission swept away social distinctions and made diplomacy a career open to talent, of men entering the Foreign Service who have climbed the educational ladder from State elementary school to university. This branch of the British Civil Service is still dominated by the greater public schools and by the older universities. Despite the reforms, environmental advantages still weight the balance heavily in favour of the propertied and the professional classes.

V.

The theory which was first enunciated by Macaulay, and has since 1855 governed entrance to the British Civil Service, is that the examination scheme should be bound up with the general educational system of the country. In the case of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service, however, the prominence given to foreign languages in the examination has imperilled the full application of the "Macaulay principle." Great advantage in the linguistic section of the examination accrues to candidates who have proceeded straight from school to a foreign pension or tutor. Of the personnel investigated since 1851, almost one-half sat for the examination after having spent their post-school years elsewhere than at a British university.

This defect was recognised by the Macdonnell Commission. "If our proposals are adopted," the Commissioners stated, "the diplomatic service will be made more attractive to men of ability and high academic training, while its members will have greater opportunity of studying subjects of value to them in their profession. Charges have been made before us of defects of knowledge and narrowness of outlook in members of the diplomatic service, and without admitting the justice of such general criticisms, we consider that in many cases there is room for improvement." It appears from the admittedly incomplete evidence obtainable (see Table V) that the remedies they prescribed have had the desired effect. In the years 1923 to 1928 only one non-university-trained candidate was admitted into the Foreign Service.

Failure to profit by the widening of intellectual vision conferred by university life must be a severe handicap to the diplomatist. Once his career opens, he is an exile. Three years at a British university should enable him to appreciate the currents of domestic thought and to evaluate the social forces of his day. If this period of preparation for a diplomatic career is spent abroad, the would-be diplomatist is inevitably cut off from knowledge of the social and political movements of the country which he is destined to represent to foreigners.

The observations of the Macdonnell Report quoted above imply a further criticism of the customary education of candidates for the Foreign Service. Not only is it important that the diplomatist should have acquired a familiarity with what is best in the thought of his own country, but his intellectual equipment should also include a knowledge of economic and political science. It may be true that men who have stayed at a university to the age of 21 or 22 are well equipped for any profession, but this liberal education requires for such a career as diplomacy a supplement of specialised information. Men destined for the fighting services are trained in the art of war-making. Diplomatists should have mastered whatever theoretical knowledge may assist them in the art of peace-making.

An inconsiderable fraction of entrants to the Foreign Service take economic and political subjects in the examination, and indeed an idea is current that some bias is accorded by the examiners to those who offer the classics. The fact that so substantial a proportion as 20 per cent. of the more distinguished diplomatists have since 1851 been drawn from the ranks of the Consular Service and of other branches of the Civil Service and from among eminent politicians, together with the additional fact that these laymen have often had careers of outstanding merit, justifies some criticism of the talent available among professional diplomatists. In particular, promotions from a junior service devoted to commercial activities, lend colour to the contention that a knowledge of the economic world, which forms the background of political activity in modern states, should be an integral part of a training for diplomacy. The conduct of foreign relations cannot be properly provided for unless it is recognised that they must be a subject of special study on the part of those responsible for them.

VI.

The unchallengeable conclusion that emerges from this statistical analysis is that the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service have been a preserve for the sons of the

aristocratic, rentier and professional classes. For this reason their personnel is not a fair sample of British society as a whole. This was the view of the Macdonnell Commission: "... the Diplomatic Service is effectually closed to all His Majesty's subjects, be they never so well qualified for it, who are not possessed of private means. The official conditions of entry into this Service fix the amount of the private means required at a minimum of £400 a year. The effect is to limit candidature to a narrow circle of society." The bureaucracy in foreign affairs has been one of the last strongholds in which the aristocratic principle has withstood the advance of democracy.

Men who have been nurtured in the British upper class have lived in a world secluded from the common people. Education at a great public school and one of the older universities provides a liberal education that fits men to be good administrators, but it is also a process of initiation into a social caste. Those so reared and trained are imbued with the peculiar prejudices of their walk of life. They are too far removed from the common people to comprehend their point of view. Their perspective is not characteristic of the nation as a whole.

In a democracy the Foreign Service ought firstly to represent to peoples abroad the mental attitude of the nation it stands for, and secondly to convey to the Government at home the mind of foreigners. It is not qualified to perform either of these functions if it is representative only of a very small section of the life of the nation. With the best intentions, it can accurately interpret neither the broad lines of policy laid down by statesmen nor the inclinations of the people they represent. Unless the diplomatic personnel is typical of all classes, it will not work with a constant sense that it is the servant of the whole body politic.

In former times the practice of diplomacy was restricted to Courts and the highest social circles, and this was the reason Bagehot gave as justifying the predominance of the aristocracy in British diplomacy. But to-day aristocratic society is in most countries divorced from government. Familiarity with aristocratic habits is no longer a necessary qualification for the diplomatist. Indeed, the problems that have faced the world since 1919 demand treatment by men with qualities entirely different from those associated with the aristocratic frame of mind. The successful diplomatist needs in this age the capacity to mix with men of all classes and standpoints, a capacity which is not to be acquired from an upbringing in British upper-class society.

Since the Great War there have been in all countries a keener public interest in foreign affairs and a greater popular aspiration towards the maintenance of peace than ever before. In England

these feelings have to a considerable extent found expression in the form of dissatisfaction with the traditional conduct of international relations and with the old assumptions of diplomatic proceedure. One general remedy which has attracted widespread support is the closer association of foreign politics with public opinion. The objects of diplomacy, it is argued, should be attuned to those of the people at large. Projects such as the establishment in the House of Commons of a Permanent Foreign Affairs Committee are now advocated as a means to this end. Another way of bringing diplomacy into closer touch with democracy would be to make its personnel a microcosm of the nation as a whole. A Foreign Service containing representatives of all social classes should produce a type of official more sympathetic to public opinion.

Bright's dictum has lost some of its force since it was first enunciated, but the propertied, if not the purely aristocratic, class is still predominant in the British bureaucracy of foreign affairs. The necessity for widening the field of selection was recognised by the Macdonnell Commission, and since 1919 the Foreign Service has been recruited by merit regardless of class qualifications. Reform of the method of recruitment, however, represents only the first step. As the available evidence indicates, it will not alone produce a genuinely democratic diplomacy. What has next to be done is less obvious, equally necessary, but more difficult. It is so to reconstruct the nation's scholastic system that citizens of all classes are enabled to reach the top rungs of the educational ladder.

Complete emancipation from considerations of social status must, of course, be a slow process. Even when the sons of the lower middle and the working classes gain admission to diplomacy, there is likely to be a bias against their preferment so long as the permanent under-secretaries and the ambassadors of the *ancien régime* remain in control. In the meantime a Foreign Service manned by those drawn from the privileged classes will remain antipathetic to the new internationalist ideals. A democratic diplomacy is alone capable of exploiting the moral forces to-day rallied behind the cause of world peace.

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The Fabian Society has been, from the outset, a constituent body of the Labour Party; and membership of the Society carries with it full membership of the Labour Party; eligibility for nomination to all Conferences and Offices, and qualification for Labour Party candidatures for Parliament and Local Authorities, without obligation to belong to any other organisation.

The Society welcomes as members any persons, men or women, wherever resident, who subscribe to its Basis (set forth below), and who will co-operate in its work according to their opportunities.

BASIS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

(TO BE SIGNED BY ALL MEMBERS.)

(*Adopted May 23rd*, 1919.)

The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the reorganisation of Society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land, with equitable consideration of established expectations, and due provision as to the tenure of the home and the homestead; for the transfer to the community, by constitutional methods, of all such industries as can be conducted socially; and for the establishment, as the governing consideration in the regulation of production, distribution and service, of the common good instead of private profit.

The Society is a constituent of the Labour Party and of the International Socialist Congress; but it takes part freely in all constitutional movements, social, economic and political, which can be guided towards its own objects. Its direct business is (*a*) the propaganda of Socialism in its application to current problems; (*b*) investigation and discovery in social, industrial, political and economic relations; (*c*) the working out of Socialist principles in legislation and administrative reconstruction; (*d*) the publication of the results of its investigations and their practical lessons.

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I Members, who must sign the Basis and be elected by the Committee. Their Subscriptions are not fixed; each is expected to subscribe annually according to his means. They control the Society through the Executive Committee (elected annually by ballot through a postal vote), and at its annual and other business meetings.

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SOCIALISM:

Principles and Outlook.

BY

G. BERNARD SHAW.

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AND

FABIANISM

BY

G. BERNARD SHAW

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SOCIALISM: Principles and Outlook.

By G. Bernard Shaw.

Socialism, reduced to its simplest legal and practical expression, means the complete discarding of the institution of private property by transforming it into public property and the division of the resultant public income equally and indiscriminately among the entire population. Thus it reverses the policy of Capitalism, which means establishing private or 'real' property to the utmost physically possible extent, and then leaving distribution of income to take care of itself. The change involves a complete moral *volte-face*. In Socialism, private property is anathema and equal distribution of income the first consideration. In Capitalism, private property is cardinal and distribution left to ensue from the play of free contract and selfish interest on that basis, no matter what anomalies it may present.

I.

Socialism never arises in the earlier phases of Capitalism, as, for instance, among the pioneers of civilisation in a country where there is plenty of land available for private appropriation by the last comer. The distribution which results under such circumstances presents no wider departures from a rough equality than those made morally plausible by their association with exceptional energy and ability at the one extreme, and with obvious defects of mind and character or accidental hard luck at the other. This phase, however, does not last long under modern conditions. All the more favourable sites are soon privately appropriated, and the later comers (provided by immigration or the natural growth of the population), finding no eligible land to appropriate, are obliged to live by hiring it at a rent from its owners, transforming the latter into a *rentier* class enjoying unearned incomes, which increase continually with the growth of the population until the landed class becomes a money-lending or capitalist class also, capital being the name given to spare money. The resource of hiring land and spare money is open to those only who are sufficiently educated to keep accounts and manage businesses, most of whom spring from the proprietary class as younger sons. The rest have to live by being hired as labourers and artisans at weekly or daily wages; so that a rough division of society into an upper or proprietary class, a middle or employing and managing class,

and a wage proletariat is produced. In this division the proprietary class is purely parasitic, consuming without producing. As the inexorable operation of the economic law of rent makes this class richer and richer as the population increases, its demand for domestic servants and for luxuries of all kinds creates parasitic enterprise and employment for the middle class and the proletariat, not only withdrawing masses of them from productive industry, but also fortifying itself politically by a great body of workers and employers who vote with the owners because they are as dependent on the owners' unearned incomes as the owners themselves.

Meanwhile, the competition of employers for custom, which leads to the production of a dozen articles to satisfy the demand for one, leads to disastrous crises of feverish over-production alternated with periods of bad trade (' booms ' and ' slumps '), making continuous employment of the proletariat impossible. When wages fall to a point at which saving is also impossible, the unemployed have no means of subsistence except public relief during the slumps.

It is in this phase of capitalistic development, attained in Great Britain in the 19th century, that Socialism arises as a revolt against a distribution of wealth that has lost all its moral plausibility. Colossal wealth is associated with unproductiveness and sometimes with conspicuous worthlessness of character; and lifetimes of excessive toil beginning in early childhood leave the toiler so miserably poor that the only refuge left for old age is a general workhouse, purposely made repulsive to deter proletarians from resorting to it as long as they have strength enough left for the most poorly paid job in the labour market. The inequalities become monstrous: hard-working men get 4s. or 5s. a day (post-war rates) in full view of persons who get several thousands a day without any obligation to work at all, and even consider industrial work degrading. Such variations in income defy all attempts to relate them to variations in personal merit. Governments are forced to intervene and readjust distribution to some extent by confiscating larger and larger percentages of incomes derived from property (income tax, super-tax, and estate duties) and applying the proceeds to unemployment insurance and extensions of communal services, besides protecting the proletariat against the worst extremities of oppression by an elaborate factory code which takes the control of workshops and factories largely out of the hands of their proprietors, and makes it impossible for them to exact grossly excessive hours of labour from their employees, or to neglect their health, physical safety, and moral welfare with complete selfishness.

This confiscation of private property incomes for public purposes without any pretence of compensation, which is now proceeding on a scale inconceivable by Victorian ministers, has destroyed the integrity of private property and inheritance; and the success with which the confiscated capital has been applied to communal industries by the municipalities and the central Government, contrasted with the many failures and comparative costliness of capitalist industrial adventure, has shaken the superstition that private commercial management is always more effective and less corrupt than public management. In particular, the British attempt to depend on private industry for munitions during the World War of 1914-18 nearly led to defeat; and the substitution of national factories was so sensationally successful, and the post-war resumption of private enterprise, after a brief burst of illusory prosperity, was followed by so distressing a slump that the reversal of the relative efficiency prestige of Socialism and Capitalism was vigorously accelerated, leaving Capitalism unpopular and on the defensive, whilst confiscation of private capital for communal enterprise and nationalisation of the big industries grew steadily in popularity in and out of Parliament.

This change in public opinion had already deeply penetrated the middle class because of the change for the worse in the position of the ordinary employer. He, in the 19th century, was admittedly master of the industrial and, after the reform of 1832, of the political situation. He dealt directly and even domineeringly with the proprietary class, from which he hired his land and capital either directly or through agents who were his servants and not his masters. But the sums required to set on foot and develop modern industrial schemes grew until they were out of reach of the ordinary employers. The collection of money to be used as capital became a special business, conducted by professional promoters and financiers. These experts, though they had no direct contact with industry, became so indispensable to it that they are now virtually the masters of the ordinary routine employers. Meanwhile, the growth of joint stock enterprise was substituting the employee-manager for the employer, and thus converting the old independent middle-class into a proletariat and pressing it politically to the left.

With every increase in the magnitude of the capital sums required for starting or extending large industrial concerns comes the need for an increase in the ability demanded by their management; and this the financiers cannot supply: indeed, they bleed industry of middle-class ability by attracting it into their own profession. Matters reach a point at which industrial management by the old-fashioned tradesman must be replaced by a professionally trained and educated bureaucracy; and as

Capitalism does not provide such a bureaucracy the industries tend to get into difficulties as they grow by combination (amalgamation), and thus outgrow the capacity of the managers who were able to handle them as separate units.

This difficulty is increased by the hereditary element in business. An employer may bequeath the control of an industry involving the subsistence of thousands of workers, and requiring from its chief either great natural ability and energy or considerable scientific and political culture, to his eldest son without being challenged to prove his son's qualifications, though if he proposes to make his second son a doctor or a naval officer he is peremptorily informed by the Government that only by undergoing an elaborate and prolonged training, and obtaining official certificates of qualification, can his son be permitted to assume such responsibilities. Under these circumstances, much of the management and control of industry gets divided between routine employers who do not really understand their own businesses, and financiers, who, having never entered a factory nor descended a mine shaft, do not understand any business except the business of collecting money to be used as capital and forcing it into industrial adventures at all hazards, the result being too often reckless and senseless over-capitalisation, leading to bankruptcies (disguised as reconstructions) which reveal the most astonishing technical ignorance and economic blindness on the part of men in high repute as directors of huge industrial combinations, who draw large fees as the remuneration of a mystical ability which exists only in the imagination of the shareholders.

II.

All this steadily saps the business prestige of Capitalism. The loss of popular faith in it has gone much farther than the gain of any widespread or intelligent faith in Socialism. Consequently, the end of the first third of the 20th century finds the political situation in Europe confused and threatening: all the political parties diagnosing dangerous social disease, and most of them proposing disastrous remedies. National governments, no matter what ancient party slogans they raise, find themselves controlled by financiers who follow the slot of gigantic international usuries without any public aims and without any technical qualifications except their familiarity with a rule-of-thumb city routine quite inapplicable to public affairs, because it deals exclusively with stock exchange and banking categories of capital and credit. These, though valid in the money market when conducting exchanges of future incomes for spare ready money by the small minority of persons who have these luxuries to deal in, would vanish under pressure of any

general political measure like—to take a perilously popular and plausible example—a levy on capital. Such a levy would produce a money market in which there were all sellers and no buyers, sending the Bank Rate up to infinity, breaking the banks, and bringing industry to a standstill by the transfer of all the cash available for wages to the national treasury. Unfortunately, the parliamentary proletarian parties understand this as little as their capitalist opponents. They clamour for taxation of capital; and the capitalists, instead of frankly admitting that capital as they reckon it is a phantom, and that the assumption that a person with an income of £5 a year represents to the State an immediately available asset of £100 ready money, though it may work well enough as between a handful of investors and spendthrifts in a stockbroker's office, is pure fiction when applied to a whole nation, ignorantly defend their imaginary resources as if they really existed, and thus confirm the proletariat in its delusion instead of educating it.

The financiers have their own *ignis fatuus,* which is that they can double the capital of the country and thus give an immense stimulus to industrial development and production, by inflating the currency until prices rise to a point at which goods formally marked £50, are marked £100, a measure which does nothing but enable every debtor to cheat his creditor, and every insurance company and pension fund to reduce by half the provision for which it has been paid. The history of inflation in Europe since the World War of 1914-18, and the resultant impoverishment of pensioners and officials with small fixed incomes, forces the middle classes to realise the appalling consequences of abandoning finance and industry to the direction of unskilled, politically ignorant, unpatriotic ' practical business men.'

Meanwhile, the mobility of capital leads to struggles for the possession of exploitable foreign territories (' places in the sun '), producing war on a scale which threatens not only civilisation but human existence; for the old field combats between bodies of soldiers, from which women were shielded, are now replaced by attacks from the air on the civil population, in which women and men are slaughtered indiscriminately, making replacement of the killed impossible. The emotional reaction after such wars takes the form of acute disillusion, which further accelerates the moral revolt against Capitalism without, unfortunately, producing any workable conception of an alternative. The proletarians are cynically sulky, no longer believing in the disinterestedness of those who appeal to them to make additional efforts and sacrifices to repair the waste of war. The moral mainspring of the private property system is broken; and it is the confiscations of unearned income, the extensions of

municipal and national communism, above all the new subsidies in aid of wages extorted from governments by threats of nationally disastrous lock-outs and strikes, which induce the proletariat to continue operating the capitalist system now that the old compulsion to work by imposing starvation as the alternative, fundamental in Capitalism, has had to be discarded in its primitive ruthlessness. The worker who refuses to work can now quarter himself on public relief (which means finally on confiscated property income) to an extent formerly impossible.

Democracy, or votes for everybody, does not produce constructive solutions of social problems; nor does compulsory schooling help much. Unbounded hopes were placed on each successive extension of the electoral franchise, culminating in the enfranchisement of women. These hopes have been disappointed, because the voters, male and female, being politically untrained and uneducated, have (a) no grasp of constructive measures; (b) loathe taxation as such; (c) dislike being governed at all; and (d) dread and resent any extension of official interference as an encroachment on their personal liberty. Compulsory schooling, far from enlightening them, inculcates the sacredness of private property, and stigmatises a distributive state as criminal and disastrous, thereby continually renewing the old prejudices against Socialism, and making impossible a national education dogmatically inculcating as first principles the iniquity of private property, the paramount social importance of equality of income, and the criminality of idleness.

Consequently, in spite of disillusion with Capitalism, and the growing menace of failing trade and falling currencies, our democratic parliamentary oppositions, faced with the fact that the only real remedy involves increased taxation, compulsory reorganisation or frank nationalisation of the bankrupt industries, and compulsory national service in civil as in military life for all classes, dare not confront their constituents with such proposals, knowing that on increased taxation alone they would lose their seats. To escape responsibility, they look to the suppression of parliamentary institutions by *coups d'etat* and dictatorship, as in Italy, Spain and Russia. This despair of parliamentary institutions is a striking novelty in the present century; but it has failed to awaken the democratic electorates to the fact that, having after a long struggle gained the power to govern, they have neither the knowledge nor the will to exercise it, and are, in fact, using their votes to keep government parochial when civilisation is bursting the dikes of nationality in all directions.

A more effective resistance to property arises from the organisation of the proletariat in trade unions to resist the effect

of the increase of population in cheapening labour and increasing its duration and severity. But Trade Unionism is itself a phase of Capitalism, inasmuch as it applies to labour as a commodity that principle of selling in the dearest market, and giving as little as possible for the price, which was formerly applied only to land, capital, and merchandise. Its method is that of a civil war between labour and capital in which the decisive battles are lock-outs and strikes, with intervals of minor adjustment by industrial diplomacy. Trade Unionism now maintains a Labour Party in the British Parliament. The most popular members and leaders are Socialist in theory; so that there is always a paper program of nationalisation of industries and of banking, taxation of unearned incomes to extinction, and other incidentals of a transition to Socialism; but the trade union driving force aims at nothing more than Capitalism with labour taking the lion's share, and energetically repudiates compulsory national service, which would deprive it of its power to strike. In this it is heartily seconded by the proprietary parties, which, though willing enough to make strikes illegal and proletarian labour compulsory, will not pay the price of surrendering their own power to idle. Compulsory national service is essential in Socialism, which is thus deadlocked equally by organised labour and by Capitalism.

It is a historic fact, recurrent enough to be called an economic law, that Capitalism, which builds up great civilisations, also wrecks them if persisted in beyond a certain point. It is easy to demonstrate on paper that civilisation can be saved and immensely developed by, at the right moment, discarding Capitalism and changing the private property profiteering state into the common property distributive state. But though the moment for the change has come again and again it has never been effected because Capitalism has never produced the necessary enlightenment among the masses nor admitted to a controlling share in public affairs the order of intellect and character outside which Socialism, or indeed politics, as distinguished from mere party electioneering, is incomprehensible. Not until the two main tenets of Socialism—abolition of private property (which must not be confused with personal property), and equality of income—have taken hold of the people as religious dogmas, as to which no controversy is regarded as sane, will a stable Socialist state be possible. It should be observed, however, that of the two tenets, the need for equality of income is not the more difficult to demonstrate, because no other method of distribution is or ever has been possible. Omitting the few conspicuous instances in which actual earners of money make extraordinary fortunes by exceptional personal gifts or strokes of

luck, the existing differences of income among workers are not individual but corporate differences. Within the corporation no discrimination between individuals is possible; all common labourers, like all upper division civil servants, are equally paid. The argument for equalising the class incomes is that unequal distribution of purchasing power upsets the proper order of economic production, causing luxuries to be produced on an extravagant scale whilst the primitive vital needs of the people are left unsatisfied; that its effect on marriage, by limiting and corrupting sexual selection, is highly dysgenic; that it reduces religion, legislation, education, and the administration of justice to absurdity as between rich and poor; and that it creates an idolatry of riches and idleness which inverts all sane social morality.

Unfortunately, these are essentially public considerations. The private individual, with the odds overwhelmingly against him as a social climber, dreams even in the deepest poverty of some bequest or freak of fortune by which he may become a capitalist, and dreads that the little he has may be snatched from him by that terrible and unintelligible thing, State policy. Thus the private person's vote is the vote of Ananias and Sapphira; and democracy becomes a more effective bar to Socialism than the pliant and bewildered conservatism of the plutocracy. Under such conditions the future is unpredictable. Empires end in ruins: commonwealths have hitherto been beyond the civic capacity of mankind. But there is always the possibility that mankind will this time weather the cape on which all the old civilisations have been wrecked. It is this possibility that gives intense interest to the present historic moment and keeps the Socialist movement alive and militant.

FABIANISM.

By G. Bernard Shaw.

The Fabian Society is the name chosen by a body of English Socialists, who, in the year 1884, came together at a series of private meetings in London, for the discussion of social problems in general, and in particular of the views of a Scottish-American thinker, Thomas Davidson, who was then visiting England, and endeavouring to rouse interest in the philosophy of Rosmini. The group formed around Davidson divided, after his return to America, into two sections, one of which survived for some years as the Fellowship of the New Life, and was lost sight of. The other, more matter-of-fact, militant, and political, established itself as the Fabian Society. All trace of Davidson's influence soon vanished; but the character of the Society was determined by its origin in a group of educated persons of the professional and higher official classes, including civil servants of the upper division, stockbrokers, journalists, and propertied bourgeoisie generally, all under the age of thirty, with their careers still before them.

At that date Socialism, after a period of disrepute and almost of oblivion following the sanguinary suppression of the Paris Commune of 1871, had revived with extraordinary force and rapidity. The keenest of the converts to land nationalisation made in 1882 by the lecturing campaign of Henry George, and by his book *Progress and Poverty,* were carried on by the impetus of their conversion to the study of Karl Marx and Proudhon, and the formation of Societies of Land Nationalisers, Social Democrats, and Anarchists, all aiming at the redemption of the wage-workers from poverty, and looking to that class for their recruits, who were enlisted by public harangues at subscriptions of a penny a week, the program being to continue the process until an overwhelming majority of the workers had joined, when the Society would reconstruct European society on Georgist, Marxist or Proudhonic lines.

Such Societies, hopeless and useless except for agitating and demonstrating against the unemployment and misery of the period of bad trade then prevailing, had no attraction for critical students of the great evangelists of the movement, especially for the politically experienced ones, much less for upper division civil servants with a practical knowledge of government and administration. The Fabian Society gave these students just what they wanted: a nucleus for a Society of their own class,

and a name which proclaimed a literate atmosphere and a sane and patient temperament. Also, as the name suggested nothing else, the Society offered them an unformed constitution out of which they could make what they pleased. For several years the Society had less than forty members, who met in one another's drawing rooms and administered an income from subscriptions of less than £40 a year. There was no fixed subscription: members gave what they could afford. There was no recruiting; and excitable or eccentric applicants for membership were discouraged and, if necessary, excluded. Members had to sign a declaration that they were Socialists, and that they accepted the Basis, a document stating the aim of the Society as 'the re-organisation of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit.' To this was added 'the transfer to the community, by constitutional methods, of all such industries as can be conducted socially,' and 'the establishment, as the governing consideration in the regulation of production, distribution, and service, of the common good instead of private profit.'

The Society soon asserted its critical independence of Socialist dogma, and affirmed its constitutional and practical character. A nominally separate body, called the Hampstead Historic Society from its place of meeting, but really a Committee of the leaders of the Fabian Society, conducted a critical examination of Marx, and rejected his theory of value. This was followed by a less thorough examination of Proudhon's famous thesis that property is theft, mainly because this work had been for some reason adopted as a sort of gospel of Anarchism in opposition to Marx's *Das Kapital,* 'the Bible of German Social Democracy.' These critical exercises were then discarded; and a course of original and independent study entered upon, with the result that in 1889 the Society published *Fabian Essays,* which, first issued as a six shilling volume, was so successful that a cheaper edition was hastily prepared, and gained a large circulation which has continued steadily up to the present moment. In these distinctively English essays there is no trace of Marx or Proudhon or the earlier revolutionary veterans of 1848. The economics, consisting of Ricardo's law of rent, and Jevons's law of value, are quite orthodox. It is shown that the entry of the State into productive industry, far from being an untried, dangerous, and economically unsound innovation, is a fact already accomplished and in successful operation to an extent hitherto unnoticed. The notion of a sudden change from Capitalism to Socialism by the physical force of an insurrection is ridiculed and dismissed as 'catastrophic Socialism';

and the transition from Capitalism to Socialism is dealt with as part of the course of ordinary constitutional evolution. Heterodoxy in religion is omitted as entirely irrelevant. Socialism, in short, is presented as the creed of a constitutional political party pursuing its aims precisely as any other constitutional political party does, and involving no sacrifice whatever of current respectability and morality on the part of its adherents. This, at a time when Socialists were still very generally regarded as outlaws, and when the majority of Socialists were themselves so saturated with revolutionary romance that they protested vehemently against every attempt to open their ranks to the conventionally behaved bourgeoisie and the clergy, was a step in advance which soon became imperceptible through its general acceptance.

In the meantime the Fabians had been the first to grasp the opportunity offered to practical Socialism by the possibilities of municipal enterprise; and when the Local Government Act of 1888 was passed, and the London County Council established, they circulated leaflets suggesting questions to County Councillors in which, without any mention of Socialism, candidates were invited to pledge themselves to reforms involving various forms of direct municipal enterprise without the intervention of private commercial contractors, and to clear themselves of all suspicion of being opposed to ' moral minimum ' wages or the abolition of sweating. The candidates for the new bodies, having no platform and no traditional policy to fall back on, snatched at the program thus adroitly suggested; and the policy of the supply of public needs by municipal trading, and the safeguarding of the interests of the workman by fair wages clauses, suddenly took shape in London as Progressivism. It was vigorously denounced and ridiculed as ' gas and water Socialism ' by the other Socialist bodies; but it was extraordinarily successful at the polls, and retained its hold on London until the turn of the century, when the reaction towards official Liberalism which followed the South African War, and the rally of the Free Churches against the subsidisation of the Church of England elementary schools by the Education Act of 1902, enabled the old parliamentary Liberals to oust the Fabian Progressives and replace them by Liberal partisans, with the unexpected result that the Progressive Party in the Council, in ceasing to be Fabian, also ceased to be popular.

The success with which the Fabians imposed a program on the London County Council encouraged them to try their hands on the House of Commons. The method they adopted was that of Permeation, a word which they made current in Socialist and Labour politics as indicating Fabian tactics. Unlike the other

Societies, which held aloof from and excluded from their ranks members of all ordinary political bodies, the Fabians not only placed no restriction on their members as to their activity in other quarters, but actually urged them to join every other body to which they could obtain admission, in order to permeate these bodies with Socialist ideas, and persuade them to advocate Socialist measures. They had observed that, no matter which political party was in power at the moment, the Opposition was sure to be critical, impatient and clamorous for reform. On this ground the Liberals, then in opposition, were first selected for permeation. Their local associations suddenly received several active and intelligent recruits; and the National Liberal Federation presently found itself committed to a series of resolutions of an unprecedented character, which were adopted at the annual conference of that body at Newcastle in 1891, and were thenceforth known as the Newcastle Program.

The general election of 1892, which the Liberal leaders wished to fight on the issue of Home Rule for Ireland, justified the bold assertion of the Fabians that the English working-class, worse off in many respects than the Irish, ' did not care a dump ' for Home Rule, and that the election must be fought on social reform. The Liberal candidates, after their first taste of the temper of the electorate, hastily distributed Fabian pamphlets, made Fabian speeches, and won by a hair's-breadth. But their leaders, to whom the Fabian Society was hardly known, and the new departure repugnant and indeed unintelligible, dropped the Newcastle Program when they took office. The result was that two years later the Fabian Society, in a manifesto entitled ' To *Your Tents, O Israel,*' which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review,* delivered a slashing attack on the Liberal Government, making effective use of its technical political knowledge to discount the Government's plea that the slaughtering of its measures by the House of Lords and the slenderness of its majority in the House of Commons made any progressive legislation impossible. The Fabians produced a long list of administrative reforms promised in the Newcastle Program, which needed only the stroke of a minister's pen. No effective reply was forthcoming. The Liberal leaders sulked disdainfully; and Lord Rosebery only remarked that he had said all along that the Newcastle Program was a mistake, like all programs. The Government quite underestimated the force of the blow, and in 1895 went into opposition for ten years.

This stroke made an end of the direct political influence of the Fabians. Thenceforth they were intensely disliked and distrusted by the official section of the Liberal Party, all the more as the Fabians made no secret of the fact that they had foreseen

what would happen, and that the attack on the Liberal Party was part of their original plan, which was now developed by the republication of the manifesto by way of preamble to a pamphlet entitled *A Plan of Campaign for Labour,* which laid down the lines for the formation of an independent Labour Party in Parliament.

But the long habit of regarding the Liberal Party as the party of progress and the necessary instrument of every political advance made the Fabian attack on it almost as bewildering and scandalous to the working-classes as to the official Liberals. The older Socialist Societies, still unreconciled to the new Fabian tactics, encouraged the inference that those who attacked the Liberals, except from the extreme revolutionary point of view, must do so in the interests of the Tories, probably under the influence of bribes. The plan of campaign for Labour was not taken up; and the Fabian Society could only mark time until their temporary disrepute was aggravated by the outbreak of the war in South Africa. It was assumed on all hands that the Liberal Opposition, the working-classes, and the Socialists must oppose the war as a war of Capitalism, and support the Boers as its victims. The Fabian Society, in a pamphlet entitled *Fabianism and the Empire,* unexpectedly took the opposite view, and, for reasons that were as little to the taste of the Government as of the 'pro-Boers,' gave up the theocracy of President Kruger as obsolete and impossible, and declared for a consolidated British South Africa on the lines on which the final settlement was actually achieved. The Society, already suspected of Toryism, now stood convicted of Jingoism; and the limit of suspicion and discredit with the Liberal-Labour section was reached when the war was followed by a Conservative Education Bill, which threw the support of the Church schools on the rates. This roused all the old Noncomformist hatred of the Church which had been sown by the intolerance and class bias of generations of country parsons and squires, and which found expression in the Passive Resistance movement. But the Fabians again took the unexpected line of demanding public money for the Church schools on the ground that half the children in the country had no other schools to go to, and that only by financing the schools could the State impose on them the inspection and regulation needed to put an end to their abuses.

The breach of the assumed but wholly imaginary alliance between Liberalism and Fabianism was now apparent to all parties; but in the meantime the proposal for an independent Labour Party in Parliament had been vigorously pushed by a new body, the Independent Labour Party, led by Keir Hardie and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. As its propaganda spread, detach-

ment from the Liberal Party became a qualification for the confidence of the workers instead of a bar to it; and the co-operation of the Fabians was welcomed when the Labour Representation Committee was founded in 1900. The Fabian Society was granted representation on the Committee; and when, after the sensational Liberal and Labour victory at the general election of 1906, the Labour Party became an accomplished parliamentary fact, the Fabian Society was affiliated to it, and allowed to retain its representation on the Committee.

By that time the relative situation of the Society had altered considerably. During the twenty-two years of its existence Socialism had become Fabianised throughout Europe. Edward Bernstein, exiled by Bismarck in the 'eighties for his Socialism, had taken refuge in London; and, at the strenuous early debates of the Fabians, had heard the old doctrinaire Marxism torn to pieces, and a constitutional parliamentary and municipal Socialist program elaborated. Returning to Germany, he had divided the Social-Democratic Party by heading a Fabian revolt against the old leaders, which became known as Revisionism. Vandervelde in Belgium, Jaurès in France, and Turati in Italy had become leaders of parliamentary Socialist parties which had everything in common with the once distinctive features of Fabianism, and nothing in common with the veterans of 1848-71 whom the Fabians had superseded. In Australasia Labour parties had actually achieved parliamentary majorities, forming governments, and carrying into law many projects suggested and inspired by Fabian Essays and the long series of Fabian tracts which had supplemented them. Constitutionally, the Fabians were no longer pioneers: the ground they had broken was now occupied by the whole European centre of the Socialist movement.

Also, the Fabian leaders were no longer young men. Their personal ability had brought them work which inevitably competed heavily with the Society for their time and energy, and along with it a personal celebrity which made Permeation no longer possible for them as an unnoticed process. Sir Sydney Olivier (Lord Olivier), secretary to the Society for some years in its early days, distinguished himself in the colonial service; and finally, as Governor of Jamaica, could no longer take a direct personal part in the councils of the Society. Mr. Bernard Shaw, achieving success as a playwright, first in America and Germany and later on in England, substituted the theatre for the platform of the Fabian Society, and the prefaces to his published plays for Fabian pamphlets, as his chief means of propaganda. Mr. Sidney Webb, on his marriage with Miss Beatrice Potter, whose genius for economic and industrial investigation had already declared itself, devoted himself to the monumental series

of investigations into the history and structure of industrial democracy which are associated with his name and that of his wife, and to the foundation and development of the London School of Economics. Mrs. Annie Besant, whose extraordinary gift of oratory for some years placed any public meeting in London at the mercy of the Fabian Society, passed through Socialism to Theosophy, and from London to India. Mr. Graham Wallas, another of the Fabian essayists, became absorbed in the administration of public education, in professorial lecturing, and in sociological authorship. The late Hubert Bland found a new platform as a popular journalist. William Clarke, another very able essayist and journalist, died at a comparatively early age. The late Frank Podmore, whose studies of Owenite Socialism and its American derivatives are well known, was detached from the Society by his interest in psychical research. Mr. Edward R. Pease, who was a stockbroker when the Society was formed, became a working cabinet-maker for some years before rejoining the executive of the Society as its Secretary, thereby acquiring direct personal experience of artisan life, an adventure parallel to that of Mrs. Sidney Webb, who worked in disguise in the sweaters' dens of East London to investigate the conditions of the tailoring trade there. Mr. Pease subsequently wrote a history of the Society.

The names of these makers of the Fabian Society are important, because their subsequent careers explain how it produced an effect on the Socialist movement, and on political thought generally, out of all proportion to its numbers and apparent resources.

Largely by choosing its name happily, it attracted a handful of persons of more than average ability, with exceptional gifts of literary and oratorial expression. This concentration of talent was effected at a time when its possessors, being young and unknown, could enter unnoticed into the bodies in which they carried on their missionary work, and send their communications to the Press in the disguise of ordinary professional journalists. The work done by them during the first ten years of the Fabian Society's existence was prodigious in quantity, and has been far-reaching in its effect; but the Press of that period, preoccupied with the Home Rule Controversy and the party routine of the House of Commons, contains no record of it. One of their number has said: 'In the strength of my youth I delivered harangues, lasting from an hour to four hours, with long discussions afterwards, during a period of twelve years, at the average rate of three every fortnight, to large audiences; and nobody took the smallest notice of them. Now I cannot make the most trivial remark without finding it misquoted in half-a-dozen papers.'

In 1903 the Society made a brilliant recruit in Mr. H. G. Wells, who called attention to the impossibility of developing Municipal Socialism within the limits imposed by our obsolete municipal boundaries. Later on Mr. Wells tried to use the Fabian Society as an instrument for the social reconstruction he had sketched in his *Anticipations*. His project was received with enthusiasm by the whole Society; but the internal reforms he proposed included the superannuation of the older leaders, whose practice in debate, and dexterity in the handling of meetings and committees, made the task of adapting his proposals to their practical criticisms too tedious and irksome for his patience. The members recoiled from so violent a break with the traditions of the Society; and Mr. Wells withdrew quietly after their refusal.

In 1907 'the equal citizenship of men and women,' always advocated by the Society, was added explicitly to its written Basis.

In 1909 the effective permeation of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law by Mrs. Sidney Webb resulted in the issue by that body of a notable Minority Report, which gained so much support outside the ranks of professed Socialists that Mrs. Webb was obliged to form a nominally new Society to push its proposals. It contains the Fabian solution of the unemployed question, and the Fabian proposals for the abolition of the Poor Law, and the redistribution and reorganisation of its functions.

By this time Parliament was attempting to solve in its own way the social problems which the earlier Fabian propaganda had forced into English public consciousness and into colonial legislation. The Society consequently found itself occupied in severe criticism of the Government's methods, notably in the case of the Insurance Act of 1912, in framing which the Chancellor of the Exchequer ignored the investigations and proposals of the Fabians and their school, and went to Germany for his model, reproducing all the inconveniences and mistakes of the German experiment, and provoking a vehement agitation which threatened to wreck his party at the general election. The old Fabian plan of prompting the politicians was useless now that Ministers were taking up Socialism in a crude form, and going to work upon it with a determination to owe nothing to the Fabians, who had become impatient of the want of skill and knowledge shown by the party politicians, and somewhat dictatorial in their solutions of the problems affecting the standard of life of the working classes. The old wire-pulling had therefore to be dropped and replaced by public prompting; and this involved control of a weekly review of high political and literary quality, capable of doing for collec-

tivism what *The Spectator* and *The Nation* were doing for Unionism and the higher Liberalism. The Fabian leaders accordingly founded *The New Statesman* in 1913. The supplements on social questions, which were the distinctive feature of this weekly review, were really a development of the Fabian tracts. There was no formal official connection between *The New Statesman* and the Fabian Society; but as the staff and directorate were predominantly Fabian, *The New Statesman* was really a creation of the Society, and was its public mouthpiece until, in the course of time, it inevitably developed a journalistic individuality of its own. The Society's official organ, *Fabian News*, is a monthly sheet which has existed since 1891, and has no circulation outside the Society.

The war of 1914-18 affected the Society favourably by compelling the Government to supersede private commercial enterprise in several directions by direct State control, and to save the banks by guaranteeing the foreign exchanges; steps which could not have been proposed and accepted, virtually without protest, but for the extent to which the Fabian Society had educated the public and the official classes to resort confidently to State action in spite of the traditions of the Manchester school. The unprecedented taxation and super-taxation of property for the support of the war was also in line with the Society's propaganda. The war, however, revealed the political futility of international Socialism, and the helpless nullity and ignorance of British Socialism and Labour in the sphere of foreign policy. The Fabian Society, therefore, turned its attention for the first time to the subject of what it called supernational law and political organisation, and produced, through the International Agreements Committee of its Research Department, plans for a supernational legislature and tribunal which were published as supplements to *The New Statesman*. In the meantime it identified itself, by a series of six public meetings held in London, Mr. Bernard Shaw being spokesman, with his propaganda of equality of income as the economic goal of Socialism, but without committing itself to this article of faith.

A general survey of the Society's activities after the detachment of Labour from Capitalist Liberalism in Parliament, and its establishment there as an independent party, with an independent national political organisation, shows the Fabians as gradually disentangling themselves from the wire-pulling and tactical intrigue forced upon them in the last decade of the 19th century by the necessity of working through hostile parties in Parliament, and outwitting them, and by the fact that at that time they alone, among the organised Socialists, knew enough of the arts of government under our system to be qualified for

the work. This disentanglement was motived by the desire to get back to the true function of the Society in the investigation of social conditions, and the study and practical solution of the problems raised by them. The Society's centre of gravity became its Research Department, in which some of the older leaders, who had withdrawn more or less from the general management of the Society, for a moment resumed their activity side by side with the younger generation. For a few years this body worked with feverish energy as the intelligence department of the Labour Party during the great railway and coal-mining strikes which followed the war; but the sympathy of some of its most energetic young members with the Russian Bolsheviks produced a split which ended in their defection, and in the formation of a new Research Department by the Labour Party, which virtually absorbed and superseded the Fabian Department. The general election of 1922, at which Mr. Sidney Webb entered Parliament as a member of a greatly reinforced Labour Opposition, marked the final transfer of the political activities of the Fabian Society to the front benches of Labour in Parliament.

The Society, nevertheless, maintains its existence as a relatively small and select body of constitutional Socialists, informing and prompting other bodies and public opinion, and acting through them whenever possible. Many of its numerous tracts have become obsolete through the passing of their proposals into law; but some of the earliest are still in active circulation. Local Fabian societies have been formed in the provinces. Of these the oldest and most important is the Liverpool Fabian Society. Fabian Societies with a continually changing membership, existed for many years at the Universities; but most of these became University Labour Clubs after the war. The number of persons distinguished in the literary and political world who have at one time or another been members of the Fabian Society is considerable; and though some of them may now regard the experience as a sowing of their political wild oats, the share taken by the Fabians in the education of the generation which followed that to which their leaders belonged has left its mark on political history, and will probably continue to influence it more or less until the Collectivist reaction against the Manchester School is consummated or exhausted.

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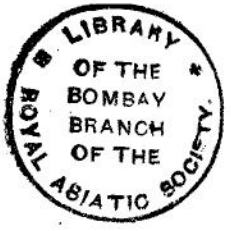

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